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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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ON SOME NEW DATES OF THE VIKRAMA ERA FROM THE PALM-LEAF MSS. IN Dr. P. PETERSON'S FIFTH REPORT.

BY Dr. ROBERT SCHRAM, VIENNA.

TO the kindness of Prof. Bühler I owe the following twenty-nine dates, extracted by him from Dr. Peterson's *Fifth Report*. All these dates are coupled with the week-days, so that their calculation is easy and in most cases permits us to decide if the date is current or expired, and if the reckoning is *amânta* or *purṇimânta*. In arranging the dates I follow the arrangement adopted by Prof. Kielhorn in his paper on the Vikrama Era, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX. p. 20 ff., which is as follows:—

I. — **Regular Dates :—**

- (A) Dates in bright fortnights :—
  - (1) Dates from Kârttika to Phâlguna :—
    - (*a*) Dates in current years.
    - (*b*) Dates in expired years.
  - (2) Dates from Chaitra to Âśvina :—
    - (*a*) Dates in northern current years.
    - (*b*) Dates in northern expired or southern current years.
    - (*c*) Dates in southern expired years.
- (B) Dates in dark fortnights :—
  - (1) Dates from Kârttika to Phâlguna :—
    - (*a*) Dates in current years :—
      - (α) Pûrṇimânta dates.
      - (β) Amânta dates
    - (*b*) Dates in expired years :—
      - (α) Pûrṇimânta dates.
      - (β) Amânta dates.
    - (*c*) Dates either pûrṇimânta current or amânta expired.
  - (2) Dates from Chaitra to Âśvina :—
    - (*a*) Dates in northern current years :—
      - (α) Pûrṇimânta dates.
      - (β) Amânta dates.
    - (*b*) Dates in northern expired or southern current years :—
      - (α) Pûrṇimânta dates.
      - (β) Amânta dates.

(c) Dates in southern expired years :—

(α) Pûrṇimânta dates.

(β) Amânta dates.

(d) Dates either amânta in northern current or pûrṇimânta in southern expired years.

(e) Dates either amânta in northern current or pûrṇimânta in northern expired years.

(f) Dates either pûrṇimânta in northern current or amânta in southern expired years.

II. — **Irregular Dates.**

I have calculated the dates by the tables in Mr. Sewell's and Dîkshit's *Indian Calendar*, and checked the calculation by Prof. Jacobi's Tables in Vol. I. Part VIII. of the *Epigraphia Indica*, and I give here the results of this calculation in the same manner as that adopted by Prof. Kielhorn in the above cited paper, calculating all European equivalents, and distinguishing those which satisfy the requirements of the Indian dates by printing them in antique type.

(A) Dates in bright fortnights.

(1) Dates Kârttika to Phâlguna.

(a) Dates in current years.

1. V. 1317 (page 23, No. 8). — Saṁvat 1317 varshe, mâha (mâgha) sudi 4 *âdityadine.*

V. 1317 current: Sunday, 18th January, A. D. 1260; the 4th tithi of the bright half ended at 8 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1317 expired: Thursday, 6th January, A. D. 1261.

2. V. 1398 (page 135, No. 85). — Saṁvat 1398 varshe, pausha śudi 7 *some.*

V. 1398 current: Tuesday, 26th December, A. D. 1340 ; the 7th tithi of the bright half ended 5 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. **The date would agree if Monday, 25th December, A. D. 1340, were coupled with the running tithi.**

V. 1398 expired : Saturday, 15th December, A. D. 1341.

(b) Dates in expired years.

3. V. 1296 (page 50, No. 26). — Saṁvat 1296 varshe, phâlguṇa śudi 9 *śukre.*

V. 1296 current : Monday, 14th February, A. D. 1239.

V. 1296 expired; Friday, 3rd February, A. D. 1240; the 9th tithi of the bright half ended 20 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

4. V. 1343 (page 50, No. 27). — Saṁvat 1343 varshe, laukika-kârtika śudi 2 *ravau.*

V. 1343 current : Tuesday, 2nd October, A. D. 1285.

V. 1343 expired : Sunday, 20th October, A. D. 1286 ; the 2nd tithi of the bright half, ended 23 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise. It ought to have been an expunged tithi as the first tithi of the bright half ended the same day at 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

5. V. 1344 (page 110, No. 67). — Saṁvat 1344 varshe, mârga° śudi 2, *ravau.*

V. 1344 current: Tuesday, 19th November, A. D. 1286.

V. 1344 expired : Sunday, 9th November, A. D. 1287 ; the 2nd tithi of the bright half ended 1 h. 16 m. after mean surise.

6. V. 1394 (page 125, No. 75). — Saṁvat 1394 varshe, kârtika śudi pratipadâyâm *śukre.*

V. 1394 current: Tuesday, 6th October, A. D. 1336.

V. 1394 expired : Saturday, 25th October, A. D. 1337, the first tithi of the bright half ended 11 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. **The date would agree if Friday, 24th October, A. D. 1337, were coupled with the running tithi.**

(2) Dates from Chaitra to Âśvina.

(a) Dates in northern current years.

None.

(b) Dates in northern expired or southern current years.

7. V. 1231 (page 1, No. 1). — Saṁvat 1231 varshe bhâdrapada śudi 12 *ravau.*

Northern V. 1231 current: Wednesday, 22nd August, A. D. 1173.

Northern V. 1231 expired: Sunday, 11th August 1174; the 12th tithi of the bright half ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1231 expired: Saturday, 30th August, A. D. 1175.

8. V. 1293 (page 69, No. 46). — Saṁvat 1293 varshe, bhâdravâ śudi 10 *budhe.*

Northern V. 1293 current: Saturday, 25th August, A. D. 1235.

Northern V. 1293 expired: Wednesday, 13th August, A. D. 1236; the 10th tithi of the bright half ended 19 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1293 expired: Tuesday, 1st September, A. D. 1237.

9. V. 1320 (page 101, No. 59). — Saṁvat 1320 varshe, vaiśâkha śudi 4 *gurau.*

Northern V. 1320 current: Monday, 24th April, A. D. 1262.

Northern V. 1320 expired: Friday, 13th April, A. D. 1263; the 4th tithi of the bright half ended 12 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise. **The date would agree if Thursday, 12th April A. D. 1263, were coupled with the running tithi.**

Southern V. 1320 expired: Wednesday, 2nd April, A. D. 1264.

10. V. 1343 (page 24, No. 9). — Saṁvat 1343, vaiśâkha śudi 6 *so°* (*some?*)

Northern V. 1343 current: Thursday, 12th April, A. D. 1285.

Northern V. 1343 expired: Monday, 1st April, A. D. 1286; the 6th tithi of the bright half ended 23 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1343 expired: Sunday, 20th April, A. D. 1287.

11. V. 1392 (page 127, No. 77). — Saṁvat 1392 varshe, âshâḍha śudi 2 *gurau.*

Northern V. 1392 current: Saturday, 4th June, A. D. 1334.

Northern V. 1392 expired: Friday, 23rd June, A. D. 1335; the 2nd tithi of the bright half ended 4 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise. **The date would agree if Thursday, 22nd June, A. D. 1335, were coupled with the running tithi.**

Southern V. 1392 expired: Tuesday, 11th June, A. D. 1336.

(c) Dates in southern expired years.

12. V. 1154 (page 29, No. 13). — Saṁvat 1154 vaiśâkha śukla pratipadâyâm *ravidine.*

Northern V. 1154 current: Thursday, 27th March, A. D. 1096.

Northern V. 1154 expired: Wednesday, 15th April, A. D. 1097.

Southern V. 1154 expired: Monday, 5th April, A. D. 1098; the first tithi of the bright half ended 10 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. **The date would agree if Sunday, 4th April, A. D. 1098, were coupled with the running tithi.**

13. V. 1271 (page 132, No. 80). — Saṁvat 1271 vaiśâkha śudi 9 *gurau.*

Northern V. 1271 current: Tuesday, 30th April, A. D. 1213.

Nothern V. 1271 expired: Sunday, 20th April, A. D. 1214.

Southern V. 1271 expired: Friday, 10th April, A. D. 1215; the 9th tithi of the bright half ended 0 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise. **The date would agree if Thursday, 9th April, A. D. 1215, were coupled with the running tithi.**

14. V. 1300 (page 67, No. 44). — Saṁvat 1300 varshe jyeshṭha śudi 7 *ravau.*

Northern V. 1300 current: Thursday, 8th May, A. D. 1242.

Northern V. 1300 expired: Wednesday, 27th May, A. D. 1243.

Southern V. 1300 expired: Sunday, 15th May, A. D. 1244; the 7th tithi of the bright half ended 20 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

15. V. 1332 (page 104, No. 60). — Vikramataḥ Krâmati varshe nayanâgni gunendu jyeshṭha śvetadaśamyâm *hastârke.*

Northern V. 1332 current: Thursday, 17th May, A. D. 1274. Moon in Nakshatra Hastâ.

Northern V. 1332 expired: Monday, 6th May, A. D. 1275. Moon in Nakshatra Uttara-Phalgunî.

Southern V. 1332 expired: Sunday, 24th May, A. D. 1276; the 10th tithi of the bright half ended 11 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise. The moon was in *Nakshatra Hastâ* till 4 h. after mean sunrise.

16. V. 1334 (page 96, No. 57). Saṁvat 1334 varshe bhadrava śudi 1 *śanau.*

Northern V. 1334 current: Wednesday, 12th August, A. D. 1276.

Northern V. 1334 expired: Sunday, 1st August, A. D. 1277.

Southern V. 1334 expired: Saturday, 20th August, A. D. 1278; the 1st tithi of the bright half ended 20 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

17. V. 1336 (page 53, No. 32). — Saṁvat 1336 varshe jyeshṭha śudi 5 *ravau.*

Northern V. 1336 current: Saturday, 28th May, A. D. 1278.

Northern V. 1336 expired: Wednesday, 17th May, A. D. 1279.

Southern V. 1336 expired: Sunday, 5th May, A. D. 1280; the 5th tithi of the bright half ended 14 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

18. V. 1384 (page 123, No. 74). — Saṁvat 1384 varshe śrâvaṇa śudi dvitîyâyâm *śanau.*

Northern V. 1384 current: Wednesday, 2nd July 1326.

Northern V. 1384 expired: Tuesday, 21st July, A. D. 1327.

Southern V. 1384 expired: Saturday, 9th July, A. D. 1328; the 2nd tithi of the bright half ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

19. V. 1390 (page 135, No. 84). — Sam° 1390 varshe chaitra śudi 2 *some.*

Northern V. 1390 current: Friday, 13th March, A. D. 1332.

Northern V. 1390 expired: Thursday, 1st April, A. D. 1333.

Southern V. 1390 expired: Tuesday, 22nd March, A. D. 1334; the 2nd tithi of the bright half ended 3 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise. **The date would agree if Monday, 21st March, A. D. 1334, were coupled with the running tithi.**

(B) Dates in dark fortnights.

(1) Dates from Kârttika to Phâlguna.

(a) Dates in current years.

None.

(b) Dates in expired years.

(*a*) Pûrṇimânta dates.

None.

(β) **Amânta dates.**

20. V. 1284 (page 129, No. 78). — Saṁvat 1284 varshe phâlguna vadi 7 *some.*

V. 1284 current —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 10th February, A. D. 1227.

amânta: Thursday, 11th March, A. D. 1227.

V. 1284 expired —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 30th January, A. D. 1228.

amânta: Tuesday, 29th February, A. D. 1228; the 7th tithi of the dark half ended 6 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise. **The date would agree if Monday, 28th February, A. D. 1228, were coupled with the running tithi.**

21. V. 1289 (page 81, No. 51). — Saṁvat 1289 varshe mâgha vadi 6 *bhaumâv* (sic.)

V. 1289 current —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 15th January, A. D. 1232;

amânta: Friday, 13th February, A. D. 1232.

V. 1289 expired —

pûrṇimânta: Monday, 3rd January, A. D. 1233.

amânta: Wednesday, 2nd February, A. D. 1233; the 6th tithi of the dark half ended 2 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. **The date would agree if Tuesday, 1st February, A. D. 1233, were coupled with the running tithi.**

(c) **Dates either pûrṇimânta current or amânta expired.**

22. V. 1297 (page 136, No. 86). — Saṁvat 1297 varshe kârtika vadi 11 *ravau.*

V. 1297 current —

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 25th September, A. D. 1239; the 11th tithi of the dark half ended 2 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Monday, 24th October, A. D. 1239.

V. 1297 expired —

pûrṇimânta: Saturday, 13th October, A. D. 1240.

amânta: Sunday, 11th November, A. D. 1240; the 11th tithi of the dark half ended 14 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

(2) **Dates from Chaitra to Âśvina.**

(a) **Dates in northern current years.**

None.

(b) **Dates in northern expired or southern current years.**

(α) **Pûrṇimânta dates.**

None.

(β) **Amânta dates.**

23. V. 1288 (page 94, No. 55). — Saṁvat 1288 varshe Âshâḍha vadi amâvâsyâdine *bhaume.*

Northern V. 1288 current —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 12th June, A. D. 1230.

amânta: Thursday, 11th July, A. D. 1230.

Northern V. 1288 expired —

pûrṇimânta: Monday, 2nd June, A. D. 1231.

amânta: Tuesday, 1st July, A. D. 1231; the 15th tithi of the dark half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1288 expired —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 20th June, A. D. 1232.

amânta : Monday, 19th July, A. D. 1232.

(c) Dates in southern expired years.

(a) **Pûrṇimânta dates.**

24. V. 1181 (page 109, No. 66). — Saṁvat 1181, jyeshṭha vadi 13 *śanau.*

Northern V. 1181 current —

pûrṇimânta : Wednesday, 25th April, A. D. 1123.

amânta : Friday, 25th May, A. D. 1123.

Northern V. 1181 expired —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 13th May, A. D. 1124.

amânta : Thursday, 12th June, A. D. 1124.

Southern V. expired —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 3rd May, A. D. 1125; the 13th tithi of the dark half ended 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise. **The date would agree if Saturday, 2nd May, A. D. 1125, were coupled with the running tithi.**

amânta : Monday, 1st June, A. D. 1125.

25. V. 1331 (page 57, No. 35). — Saṁvat 1331 varshe, **prathama jyeshṭha** vadi 15, **śanau.**

Northern V. 1331 current —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 18th May, A. D. 1273.

amânta : Friday, 16th June, A. D. 1273.

Northern V. 1331 expired —

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 7th May, A. D. 1274.

amânta : Wednesday, 6th June, A. D. 1274.

Southern V. 1331 expired —

pûrṇimânta : Saturday, 27th April, A. D. 1275; the 15th tithi of the dark half ended 9 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise and in this year jyeshṭha is intercalated.

amânta : Sunday, 26th May, A. D. 1275.

(d) Dates either amânta in northern current or pûrṇimânta in southern expired years.

26. V. 1425 (page 99, No. 58). — Saṁvat 1425 varshe bhadrapada vadi 5 *bhaume.*

Northern V. 1425 current —

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 15th August, A. D. 1367.

amânta : Tuesday, 14th September, A. D. 1367; the 5th tithi of the dark half ended 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1425 expired —

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 3rd August, A. D. 1368.

amânta : Sunday, 2nd September, A. D. 1368.

Southern V. 1425 expired —

pûrṇimânta : Tuesday, 24th July, A. D. 1369; the 5th tithi of the dark half ended 11 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Wednesday, 22nd August, A. D. 1369.

(e) Dates either amânta in northern current or pûrṇimânta in northern expired years.

None.

(f) Dates either pûrṇimânta in northern current or amânta in southern expired years.

None.

(g) Dates either pûrṇimânta in northern current or amânta in northern expired years.

27. V. 1273 (page 95, No. 56). Saṁvat 1273, śrâvaṇa vadi 8 *ravau*.

Northern V. 1273 current—

pûrṇimânta: Sunday, 21st June, A. D. 1215; the 8th tithi of the dark half ended 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Monday, 20th July, A. D. 1215.

Northern V. 1273 expired —

pûrṇimânta: Friday, 8th July, A. D. 1216.

amânta: Sunday, 7th August, A. D. 1216; the 8th tithi of the dark half ended 13 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1273 current —

pûrṇimânta: Wednesday, 28th June A. D. 1217.

amânta: Thursday, 27th July, A. D. 1217.

II. — Irregular Dates.

28. V. 1454 (page 71, No. 48). — Saṁvat 1454 varshe Mâgha śudi 13 *some*.

V. 1454 current: Friday, 12th January, A. D. 1397.

V. 1454 expired: Wednesday, 30th January, A. D. 1398.

V. 1455 expired: Monday, 20th January, A. D. 1399; the 13th tithi of the bright half ended 15 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise. So this date works out correctly only when calculating for the next following year.

29. V. 1515 (page 120, No. 73). — Saṁvat 1515 varshe âso mâse śuklapakshe pañchamî *gurau*.

Northern V. 1515 current: Saturday, 24th September, A. D. 1457.

Northern V. 1515 expired: Wednesday, 13th September, A. D. 1458.

Southern V. 1515 expired: Tuesday, 2nd October, A. D. 1459.

Northern V. 1514 current: Sunday, 5th September, A. D. 1456.

Southern V. 1516 expired: Saturday, 20th September, A. D. 1460.

So the date works out in no case; there must be some fault in it.

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 257.*)

Ribbons. — The guardian power of the dancing half-alive ribbon, perhaps, reaches back to the early magic days when the bird and beast scarer was a spirit-scarer. In Egypt, ribbons were fastened to weapons and round the capitals of house pillars.[94] The diadem of the Persian monarch was a flowing ribbon.[95] The Romans tied coloured ribbons or threads to infants to keep off the Evil Eye.[96] The Greeks bound a ribbon to the stern pole of their ships.[97]

[94] Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, Vol. II. p. 102.

[95] Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I. p. 435.

[96] Persius' *Satires*, Vol. II. p. 31.

[97] Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 137.

When Pausanias (A. D. 170) went to consult the oracle of Trophonius, he had to put on a linen habit set off with ribbons.[98] In the temple at Delphi was a navel-shaped white stone with a ribbon hanging from it.[99] Ribbons were frequently laid in Greek tombs.[100] Greek funeral urns were, and Italian funeral urns are, covered with ribbons.[1] The wand or *thyrsos* of Dionysos was often adorned with ribbons or bandelets.[2] In a Roman seat of Bacchus in the Louvre the sprays of ornaments end in ribbon bows.[3] The Jewish sect of Essenes had the candidate's white robe fringed with blue ribbons as an emblem of holiness.[4] Phyllacteries, or guards, were ribbons with Bible texts worn by Jews on the brow to scare evil spirits. They continued to be used in Europe till they were denounced by the early Christian Church.[5] The nun at dedication wore a veil and a fillet or ribbon (*vitta*).[6]

Wedding guests at Lorraine wear a cross of blue and scarlet ribbons at their button-holes or in their caps.[7] For several days after her wedding the Russian bride wears a white muslin dress with pink ribbons.[8] In Bohemia, ribbons are fastened to the Midsummer Pole.[9] No Romanian decked with red ribbons can suffer from the Evil Eye.[10] In Tunis, during a recent (1893) outbreak of cholera, the people pinned ribbons to their clothes to keep off the epidemic.[11] Mexican women wear a gold rosary round the neck from which hang gold coins and ribbons.[12] The key with which the door of the bull-pen is opened before a Mexican bull-fight has a great knot of ribbons.[13] Duppies, that is, Jamaica negro shadows, will throttle any puppy that has not a red ribbon collar.[14] In the island of Tonga at the new yam feast the yams are decked with ribbons.[15] Musalmans in Tibet deck the sacrificial sheep with ribbons and flowers.[16] According to Ovid (A. D. 30), sacred trees were adorned with crowns and ribbons.[17] The Ilkhân of Persia (1302) took shelter in a tree. He afterwards visited the tree with his nobles and wives. They fastened ribbons to the tree and danced round it. So Changez Khan's grand uncle Kutluk Khan (C. A. D. 1150) alighted before a tree and made a vow if he won he would come back and bind ribbons round it. He won and danced round the tree.[18] In Italy, the palm and olive branches that are laid on the altar on Palm Sunday are decked with ribbons.[19] In Russia, a girl ties a ribbon round a birch tree and it lets her pass.[20] Ribbons are fastened to Abyssinian guitars and to Savoy and Scottish bagpipes.

Christmas wassail bowls in Scotland and in England used to be garnished with ribbons.[21] On the brinks of many wells in Dumfries and Galloway ribbons and other little articles of female finery have been seen by people yet living fastened so as to wave over the spring. These were offerings for the recovery of sick children.[22] Compare the snood in the Scottish maiden's hair, the ribbon in the wedding favour, the ribbon round the wedding cake, the bows of ribbon tied to the mane and tail of the horse for sale, the spear pennon, the ship's pennant, and the ribbon of the Order. At funerals black and white ribbons used to be worn in England.[23] Lord Burleigh, Treasurer of England (A. D. 1570), wore a blue ribbon next his garter studded with snail shells to keep off gout.[24] In Northampton, a dead married woman's head was bound with a black ribbon and a maiden's head with a white ribbon.[25] In Clee in Lancashire (1829), a band of

98 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 339.

99 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 319.

100 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 233.

1 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 186; MS. Note, 1889.

2 Brown's *Great Dionysiak Myth.*, Vol. II. p. 91.

3 MS. Note, Feb. 2nd, 1885.

4 Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 22.

5 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 4.

6 Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 1412.

7 *Folk-Lore Records*, Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 260.

8 Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 214.

9 *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 79; Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 101.

10 *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. XIII. p. 45.

11 Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 59.

12 Harper's *New Monthly Magazine*, February, 1885, p. 374.

13 Brocklehurst's *Mexico To-day*, p. 205.

14 *The National Review*, June 1895, p. 557.

15 *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. pp. 379, 380.

16 Huc's *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 26.

17 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 232.

18 Howorth's *Changiz Khan*, p. 155.

19 *The Times of India*, 4th April 1885.

20 Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 140.

21 Chambers' *Book of Days*, Vol. II. p. 733; *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 77.

22 Allan Cunningham's *Songs of Scotland*, 1825.

23 Chambers' *Book of Days*, p. 274.

24 Browne, Vol. I. p. 287.

25 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 58.

children accompanied a maiden's funeral dressed in white-paper gloves and with long white-paper ribbons.[26] According to Irving, ribbons formed part of the old-fashioned funeral garland;[27]

"A garland shall be framed by art and nature's skill
Of sundry coloured flowers in token of good-will,
And sundry coloured ribbons on it I will bestow,
But chiefly black and yellow with her to grave shall go."

In Yorkshire (1793), the bride and bridegroom were covered with ribbons of any colour but green.[28] Ribbons are tied to the cart with the bride's luggage in Sunderland.[29] In Yorkshire, a wedding should be wound up by a race for a ribbon. The winner gets a kiss and the rest a drink.[30] In the sixteenth century the English May Poles were decked with ribbons.[31] In seventeenth-century England, ribbons or filletings were worn by women both at weddings and at churchings. So Herrick, on Julia's churching—

"Put on thy holy filletings and so
To the temple with the sober go."[32]

And when the bride is brought into her husband's house—

"You that be of nearest kin,
Now on the threshold force her in,
But to avert the worst let her
Her fillets first knit to the posts."[33]

On Shrove Tuesday (A. D. 1640) the boy whose cock won in the cock-fight went in triumph through the streets decked with ribbons, the others following with drum and fiddle.[34] The Morris Dancers in Dean Forest (1822) had their bodices and hats covered with ribbons of all colours.[35] Among the farmers of Herefordshire (1819) the winner of a law suit attends church with ribbons in his cap.[36] In Rutland (1872), an unmarried girl can be cured of bleeding at the nose by wearing a red ribbon round her neck.[37]

Salt. — Salt as the origin of wholesomeness, the scarer of corruption, the keeper of freshness, the giver of appetite, the saver from sickness, is, in early stages of belief, one of the most widely worshipped of guardians. In later stages salt maintains its worshipfulness as a type of life and of wit and as the fiend-feared emblem of immortality.

In Gujarât, the luckiest of all purchases on the Kârtik (November) new year's day is salt. A gift of salt to Brâhmaṇs lightens to the giver the pains of death. Salt is used in all spirit-scaring rites, and on the dark 14th of Asô (October) high-caste Hindu women spill little piles of salt and husked rice at cross-roads.[38] Among Gujarât Hindus the Evil Eye is removed by waving a pinch of salt and mustard seed round the child's head and throwing it into the fire.[39] The Prophet Muhammad said, "Blessed is the dinner cloth on which is salt." The Gujarât Musalmân follows this rule, and during Ramazân, or at feasts, spills salt on his dinner cloth.[40] In the North-West Provinces, to the west of the Jamnâ, when the cotton begins to burst, women go into the fields, sprinkle salt as a lustration, and pray for plenty.[41] In Kâṭhiâwâṛ, a frequent application of salt-earth and *avala*[42] leaves is believed to cure a contraction of the joints.[43] Gujarât Kanbis wave a copper-pot with salt over the bridegroom's head,

26 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 38.
27 *Sketch Book*, Vol. I. p. 252.
28 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 61.
29 *Op. cit.* p. 40.
30 *Op. cit.* p. 41.
31 Hone's *Every-Day Book*, Vol. I. pp. 550-55.
32 *Poems* (1869 Edn.), Vol. II. p. 307.
33 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 57.
34 Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 41.
35 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 34.
36 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 18.
37 *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, Vol. V. p. 83.
38 Vaikunthrâm's *Element Worship*, "Gujarât Hindu Religion."
39 Vaikunthrâm's *Element Worship*.
40 Mr. Fazl Lutfullâh Faridi.
41 Elliot's *Races*, Vol. I. p. 254.
42 *Emblica officinalis*.
43 Information from Mr. Himatlâl.

and the higher class Hindus in Gujarât, on New Year's Day, in front of all houses, pile three or four heaps of salt. Poor people carry off the salt and next day bring it for sale, crying aloud *sab-ras, i. e.,* "real jam," or all savour. The householders buy it as lucky.[44] In the Kônkan, till a child is six months old, salt and water are every evening waved round its face that it may not suffer from the Evil Eye.[45] Salt is the first thing served at a Hindu caste feast.[46] At a joyful feast among the Dhârwâṛ Mâdhva Brâhmaṇs salt is served first; at a funeral feast salt is not served at all.[47] In the worship of the *Sapta Rishis,* or Seven Sages, salt is not used, lest it should scare them.[48] Among the Roman Catholics of Kânara salt is put in the mouth of the child at baptism, probably to scare the devil.[49] Among the Kânara Musalmâns no salt is given to a newly delivered woman.[50] In the marriage ceremony of the Poona Velâlîs, a plantain leaf is laid for the bride to sit on, and on the leaf salt is spread.[51] In the Dekhan, when a Gôsâvî is initiated, sugar and salt are put in his mouth, sugar to sweeten it, and salt that he may prove true to his faith. When a Dekhan Chitpâvan goes through the all-atonement, or *prâyaschitta,* he eats nothing during the day, or, if he must eat for his health, he at least takes no salt, as salt is specially forbidden.[52] Nâgar Liṅgâyats, Dhangars, Buruds and other classes bury large quantities of salt with the dead.[53] Among Arabs on the seventh day after a birth, when the child is carried through the *hârim,* a woman sprinkles salt and fennel seed on the floor, saying, "May foul salt be in the eye of the envier." The sprinkling of salt guards the mother and child from the Evil Eye.[54] The Ahmadnagar Mâubhâvs strew the bottom of the grave with salt, and again strew salt on the top of a robe drawn over the body. The Vaishṇavas of Bengal put salt in the grave and in the mouth, nostrils, ears, eyes, and other openings of the dead.[55] In Southern India, the body of a Vaishnav Svâmi is stuffed with salt and powdered mustard. Other ascetics are buried in a pit full of salt.[56] At a Beni-Isrâ'îl feast, before the guests begin to eat, the minister dips bread in salt, and it is handed round to all.[57]

Among the ancient Egyptians an ointment of palm-wine, salt, and incense cured spirit-possession.[58] Among the ancient Persians the flesh of the victim was sprinkled with salt.[59] The ancient Jews set a high value on salt. They called salt the seal of the covenant and offered it with all meat offerings.[60] The Jewish prophet Elisha healed and sweetened the waters of Jericho by casting in salt.[61] Salt and sulphur were put on the wedding crown worn by the Jewish husband.[62] Jews who lived at the sea-side, every day, before matins, washed their hand in the salt water.[63] The Jews mixed salt with their holy ointment and rubbed with salt their new-born babes.

That Greek wit was known as **Attic Salt** shows how highly the classic Greek valued the virtues of salt. The first thing a Greek presented to a stranger was salt. They rationalised that as in salt watery and earthy particles unite, so friendship should be a constant union; or as salt keeps away corruption, so friendship should always be fresh. An earlier belief remains in the Greek divine or holy salt from whose shrine, the family salt-cellar, a guardian influence spread forth. The salt from the family salt-cellar, which was the bond of union among the people of the house, formed, when partaken by the stranger, a bond of union, or sacrament, between the stranger and his hosts; similarly, by setting salt on the tables the guardian spirit

[44] Information from Mr. Ratirâm.
[45] Information from Mr. B. P. Joshi.
[46] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[47] Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.
[48] Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.
[49] *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. XV. p. 388.
[50] *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 405.
[51] *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 259.
[52] *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 147.
[53] *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. XXII. p. 115; Vol. XVIII. p. 183.
[54] Lane's *Arabian Society,* p. 188.
[55] Ward's *View of the Hindus,* Vol. III. p. 277.
[56] Dubois, p. 287; *Dabistan,* Vol. II. p. 141.
[57] *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. XVIII. p. 510.
[58] Eber's *Egyptian Princess,* Vol. I. p. 327.
[59] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 226.
[60] *Leviticus,* ii. 13; *Numbers,* xviii. 19.
[61] *II. Kings,* ii. 19.
[62] Basnage's *Jews,* p. 472.
[63] Potter's *Antiquities,* Vol. I. p. 263.

of the house passed into the stranger. In a more formal way families and states were joined by a covenant of hospitality. So, like the salt, the tokens held by the covenanting parties were *sumbolæ* or symbols in which a common guardian influence dwelt. In proof of this, on the dye, of which each party to an union of hospitality kept half, was graven the image of Jupiter hospitalis. "I bring with me," says Plautus, "the god of hospitality and the *tessera*."[64] It is this belief in the sacrament of salt that makes the Hindu and the Indian Musalmân agree in holding falseness to salt the basest of crimes. The Greek feeling of the divinity of salt continued after the Greeks became Christian. As the classic Greek poured ground cakes of salt and barley on the altar, so the Christian Greek put salt into the sacramental bread. Salt, they said, is life; saltless sacrifice is dead.[65] In the *Dionysiak Mysteries* a lump of salt signified generation.[66] Salt was sacred among the Romans, and was habitually compared to wit and liveliness.[67] The family salt-cellar or *salinum* was an heirloom, and was always set on the table as a symbol of the family guardians.[68] The Romans mixed salt and water to make holy water.[69] They thought that salt caused cheerfulness and cured disease.[70] Among the Romans a salted cake was broken over the victim's head.[71] That salt is as a soul keeping the body wholesome is oddly illustrated by Cicero's saying, the pig has life *anima* only instead of salt to keep him from rotting.[72] So Herrick (1640):

"The body's salt the soul is, which, when gone,
The flesh soon sucks in putrefaction."[73]

In the early Christian Western Church any one allowed to be a catechumen or hearer received the gift of salt. This was called **Sacramentum Catechumenorum.**[74] After baptism salt was given and after confession penitents received salt with milk and honey.[75] In Constantinople every house was sprinkled with sea-water.[76] Elsewhere the houses of the sick were cleansed with holy water.[77] At the dedication of a church, salt, ashes, and water were sprinkled on the corners of the altar.[78] Though the Christian organisers admitted that salt was a guardian home, they held that, like water, oil, and other natural shrines, salt was apt to become fiend-tenanted instead of guardian-tenanted, and before use had to be exorcised.[79] Both Greeks and Romans placed holy salt-water at the entrance of their temples.[80] For ceremonial cleansing the Greeks preferred sea-water.[81] "All human ills," says Euripides, "are cleansed by the sea, whose holy water, according to Wordsworth, performs his priest-like task of pure ablution round earth's human shores." Modern Jews throw salt on the fire to drive away evil spirits.[82] In North Central Africa, near lake Chad, Denham tells how a Musalmân woman burnt salt, praying that neither the devil nor his imps might frighten the traveller.[83] In Upper Egypt, when a caravan is about to start, the Ababde women come out carrying earthen vessels filled with burning coals. They set the vessels before the several loads and throw salt over the coals. As the bluish flame rises, they exclaim: "May you be blessed in going and in coming." By this the devil and every evil fiend is put to flight.[84]

Salt-water is a familiar medicine in Chinese cattle-diseases.[85] In Japan, during the purifying ceremonies of the early Shinto religion, the ground is strewn with salt,[86] and salt is

64 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. pp. 414-416.
65 Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 603; Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 253.
66 Brown's *Great Dionysiak Myth*, Vol. II. p. 66.
67 Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, "Salinum."
68 *Op. cit., loc. cit.*
69 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 439.
70 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxxi. Chap. 719.
71 Adam's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 260.
72 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 354.
73 In Hone's *Table Book*, Vol. I. p. 523.
74 "Baptism," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, IX. Edition, p. 351.
75 Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 318.
76 *Op. cit.* p. 1839.
77 *Op. cit.* p. 1839.
78 *Op. cit.* p. 1839.
79 *Op. cit.* p. 1839.
80 Middleton's *Conformity of Paganism and Popery*, p. 138.
81 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 263.
82 Chambers' *Book of Days*, p. 446.
83 Denham and Clapperton's *Africa*, Vol. II. p. 183.
84 Burkhardt's *Nubia*, p. 169.
85 Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 157.
86 Reed's *Japan*, Vol. I. p. 61.

sprinkled on the threshold at a Japan funeral.[87] Salt is highly valued in West Africa.[88] In passing a spirit haunt in Lake Tanganyika in Africa, boatmen throw salt over their heads and into the water.[89] In North-West Africa, when an offender's head is cut off, the soldiers, whose duty it is to fix the head on a tower, get a Jew to salt the head before it is set up.[90] At a marriage at Bornou, in North Africa, warm salt-water is sprinkled round the house to prevent any evil spirit approaching. If an evil spirit get near the marriage couple, the man will become impotent or the woman barren.[91] In some Mexican ceremonies the faces of the human victims were sprinkled with salt.[92]

The modern Greeks venerate salt.[93] Athenian maidens on the eve of the new moon offer on the bank of the Ilisus a plate with honey, salt, and a cake.[94] In A. D. 1100 Abbot Richatmas wrote: "If the devil takes away my appetite I taste a little salt and my appetite returns. If I lose it again, I take more salt and am again hungry."[95] In Sicily, when an ass, a mule, or a horse is to enter a new stable, salt is sprinkled on its back that the fairies may not lame it.[96] German shepherds, who were sorcerers, were accused of baptizing their sheep with salt.[97] When (1878) a German prince came back to Bucharest, the Mayor presented him with the customary bread and salt."[98] So in Russia strangers are offered bread and salt as a compliment.[99] In France, before a wedding, salt was put in the pockets and a coin in the shoe.[100] A Servian (1876), suffering from serious lung disease, is laid, face down, on the ground, while the wise-woman scatters salt on him and walks round him mumbling.[1] In Germany, in a house where one lies dead, three heaps of salt are made.[2] In Germany, unbaptised infants have salt placed beside them for safety. The emigrants from Salzburg dipped a wetted finger in salt and swore.[3] In his picture of the Last Supper, Michael Angelo makes Judas upset the salt dish, so that it spills towards him, which, according to Burton, is a bad omen.[4] If salt is spilt, a little should be dropped over the left shoulder to keep off the spirits. At a Roman Catholic baptism salt is blessed by nine crossings, and a little is put in the child's mouth as the salt of wisdom.[5] After consecration, that is, when the sign of the cross is made over it, salt becomes a sacrament able to drive away the enemy.[6]

In Ireland, if any one enters on a new office, women in the streets and girls from the windows shower on him wheat and salt.[7] In A. D. 1700 no Isle of Man fisherman would sail without salt in his pocket. Tweed fishermen salt their nets and throw salt in the sea to blind fairies. In Holland, to upset a salt-cellar is to capsize a boat.[8] Scotch fairies eat no salt.[9] The ghost-haunted sailor was freed from the phantom by a draught of salt and water.[10] In Scotland (1629), large quantities of salt used to be put with an animal in a grave to drive away the cattle plague.[11] So also in Scotland, Ireland, and England, a plate of salt used to be laid on the corpse's breast to keep off evil spirits.[12] In North England and in Spain, it is unlucky to give salt out of a

[87] *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. II. p. 280.
[88] Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 280.
[89] Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. I. p. 269.
[90] Hay's *Western Barbary*, p. 97.
[91] Denham and Clapperton's *Africa*, Vol. II. p. 171.
[92] Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 406.
[93] Clarke's *Travels in Greece*, Vol. IV. p. 8.
[94] Moore's *Oriental Fragments*, p. 311.
[95] Moncure Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. II. p. 297.
[96] *Zool. Myth.* Vol. I. p. 300.
[97] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1076.
[98] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. IX. p. 66.
[99] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 99.
[100] *Op. cit.* p. 313.
[1] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. VI. p. 364.
[2] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1118.
[3] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1049.
[4] Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 238. This is also a North of England belief. Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 218, 1273; *Sussex Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. I. p. 12.
[5] *Golden Manual*, p. 791.
[6] *Op. cit.* p. 674.
[7] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 165.
[8] Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 438. *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. II. p. 209, explains from Newcastle that the reason the Tweed fishermen salt their nets is that if the nets are not salted fairies come and pull out the fish.
[9] Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 125.
[10] *Op. cit.* p. 9.
[11] Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 85.
[12] Balfour's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. V. p. 37; Hone's *Table Book*, Vol. I. p. 523; Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 60; Gregor's *Echo from an Olden Time*, p. 139; Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 212; Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 102.

house.[13] In Scotland, oaths were taken on bread and salt, and salt was put into milk as a guard against the Evil Eye.[14] In England (1590), consecrated salt saved men from witches.[15] In North England, spilt salt brings ill-luck, unless part of it is dropped over the left shoulder.[16] If the milk is bewitched, in Lancashire they put into it a hot iron, in Northumberland a crooked coin, and in Cleveland a pinch of salt.[17] In the north of England, there is a saying: "Help me to salt; help me to sorrow."[18] In the Isle of Man, people always carry salt in their pockets.[19] Eton scholars, every third year, used to go to the salt hill and distribute salt; while friars used to sell consecrated salt for healing.[20] An Irishman recovered his wife from a rout of fairies by throwing over her, as she passed, salt, hen's blood, and all-flower water.[21]

The use of salt to keep evil from an unbaptised child was common in Middle-Age Europe.[22] In a Scottish ballad the infant unbaptised daughter of the king dies and is laid, swathed in linen, in a golden casket with much salt and a lighted lamp because she had never been in God's House. In Scotland, the new-born babe is bathed in or rubbed with salt and water and made to taste it three times. The mother's breast is also washed with salt-water before the child begins to suck.[23] When a babe is brought to a house for the first time the head of the house must put sugar and salt into its mouth and wish it well.[24] In Argyleshire, in Scotland (1800), when a child was taken to be baptised, before leaving the house salt was carried round it against the sun.[25] In the Christian rite of baptism salt is put into the child's mouth that he may spit out the evil one, *despuere malum*.[26] In Lincoln (1833), a newly-christened child brought into a neighbour's house was presented with eggs and salt.[27] In Scotland, if a child has a blink, of the evil life a sixpence is borrowed, a good fire kept burning in the grate, the door locked, silence kept, and the child laid in front of the fire. A spoon is filled with water and the borrowed sixpence is piled with salt, and both sixpence and salt are spilt into the water. The child's feet, hands, and brow are rubbed with the salt-water and the rest is thrown into the fire with the words, "Guid preserve from all scaith."[28] A dish full of salt was the first article of the bride's which was carried into her new house. In entering the house some of the salt was scattered on the floor.[29] In Lincoln (1833), salt was a pledge of welcome. It was given to a guest as soon as he entered the host's house.[30] In 1597, James Stuart, and in 1603 James Reid, cured a woman by making her drink south-running water and by casting salt and wheat about her bed.[31] In 1607 Bartie Paterson cured a sick man by making him always wear nine grains of wheat, nine grains of salt, and nine twigs of rowan.[32] In 1600 a Scottish midwife eased a woman's pains in child-birth by laying an open knife and sprinkling salt under the bed.[33] About 1600 a cattle plague was stayed by burying in a pit a live ox and a live cat with much salt.[34] In 1863 salt and wheat were bound in a cloth to a cow's horn to keep off disease, and in another case (1649) to help her milk.[35] In Yorkshire (1646), salt and an old sickle were put under a cow's stall to cure disease.[36] In North England (1825), when a cow is calving salt is strewn along her back to keep the witch from hurting her.[37] Salt is dropped into the first milk drawn from a lately calved cow.[38] And in Lincoln (1830), when

[13] Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 217.
[14] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. pp. 164, 165.
[15] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 19.
[16] Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 121.
[17] *Op. cit.* p. 183.
[18] Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 273.
[19] *Op. cit.* p. 275.
[20] *Madras Almanac*, 1840, p. 631.
[21] *Notes and Queries*, Vol. VI. p. 10.
[22] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 34.
[23] Black's *Folk-Medicine*, p. 180; Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 30.
[24] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 33.
[25] Black's *Folk-Medicine*, p. 31.
[26] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 422.
[27] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 31.
[28] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 37.
[29] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 47.
[30] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, p. 118.
[31] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 85, 99.
[32] *Op. cit.* p. 395.
[33] *Op. cit.* pp. 85, 99.
[34] *Op. cit.* p. 193.
[35] *Op. cit.* p. 100.
[36] *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. I. p. 315.
[37] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 326, 365.
[38] *Op. cit.* p. 101.

cream is put in the churn salt is dropped into the fire to overcome witchcraft.[39] In St. Kilda when cattle are moved they are purified with salt-water and fire.[40] In Suffolk (1860), to bury a handful of salt (probably after waving it round the patient) cured ague. As the salt dissolved the ague left.[41]

(To be continued.)

THE ANDAMAN FIRE-LEGEND.

BY M. V. PORTMAN.

A.

One of the oldest of the Andamanese Legends is that regarding the first introduction of fire to the people after a great cataclysm had occurred, during which much of their territory was submerged and all their fires were extinguished. It appears also to be the best known, and the Andamanese are more generally agreed upon the statements in it than in any of their other legends, each elder of the same tribe giving the same version of the story.

The legend in each of the five languages of the South Andaman group of tribes runs translated freely, as follows:—

TRANSLATIONS.

I. Ákabéada.

God was sleeping at Tāūl-l'óko-tíma. Lúratút came, stealing fire. The fire burnt God. God woke up. God seized the fire; he took the fire and burnt Lúratút with it. Then Lúratút took (the fire); he burnt Tárchéker in Wóta-Êmi village, (where then), the Ancestors lit fires. (The Ancestors referred to were) the Tómo-lá.

II. Ákarbálé.

Dim-Dāūra, a very long time ago, at Kéri-l'óng-tāūwer, was bringing fire from God's platform. He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. Bólub, and Tárkāūr, and Bílichāū fell into the sea and became fish. They took the fire to Rókwa-l'ár-tónga village and made fires there.

III. Púchikwár.

God was sleeping in Tāūl-l'óko-tíma. Lúratút went to bring fire. Lúratút caught hold of the fire; then he burnt God. Then God woke up. God seized the fire. He hit Lúratút with the fire. Then again he hit Tárchál with the fire. Chältér caught hold of it. He gave it to the Ancestors at Wāūta-Êmi. Then the Ancestors made fire.

IV. Áūkāūjúwoi.

Mr. Pigeon stole a firebrand at Kúro-t'ón-míka, while God was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late Léch, who then made fires at Karát-tátak-émi.

V. Kol.

God was sleeping at Tāūl-l'óko-tíma. Lúratút took away fire to Ôko-Émi. Kāūlotàt went to Min-tong-tá (taking fire with him from Óko-Êmi). At Min-tong-tá the fire went out. Kāūlotàt broke up the charred firewood and made fire again, (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there), became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The Ancestors thus got fire in Min-tong-tāūk village.

[39] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 33.
[40] Cumming's *Hebrides*, p. 336.
[41] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 129.

B.

As it will be a matter of importance to students to know precisely upon what texts the above translations are based, I add them here with interlinear translations, and I also append certain notes necessary for the elucidation of the texts.

TEXTS.

I. Âkabéada.

Tāūl - l'óko - tíma - len	Púluga - lá	mámí - ká.	Lúratút - lá	chápa
(The name of a place) in	God	was sleeping.	(a certain bird)	fire

táp - nga	ómó - ré.	Chápa - lá	Púluga - lá	púgat - ká.	Púluga - lá	bói - ká,
stealing	came.	Fire	God	was burning.	God	woke up,

Púluga - lá	chápa	éni - ká,	Á	ík	chápa - lik	Lúratút
God	fire	seized,	He	taking	fire by	(the bird)

l'ót - púgarí - ré.	Jek	Lúratút - lá	éni - ká,	Á	í - Tárchéker
burnt.	At once	(the bird)	took,	He	Kingfisher

l'ót - púgarí - ré	Wóta - Émi	bárāij - len,	Chāōga - tábanga	óko - dál - ré
burnt	(a place)	village in,	the Ancestors	lit fires.

Tómo - lólá.
The Tomo - la.

II. Âkarbále.

Dim - Dāūra - lé	ríta	Kéri - l'óng - tāūwer - té	Púluga	l'í
(Name of a man)	a very long time ago	(name of a place) by	God	His

toágo	choápa	l'ómo - kâté.	'Ông	ík	'ákat - pāūra	púgúrú - t	l'á - ré.
platform	fire	was bringing.	He	taking	all men	burnt	did.

Bólub,	ká	Tárkāūr,	ká	Bílichāū,	'óngót	óto - júrúgmú - t - ía.
(Name of a fish)	and	(name of a fish)	and	(Flying-fish)	they	in the sea went.

'Ongót	át - yāūkat	mó - nga.	'Ongót	oáro - tíchal - éna - té	Rókwa - l'ár - tónga
They	fish	becoming.	They	carrying taking	(name of a place)

bárōij - á	óko - dál - nga	l'á - ré.
village in	fire	did.

III. Púchikwár.

Tāūl - l'óko - tim - an	Bílik	l'óng - pát - yé.	Lúratút	l'óng	át	áb - léchi - nga
(Name of a place) in	God	was sleeping.	(A bird)	he	fire	was bringing..

Lúratút	l'óng - dí - ye.	Kóta	'ong	Bilik	l'áb - bíki - ye.	Kóta	Bílik
(A bird)	seized.	Then	he	God	burnt.	Then	God

l'óng - kónyi - ye.	Bilik	l'óng	át	lí-ye.	'Ong	é	Lúratút	l'óte - tōī - chú - nga.
woke up.	God	he	fire	seized.	He	then	(a bird)	hit with fire.

Kóta	kol	'óng	é	Tárchál	l'óte - tōi - chu - ye.	Cháltér	l'óng - dí - ye.
Then	again	he	then	(a man, or fish)	hit with fire.	Kingfisher	caught hold.

'óng	Lāō - chám - len	dá - nga	Wāūta - Émi - en.	Ota	Lāō - chám
He	Ancestors to	gave	(name of a place) in.	Then	Ancestors

n'óng - ó - kádak - nga.
they made fire.

IV. Âūkāūjúwōī.

Kúro - t'ón - mík - a	Mốm	Mírit - lá,	Bílik	l'āūkāū - éma - t,	péakar	át - ló	top - chíke.
(The name of a place) in	Mr.	Pigeon,	God	slept,	wood	fire with	stole.

Át	lāīchè	Léch - lin	á	kótak	á	āūko - kódak - chine	át - ló
Fire	the late	(name) to	he	then	he	made fire	fire with

Karát - tátak - émi - in.	
(name of a place)	at.

V. Kol.

Tāūl - l'óko - tím - en	Bílik - lá	pát - ke.	Lúratút - lá	Óko - émi - t	át
(Name of a place) in	God	was sleeping.	(a bird)	(a place) in	fire

kék - an.	Kāūlotàt - ke	lin	l'á - chól - an.	Min - tong - tá - kéte.
took away.	(A man)	by	went.	(Name of a place) to.

Min - tong - tá - kéte - lák	l'ít - bíl - an.	Kāūlotát	l'ír - pín	l'ír - dāūk - an.
(Name of a place) to by	went out.	(A man)	charred wood	broke up.

k'írim - kāūdak-an.	N'á	n'ótam - tepúr - in.	Át - ke	n'óte - tepúr - in,
made fire.	They	became alive.	Fire by	they became alive

Min - tong -tāūk	pāūrōīch - in.	Jangil	n'á	l'óko - kāūdak - an.
(a place)	village in.	Ancestors	they	made fire.

C.

NOTES.

General.

In relating any occurrence to others, as distinct from conversation with them, the Andamanese generally speak in short, detached sentences, and a considerable pause must be imagined between each of the sentences in the legends.

The "platform" mentioned in the legends is a small erection built by the Andamanese at the sides of their huts, on which meat, etc., is placed; fire is put underneath it.

The likeness of the story in nearly all respects to the **Prometheus Legend** will strike the reader at a glance.

The Âkabéada Legend.

With regard to Lúratút and Tárchéker, birds may be meant, or men bearing the names of birds, for the Andamanese believe that, after the cataclysm, when fresh fire had to be brought from somewhere, many of the Andamanese, who were of course really drowned, had been changed into birds and fishes.

Chāōga-tábanga means "the Andamanese who lived in former ages," *i.e.*, "the Ancestors," and when an Andamanese is asked why he follows a certain custom, or how that custom originated, he would answer "Because the Chāōga-tábanga used to do it," or, "Because the Chāōga-tábanga ordered it so."

Tómo-lólá means "The sons of Tómọ-lá," who was the chief of all the Andamanese at the time of the cataclysm. Observe how this word is in apposition to Chāōga-tábanga, a very common Andamanese form of speech.

The Âkarbále Legend.

With the exception of Bọlub, none of the names mentioned are now used as names for men, though Bólub, Tárkāūr, and Bílichāū, are names for fish, the Andamanese having an extensive vocabulary of fish names. Kéri-l'óng-tāūwer, and Rókwa-l'ár-tónga are compound place names.

The Púchikwár Legend.

The name of the place in which God was sleeping is here the same as that given in the Ákabéada version of the Legend: the same bird, (or man), Lúratút, is also mentioned as the fire-stealer.

The Āūkāūjúwōī Legend.

The two names of the places change in this Legend, but the formation of these compound words remain the same, for example:—

A

In Ákabéada.

Tāūl — — — — — l'óko — — — — — — — — tíma.

A certain tree. conjunctional infix corner.

Meaning: The village at the corner among the 'Tāūl' trees. ("A village" is always understood in these names.) The word is the same in the Púchikwár and Kọl languages.

In Ákarbálé.

Kéri — — — — — — — — — — — l'óng — — — — — — — — — — — — tāūwer.

A certain tree. conjunctional infix. sand.

Meaning: "The village on the sand, among the 'Kéri' trees."

In Āūkāūjúwōī.

Kúro — — — — — — — — — — — t'ón — — — — — — — — — — — míka.

A certain tree. conjunctional infix. very big.

Meaning: "The village among the big 'Kúro' trees."

B

In Ákabéada.		*In Púchikwár.*		*In Kol.*	
Wóta — — —	Êmi.	Wāūta — — — — —	Êmi.	Ôko — — — —	Êmi.
Rise up.	Bed (or, Hut).	Rise up.	Bed (or, Hut).	Prefix.	Bed.

Meaning: "The village from which the different tribes dispersed," (like a flock of birds rising up), "after the cataclysm."

C

In Ákarbálé.

Rókwa — — — — — — — — — — — — l'á — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — tónga.

A stone. conjunctional infix. a row.

Meaning: "The village by the row of stones."

In Āūkāūjúwōī.

Karát — — — — — — — — — — — tátak — — — — — — — — — émi.

A certain creeper. conjunctional infix. bed (or, hut).

Meaning: "The hut among the 'Karát' creepers."

In this Legend the Fire-thief is a Pigeon, and the construction of the first sentence differs from the direct speech in the other Legends. The first phrase states where Mr. Pigeon was; in apposition to this is an entirely unconnected phrase stating that "God was sleeping"; the third phrase tells us what Mr. Pigeon did.

The Kol Legend.

The Kol, Púchikwár, and Ákabéada tribes have very much the same versions of the Legend, giving the same names to the places and actors. The Ákarbálé and Âūkāūjúwōī differ, having places in their own countries where the fire is said to have been first kindled, and not recognising Wóta-Émi as the original home of the present race, as the others do.

Kāūlotàt derives his name from a tree with black wood, such as the *Diospyros nigricans*, ebony, etc.

Min — tong — tá — kéte,	or	Min — tong — tāūk.
A tree leaf bone.	—	A tree leaf bone.

Meaning: "The village of the 'Min' trees, which have big midribs to their leaves."

In N'ótam we get a pronominal prefix in the plural, referring to "human beings." The whole phrase is strongly emphasised by these Pronouns, with the intention of showing that, after the cataclysm, almost all the people were dead and there was no fire. When fire had been obtained, either the dead people were resuscitated, or fresh people were created, or what is probably really meant, life went on again as usual and the country was re-peopled in the ordinary way.

Jangil is here used for 'Ancestors.' I found that this word was used by the very ancient Ákabéada for the name of the hostile Inland tribe in the South Andaman, who are now known as Jàrawas, and who belong to the Öngé Group of Tribes.

It is possible that the Ákabéada may have regarded the tribe as resembling their ancestors in their customs, and it is the only inkling we get that the people of the South Andaman Group of Tribes recognise that the members of the other groups are sprung from the same stock as themselves, though they admit that all Andamanese are one race, and differ from other races. When they first saw African Negroes and Somális they called them Jàrawas thus admitting them to the same race as themselves, but considering them to be strangers and hostile.

I have always doubted whether Jàrawa is a real Andamanese word, and believe it to be an Andamanese corruption of the Urdu word Jhárīá, meaning "Foresters," and adapted by the Andamanese from the convicts since 1858.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B.A., M.F.L.S.

No. 43. — *The Subhâdâr of the Cot.*

In the town of Tanjore there lived a clever Brâhmaṇ, named **Kêśava Bhaṭ**. His means and attainments were very humble. He was a priest, and earned on an average a couple of *fanams*[1] every day by his profession. Half of this income, *i. e.*, one *fanam*, he spent for his household expenses, and with the other *fanam* he held every night **Council on a Cot** in the back premises of a big mansion in Tanjore, between the first and tenth *ghaṭikâs*.

The expression "Council on a Cot" requires some explanation: and in order to give this it is necessary to give a brief description of the mansion in the back premises of which Kêśava Bhaṭ held his council. In the West High Street of Tanjore there was a millionaire called **Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa Seṭṭi.** His mansion was seven stories high, and extended for a mile from west to east. The back premises were in the East High Street, and were almost unnoticed at night. To these Kêśava Bhaṭ resorted every night at the second *ghaṭikâ*

[1] About twopence.

He had taken into his service four artisans — a carpenter, a cobbler, an oil-vendor, and a turban-tier. He paid each of these a quarter of a *fanam* every night for their services, which were as follows: — the carpenter would bring a small cot, for Kêśava Bhaṭ to sit upon, the oilman would light two torches and supply them with oil sufficient to burn till the tenth *ghaṭikâ* of the night. Kêśava Bhaṭ would take his seat on the cot between the second and the third *ghaṭikâs* of the night with torches burning on either side of him. The cobbler would then approach and cover his feet with a pair of newly-made costly Brâhmaṇi shoes. The turban-tier would bring a costly turban, and tie it on the Bhaṭ's head. Besides these four, Keśava Bhaṭ had engaged four peons, on the promise of the high salary of 10 *pons*[2] each per month, to attend upon him every night between the second and tenth *ghaṭikâs*. Now the Bhaṭ called himself the **Subhâdâr of the Cot**, and instructed his servants to say so to any person who might question them as to who the person holding the council was.

He held his council with his eight servants — four peons and four artizans — till the tenth *ghaṭikâ* of the night. Soon as the *tâs* (gong) announced the tenth *ghaṭikâ*, the turban-tier would take away the turban from the head of the Bhaṭ, the cobbler would take back the shoes from off the Subhâdâr's feet, the oilmonger would put out the lights, and the carpenter would carry away the cot. Kêśava would then stand up in the clothes in which he approached the mansion at the second *ghaṭikâ* of the night, would dismiss his other servants — the four peons, — ordering them to wait again in readiness at the proper time next night, and would return home.

Neither the millionaire nor any one of his servants noticed what was going on, and no one was able to detect the poor priest Kêśava Bhaṭ in his transformed state of the Subhâdâr of the Cot with a costly turban on his head, newly-made Brâhmaṇî shoes on his feet, sitting in council in the palatial quarters of a millionaire. So our hero secured the title of the Subhâdâr of the Cot, and the townsmen began to recognise him as such only during the night, and thus passed away one month.

Poor Kêśava paid every night for his temporary seat, turban, shoes, and light, but his difficulty was to find forty *pons* at the end of the month to pay his most obedient, willing and faithful peons; for, in fact, they had behaved as such, and had the greatest regard for their kind and liberal master. The undaunted Kêśava Bhaṭ, however, told them on the last night of the first month that they would get their pay the next night. But as he was himself living from hand to mouth, and had wasted the one *fanam* that he could have saved every day on his Subhâdârî, he knew of no way to get out of his mess. He returned home, and instead of disappointing his trustworthy peons he resolved to commit suicide and thus end his miseries.

With his mind thus made up, and without telling his wife what he intended to do, he went all alone to the garden of his house in the dead of night and tying a strong rope to the loftiest branch of a tree was on the point of attaching the other end of it to his neck to suspend himself, when a voice was heard checking him from his rash act.

"Desist from your mad resolution. Dig at the root of this tree. You will find seven pots of gold, each containing a lakh of *pons*."

"Who can have uttered these consoling words. It must be the great Paramêśvara. I shall dig, and if I do not find the pots, there is time enough to execute my resolution."

Thus argued the Subhâdâr of the Cot and came down from the tree, and he dug as he had been told, and to his great astonishment he found the pots very near the surface. He took them in, and secured them at once, without informing even his wife of the vast amount of treasure he had obtained.

[2] *Pon* is a small gold coin.

On the first night of the second month, Keśava Bhaṭ paid his peons not only ten *pons* each as their salary, but made them presents of five *pons* each, and addressed two of them as follows :—

"My faithful servants: you know well how liberally I pay you for the short service that I take from you. The more faithful you are to me the greater will be your reward. I am going soon to entrust to you an important task. You must deliver some treasure to **Indumukhî** — the favourite concubine of the emperor of **Vijayanagar.** I shall bring it to-morrow. You must take it and deliver it to her, stating that it is a present from the **Subhâdâr of the Cot,** for one day's expenses. You must be ready to start to-morrow with the consignment. Engage seven carts to carry the treasure, and be ready here to-morrow night. You can go home now at once."

Thus two of the four peons were sent away a little early that night. And at the usual time the council broke up, and our Subhâdâr returned home. He reserved a hundred *pons* from each of the seven pots, and packed the remainder in seven cases, locked and sealed them well; and wrote the following letter that very night :—

"The Subhâdâr of the Cot to Indumukhî — greetings. We have heard of your unparalleled beauty and the high favours lavished upon you by the emperor of Vijayanagar. We can, of course, bear no comparison with the emperor; but, as becoming our own humble position and as ardent admirers of your world-famed beauty, we send you as a present, for one day's expenses of your ladyship, a small contribution, which we hope you will accept. Signed this day the 30th day of the month of Vaisâkha of the year Manmatha, in our mansion the Dhanavilâsa. — **Kaṭṭil Subhâdâr.**"[3]

The letter too was put in a cover and sealed. The next night, the two peons, with money for expenses on the way, started with the treasure and the letter, and reached Vijayanagar after journeying for a month. The contribution for one day's expenses was safely delivered. Indumukhî read the flattering note, counted the treasure, and was dumb with astonishment. Who could be the person who has remitted such an enormous quantity of wealth for her expenses for one day? What must be his own worth? These thoughts passed and repassed her mind, and she was not able to get any clear information from the peons that had accompanied the treasure. But she set down the Subhâdâr of the Cot to be the richest man in the world, and resolved to send him, as a token of her appreciation of his gift, some present in return. She went into her treasury, and after a careful search found a costly throne set with diamonds and other precious gems. She thought that this would be a proper seat for the Subhâdâr of the Cot. So she brought it out, carefully packed it, wrote a letter thanking the Subhâdâr, and intimated to him that she was to be considered henceforth as one of his humble maid-servants, and that she also in her own humble way was sending him a return present. She rewarded the peons that came from the Subhâdâr amply, as befitting their position as servants of the Subhâdâr, and entrusted the throne and the letter to them.

The joy of the peons knew no bounds. In one trip they had almost made their fortune It is only such high persons that they should serve, thought they. In their eagerness to reach home and thank their master, they performed the return journey in twenty days, and safely delivered the present of Indumukhî and her note to the Subhâdâr of the Cot.

He was delighted at the receipt of his own gift by the most beautiful of womankind and of her return present. But what could he, an humble Brâhmaṇ priest, do with a costly throne? His fertile imagination soon suggested a way of disposing of the gift. He had heard of an yet more famous beauty called **Nûrzana,** who was the chief of the concubines of the emperor **of Delhi.**[4] He resolved to send the throne presented by Indumukhî as a gift to the famous concubine of the Delhi emperor. He repacked the precious throne, wrote a letter similar to the one that he had written nearly two months previously to Indumukhî, and sent all the four peons to Delhi with the packet and the note.

[3] Kaṭṭil Subhâdâr = The Subhâdâr of the Cot; kaṭṭil meaning cot.

[4] [Is it possible that the fame of Nûr Jahân has thus descended to the peasantry of Madras!—ED.]

In the course of three months the capital of India was reached, and the note and the present duly delivered. Nûrzana was astounded to receive such a costly throne, which even the emperor of the whole of India had never owned, as "a small gift" from the Subhâdâr of the Cot. She had a strong desire to visit so rich a man in person before making up her mind to return amply and suitably the honour done to her.

So she thanked for the occasion the Subhâdâr of the Cot, and wrote in return that her mind would never rest at ease till she had paid her humble respects in person to him, which she would be able to do in the course of a year or two. She rewarded the four peons, and sent them away with the note. They had now nothing to take care of on the way except the note and the presents they themselves had received, which no doubt were very large. They returned as quickly as possible and delivered the note. Of course, our hero was extremely pleased, and was, to a certain extent, easy in his mind, for as he had had no return presents from Nûrzana, he need be at no pains to devise means for their disposal. But there was still something to vex him. Nûrzana had promised to visit him in the course of a year or two! What should he do? But why trouble oneself for an affair which was to happen after a year or two, or which, perhaps might never happen? So the Subhâḍâr forgot the anxieties of the future, and went on holding his council. Thus for a year almost this business went on. The pomp and sudden wealth of the four peons became a subject of talk everywhere. The Subhâdâr of the Cot and his council in the mansion of Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa Śeṭṭi attained the greatest publicity. The millionaire heard of its existence, and on a certain night he visited his back premises and discovered the sham council. He became highly enraged, and ordered his servants to seize the Subhâdâr. At the appearance of these men, the faithful servants of the Subhâdâr fled for their lives; he became a prisoner of the millionaire.

Alone with the Subhâdâr, the millionaire enquired into the cause of his impertinence, and the Subhâdâr explained to him that he had had a fancy to do as he had done, and had been successful for almost a year. He was careful not to mention a word about his notes, presents, etc., to Indumukhî and Nûrzana.

Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa Śeṭṭi pitied the poor Brâhmaṇ, and as he had committed no offence of any kind, laughed at his thirst for so empty a title as Subhâdâr of the Cot, and as a punishment for his pride engaged him as his head cook!

Poor Kêśava Bhaṭ! Whither had his Subhâdârî gone? What had became of his faithful servants? Why did not the great Paramêśvara aid him now? The solution to these questions was not at all difficult. His star had been in the ascendant and so he had enjoyed all those privileges. But now his *karma* (fate) had made him head cook of the millionaire's house. From the very next day he rose early in the morning, bathed, performed his ablutions, attended to the kitchen arrangements of Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa Śeṭṭi's house, had his food first, according to the prevailing custom as he was a Brâhmaṇ, and then went home to return to resume his evening duties in the kitchen. He was naturally a clever person, and so soon secured influence with the millionaire and his establishment. His faithful peons, though they were not able to assist him on the night on which he had been taken prisoner by the millionaire, soon discovered him, and remembering that they owed their own fortunes to their service once under him, soon joined him. And our hero, too, though now reduced, soon found his way to employ them in the establishment of Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa Śeṭṭi.

Thus a month passed, and by this time our hero became all in all to his master. His proficiency as a cook was of the best, and he was not wanting in other respects. The advice that he now and then gave when his master consulted him in any important matter was of the best kind. He was clever, obedient, willing and an honest servant, and the millionaire was pleased with him in every way.

Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa had no children. To the attainment of this object, he was preparing for a pilgrimage to Banâras: advised to do so by our hero. He started soon with an

establishment befitting his position as a millionaire. After a month's journey, and after visiting several sacred shrines on the way and bathing in all the sacred rivers he had to cross, the millionaire and his party reached the banks of the **Tuṅgabhadrâ**. The great city of **Vijayanagar** was not to be missed on the way. Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa sojourned in it and wished to pass a few days there. One evening, while driving about the streets of the town, he saw a very fine mansion and an incarnation of beauty, as it were, slowly moving on the topmost story of it. Whose mansion was it, and who was the beauty that he saw? These were easily answered. It was the palatial residence of **Indumukhî**, and the object that met his eyes was none other than that famous lady herself. To some extent he was consoled to hear that she was after all only a concubine and not a lady of family. It cannot be denied that he was smitten by her charms, and longed for her company. It was not after all difficult, as she was only a courtezan; but how to meet her? She was so zealously guarded that any attempt to send a note to her would be only falling into the hands of death. So, Navakôṭi returned home thinking that he must pine hopelessly, never attaining the object of his desire. Alas! the wickedness of rich men! How vile they are sometimes! Blinded by wealth and considering nothing unattainable if they can pay in money for it, they are led away into the worst of sins and into the vilest of ideas! Navakôṭi thought that he would be quite willing to sacrifice his nine crores of wealth, if he had in return the company of Indumukhî for one moment at least. No doubt it was the confidence of the possession of such wealth that made him think so. But how to secure that happiness? Whom to consult, and how to act? The millionaire was perfectly at sea as to these points, and was worrying himself. "And where care lodges sleep will never lie." Thus passed two or three days. He had not consulted his cook, for the matter was rather a very delicate one, and the cook had never been resorted to by his master on any previous occasions on such subjects. But the whilom Subhâdâr of the Cot, with his natural shrewdness, perceived the change, and questioned his master about the cause of it. After a good deal of hesitation Navakôṭi told him all about it, and said that if he only assisted him towards the attainment of his object, he would give him his whole wealth, receiving back only so much as was necessary for his maintenance every month.

"Do you stick to your words?" asked the cook.

"Undoubtedly," answered the millionaire.

"Then, I shall not be unkind. It is enough if you give me one-half of your wealth and restore me to my Subhâdârî in your back premises. I shall at a moment's notice make Indumukhî wait at your doors."

Navakôṭi was not at all able to believe him. He thought it was all a joke. But the cook at once told him to give him all his dress and ornaments, and directed him to retire like a common servant to one of the chambers adjoining the bedroom. Kêśava Bhaṭ at once robed himself as Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa with all the costly clothes and jewels, and summoned the four peons who had served him when he was the Subhâdâr of the Cot. He robed them also in costly attire, and stationed them near his cot. The two he had sent during his Subhâdârî to Vijayanagar he called close to him. He gave them a letter to take to Indumukhî. Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa, who, as a common servant, was in the next room, was watching all his acts, and did not understand the proceedings. But blinded by love he put up with his position as a servant in his own house. In a minute the lady Indumukhî herself appeared and stood before the cook, who, of course, never directed his eyes to her, but seemed to regard her as a mere worm.

"My lord, I learnt from your note that you are a sojourner in this city; having once amply tasted of your lordship's liberality, I have now come to wait upon your lordship's orders," said she, and stood with the humility of a slave before the monarch of an Eastern court.

Navakôṭi could not believe his eyes and ears: but before he could think, the following words fell upon his ears:—" If you are true to your salt, I order you to retire at once to the adjacent room and give your company to our servant waiting for you there, as a token of your fidelity to us. Of course, you must have already concluded that we are much above your humble company."

The sentence was not yet finished before Indumukhî retired like a slave obeying commands to the room pointed out, and Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa in the amazement that seized him did not even perceive her approach. The night soon passed away, and the day dawned. Before the servants could know anything of the previous night's affairs, Kêśava Bhaṭ was in the kitchen, and Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa in his own place in his temporary residence. It is not necessary to state here that Indumukhî, too, was safely back in her own mansion.

Who was now the millionaire? The Subhâdâr of the Cot! But of his grace he allowed freely, out of respect for the millionaire, half of his property to him. In a few days the pilgrimage was resumed. Banâras was reached. To the credit of our hero he requested the millionaire not to consider that there was any change in the positions of the master and servant till they returned to Tanjore. So Kêśava Bhaṭ was all the while still only master of Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa 'Seṭṭi's kitchen. After staying for a month in the city of Banâras, the party commenced the return journey. Ever since that wonderful night at Vijayanagar, when a word of command from the Brâhmaṇ to Indumukhî was enough to make her run like a slave to the closet of Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa, the millionaire had the greatest respect towards him. He considered him to be a naturally great person. On several occasions he asked our hero as to the cause of his powers, but with no success. The more he thought of that night the more he admired Kêśava Bhaṭ. That a woman of the position of Indumukhî should have obeyed at one word his head cook never ceased to astonish him. What was after all his own wealth? He had only been able through his cook to secure the services of the woman. He never felt the loss of half of his property, for he had no children to whom to leave any property.

So, soon after reaching Tanjore, Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa 'Seṭṭi with pleasure parted with half of his property to our hero. The big mansion of the millionaire was also divided into two, and the eastern half, in front of which the Brâhmaṇ had once held his council on the cot, came to his share. There was none to question his right now to hold his councils in his own house! Kêśava Bhaṭ, too, changed his humble manners, and became in every sense the Subhâdâr of the Cot, and regularly held his councils, with only this difference, that he no more paid quarter *fanams* for his temporary seat, shoes, etc., but had these as his own. He was now a rich millionaire himself, with his title of the Subhâdâr of the Cot firmly established. Thus passed a few months.

One day, while sitting in front of his house, Kaṭṭil Subhâdâr saw a person approaching him most humbly, and lay down a letter. He opened and read it. It was a letter from Nûrzana, and to his utter bewilderment she had written to say that she would be in Tanjore on the morning of the third day afterwards to pay her respects in person to the great Subhâdâr of the Cot. It was happy news, that a lady of the position of Nûrzana should travel all along the way from Delhi to Tanjore reflected great credit on the name of the Subhâdâr. He was not now a mere empty man with an empty title. He was a millionaire, and had a house and establishment requisite to do honour to the grand visitor. But Kêśava Bhaṭ had concluded that she had such an idea of his wealth and power that she had taken him to be equal, if not superior, to the emperor in riches, whereas he was after all only an ordinary millionaire. So imagining that he would not be able to do her proper respect, and trying, if possible, to drive her away without her seeing him, he devised various plans within himself. In the end he found that they would be of no avail. The best solution out of any difficulty was suicide, and agreeably to his nature he went to his favourite tree. The ever-merciful god again appeared in the form of a voice in space and demanded an explanation for his bold resolve.

"I want to send Nûrzana away without her approaching Tanjore," was the explanation.

"Have you any scheme for doing so?" asked the voice out of space.

"Yes," replied our hero undauntedly, "but I cannot execute it unless I have divine assistance."

"What is the sort of assistance that you want?" demanded the great god.

"I want the assistance of Rambhâ, Ûrvaśî, Tilottamâ, and other divine nymphs for a couple of *ghaṭikâs* on the morning of the day after to-morrow. They must be collecting cow-dung on the skirts of the Trichinopoly road. Nûrzana will be approaching Tanjore early that morning. She will observe them and question them as to who they are. The nymphs must state that they are the sweepers of the house of the Subhâdâr of the Cot. This is all that I want. After a stay of a couple of *ghaṭikâs* in this world the nymphs can return to heaven," said our hero.

"Agreed," said the great god, and the voice died away, and the Subhâdâr, too, extremely delighted that everything was working well, returned to his palatial residence and spent a happy night.

The appointed day came on. Early in the morning, even half a *ghaṭikâ* before the rising of the lord of the day, one hundred nymphs of the divine world were seen on the skirts of the Trichinopoly road, near the town of Tanjore, collecting cow-dung in baskets made of gold. The retinue of Nûrzana was marching first, and after them came the palanquin bearing Nûrzana. Every one in the company was struck at the unparalleled beauty of the maidens, and there was a dead stop in the march. The palanquin also stopped. Nûrzana lowered the shutters, and wanted to know the cause of the sudden halt. Before asking any one about it, she herself saw about fifty beauties gathering cow-dung in golden baskets.

"Am I moving in fairy land?" thought she. To ascertain the truth she beckoned to one of them. At once several came running up. Nûrzana asked them who they were.

"Your supreme ladyship! We are the sweepers of the house of the Subhâdâr of the Cot, and we collect cow-dung, as is our custom, to smear our lord's house with in the morning," replied they, and even without waiting for any answer, they went about their duty. Nûrzana was in utter confusion from top to toe.

She first of all ordered her men not to advance one more step from that spot without orders. She gazed upon the beauties, who were only after all the sweepers of the house of the Subhâdâr. They appeared more like so many streaks of lightning than human shapes.

Said Nûrzana to herself:—"If, after all, the sweepers of the house of the Subhâdâr of the Cot appear to be as fair as the divine nymphs themselves, what must be the beauty of the ladies of the palace of the Subhâdâr?" "Turn the palanquin towards Trichinopoly," ordered she, and retreated at once.

The object of our hero was accomplished. There was no more trouble for him. He lived in happiness for a long time with his well-earned reputation and wealth acquired from Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa.

MISCELLANEA.

BUDDHIST MUDRAS.[1]

THE mudrâs or symbolic positions of the hands, are not peculiar to Buddhists. The Hindus recognise a large number and a paper, with illustrations, explanatory of the meanings of these would be interesting. In 1879 when I wrote the Appendix on the Bauddha Mythology of Nepal added to *Notes on the Rock-Temples of Ajanta*, I called the attention of the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji to the subject; but he had not taken much note of the matter, and could only name the better known

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XXV. p. 145.

mudrâs of the chief Buddhas. In Waddell's *Lamaism*, pp. 136 and 137, is a list of nine of them. The best known are :—

1. The *Bhûmisparśa* (*bhûmispriś*) or *Dharmasparśa mudrâ* — the 'earth-pointing' or 'witness' attitude of Śâkya Buddha and Akshobhya — Waddell's No. 1.

2. The *Dharmachakra mudrâ* or 'teaching' attitude of Vairochana Buddha — Waddell's No. 4. (*Cf.* Oldfield's *Sketches from Nipal*, Vol. II. p. 167.)

3. The *Abhaya mudrâ* or of 'blessing,' — the left hand open in the lap, the right is raised in front of the chest with the fingers and thumb half extended and with the palm facing forwards, as in Amoghasiddha. Oldfield (*Sketches from Nipal*, Vol. II p. 169) calls this the "Awah mudra"— Waddell's No. 7.

4. The *Jñâna mudrâ*, or *Padmâsana mudrâ*, the posture of mental contemplation, as in that of Amitâbha Buddha. Waddell calls this *Samâhitan* — No. 2.

5. The *Vara*, *Varada* or *Vardha mudrâ*, the right hand hanging down over the knee, the palm of the hand turned outwards, symbolizing charity; — Phyag-gyas-sbyin, "the right hand of charity." It is the *mudrâ* of Ratnasambhava.— Waddell's No. 5.

6. The *Lalita mudrâ*, of enchanting or bewitching, — perhaps what Waddell calls 'the pointing finger'; — No. 9.

7. The *Tarka mudrâ*, the right hand raised to the chest and slightly constricted (my *Notes*, *ut. sup.* p. 101, and fig. 16) is perhaps the same as Waddell's 'preaching' pose — No. 8.

8. The *Śaraṇa mudrâ*, of refuge or protection (Jaesche's *Tib. Dict.* p. 26, *s. v. skyabs*),— Waddell's No. 6.

9. The *Uttara-bodhi mudrâ* (*Cf.* Jaesche, p. 374, *s. v. byaṅ-chhûb*) or pose of 'highest perfection,'— ascribed to Vairochana Buddha, — and is apt to be confounded with the *Dharmachakra mudrâ*.

10. The attitude Raṅgi-snying-gar-thal-mosbyarba — 'uniting the palms of the hands on one's heart,' is the following: — the two hands uplifted, a finger of the right hand touching one or two fingers of the left hand, like a man accustomed to use his fingers to explain his meaning. This attitude typifies 'the unity of wisdom with matter,' in Tibetan *Thabs-sches* or *Thabs-daṅ-shes-rab*, or the assuming of the material forms by the Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas for the purpose of spreading the right understanding among animated beings. — Schlagentweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*, pp. 208, 245.

In the plates of Hoffmann's *Nippon Buddha Pantheon* will also be found some information that may be useful.

J. BURGESS.

Edinburgh, Nov. 24th, 1896.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLK-LORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

I.

IN the country of Kandahâr,[1] a certain king, Mahâvîra by name, at a great expense, caused a tank to be dug, two palm-trees deep and a *yôjana* wide, and constructed a bank around it. But all the water in it dried up, notwithstanding a heavy rainfall. The king, seeing that no water remained in the tank he had constructed at so great an expense, was sitting on the bank with a grieved heart, when one Eruṇḍa Muni passed that way. The king immediately rose, went and prostrated himself before the sage, seated him, and began to converse with him; when the sage, looking at the sorrowful countenance of the king, asked him the reason for it. To which the king replied :—

"Sir, I had this tank dug at an enormous expense, but not a drop of water remains in it, and this is why I am feeling grieved."

The sage replied :—"Why weep for this? If you mix boiled rice with the blood of a courageous and liberal king, or with the blood from the throat of a revered *yôgî* endowed with all virtuous qualities, and offer it to Durgâ, whose temple is very near the tank, I dare to say that the water will never dry, and that the tank will be as full as the ocean."

The king heard these words and thought of the difficulty of getting a king answering the description. Then he thought that the sage himself answered the purpose excellently well, being endowed with all the necessary qualities. So he drew his sword, cut the sage's throat, mingled his blood with boiled rice and made the necessary offering to Durgâ. From that day forwards, the rain stopped in the tank and it was full to the brim.

Those, therefore, that tender advice to kings must do so in season, for otherwise they will assuredly come to grief.

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[1] [This name in folk-tales, I think, represents always some part of Râjputânâ. — ED.]

II.

While King Nandana was wielding sway over **Malabar**, a wrestler approached him and said that he had toiled hard and learnt the art of fencing and other similar arts, could fight with wild animals, and could even walk with a huge mountain on his head. But he had found no one, except the king, who could give him the wages due to his powers. He had come therefore to the king's presence to represent his grievances and earn a proper livelihood. The king heard him and thought that such a warrior would be serviceable to him, and engaged his services at a hundred pagodas a month.

There was a huge mountain near the city infested with wild beasts which were causing great havoc among the people. The king therefore sent for the wrestler and said:— "You declared, you know, that you could carry a mountain on your shoulders. A mountain there is in the neighbourhood, which is the cause of much suffering to the people. Take it away to a distant spot and return hither."

The wrestler assented to the proposal, and on the next day at dawn, the king took him with his ministers, priest, and a retinue of soldiers to the vicinity of the mountain. The wrestler girded up his waistband, tied his turban and stood ready. The king saw him and asked him why he hesitated, and called upon him to take the mountain on his head and go.

The wrestler replied:—"Sir, I humbly gave you to understand that I could carry the mountain on my head, but I did not say that I could lift it up. Kindly command your soldiers therefore to tear the mountain up and keep it on my head, and I will then carry it to whatever place you may command me."

III.

In the village of **Pennagatai, on the road from Conjeveram to Wandiwash,** there lived an old woman who had a chafing dish and a cock. Day after day at early morn, when the first streaks of light were visible, the cock would crow. All the villagers would then rise, procure fire at her house and go their ways. This state of affairs had run on for a long time, till the old dame took into her head that the day dawned because her cock crew. She observed that all the villagers cooked and ate after getting fire from her house, and she wanted to see how the day could dawn if she quitted the village, and how the villagers would manage to eat. So she went, unknown to anybody in the village, to a wood afar off with her cock and her chafing dish and sat down there. The next morrow, all the villagers arose, came as usual to the old woman's house, but not finding her there, thought she must have gone somewhere on some errand, fetched fire from some other quarter and performed each his respective duty. In the meantime the old woman fasted in the wood until dusk, when a villager passed by to some other place on a particular errand. She called to him and said:—"I was not in the village this morning, has it dawned there? Have the people procured fire? Have they all eaten?"

He laughed and said:—"Do you think that the whole world depends entirely on your cock and your dish? Why do you sit fasting here? Get up and go home."

She heard him and was abashed, and throwing off the foolish vanity which had made her think that all the world existed through her, she lived happily.

IV.

In a certain village there lived a merchant who had a deaf friend. The latter, learning that the former was ill, went to enquire after him, and while going along the road, determined to hold the following conversation with his sick friend: "After the usual greeting, I will first ask, 'well, Sir, how do you feel yourself to-day?' He will reply, 'better,' and I shall rejoin, 'very good.' I will then make enquiries about his diet, and he will reply 'rice without salt,' and I shall rejoin, 'may it do you much service.' I shall then put the question, 'pray, who is your doctor?' He will, of course, tell me that such and such a person is his doctor, and I may safely add, 'may God assist him in the fulfilment of his work.'"

At length, having come to a resolve, he reached the house, and after the usual greetings, seated himself near the patient and said:—"My friend, how are you?"

To which the patient replied:—"I am very much troubled with a virulent attack of fever?"

The deaf man, not understanding what he said, thought that he was answering according to the plan he had settled beforehand, and responded:—"Very good: I hope God will keep you so!"

The patient, who was already peevish with the disease, was made more so by this speech of his deaf companion. The latter next asked what his diet was, and was told that it was the dust of the earth!

"May it do you much good," said he; "and pray, my good friend, which doctor attends you?"

"The sick merchant, boiling with wrath, cried:— "Doctor? Death himself."

"Very well, may God speed his medicines!" said the deaf companion, and returned home.

V.

Sultân Maḥmûd[1] used to wage war on foreign countries and to oppress his people at home. His whole dominions lay consequently desolate. Upon this his minister thought that it was imperative to contrive some stratagem by which the king would turn out a good ruler. Accordingly, whenever he spoke to the king he used to relate how he had once been a pupil of a certain *sannyâsin* and had learnt the language of birds.

One day, as the king and the minister were returning from the hunt, two owls were sitting screaming upon a tree by the road-side. The king, hearing the noises, called upon his minister to tell him what the birds were conversing upon. The premier listened for a short time, as though he really understood the conversation, and then told the king that they were not words fit for him to hear. The king, however, insisted upon hearing the words.

The vizier, therefore, represented the conversation to be as follows:—"One of the owls has a son and the other a daughter, and the two parent birds are negotiating a marriage between their children. The former parent said to the latter:— 'Then, you will give your daughter to my son, but will you give him fifty ruined villages?' To which the latter parent replied:— 'While our Sultân Maḥmûd by the grace of the Almighty rules so happily, can there be a dearth of ruined villages? You only asked me for a paltry fifty, I will give you five hundred.'"

When the Sultan heard this, he was very much grieved at heart. So he at once ordered the rebuilding of all the ruined villages in the realm, and made his subjects happy and prosperous.

VI.

In the **Dandaka** forest was a lion which was in the habit of attacking and consuming all the beasts thereof. To rid themselves from the constant fear in which they were kept on his approach, all the other animals proposed to supply the lion with an animal a day if it would not attack them any longer. This promise was agreed to, and kept up for some time. Sometime after, it fell to the lot of a fox to be sent to the lion, who, by no means relishing the idea of being devoured, walked slowly along, thinking all the while of some plan by which to put an end to the lion and save his own life. The lion, not finding the animal at the proper moment, was very much enraged, and insisted upon an explanation of the delay. The fox rejoined:—"Sir, another fox was sent under my charge by all the animals of the forest as an offering for you, but on the road I met another lion, who took away your meal, and told me to tell you of it."

The lion ordered the fox to take him instantly to the place of his enemy. The cunning fox took the lion to the side of a well, and, saying that the other lion was in it, begged the lion to take him in his arms that he might also have a peep into the well. When the lion saw the reflection of himself in the waters with the fox in his arms, he instantly came to the conclusion that he was looking on his enemy; and having let the fox drop, made a furious leap into the well and immediately perished.

VII.

There was a harlot in the city of **Kalyânapura**, who was in the habit of fleecing a hundred pagodas from whomsoever might appear to her in her dreams. It came to pass that on a certain night a Brâhman appeared to her in a dream. She described him to her servants, and told them to fetch him and extort the money from him. They seized the Brâhmaṇ as he was going along the road, and told him of the affair, and demanded the money. The Brâhmaṇ was very much troubled, and pleaded poverty, but they would not let him go under any circumstances. He accordingly represented his grievances to the king who sent for the woman and demanded an explanation of her procedure.

She replied that she demanded the money as the Brâhmaṇ appeared to her in her dream. The king said that he would pay her the amount if she should wait a little. He accordingly caused a post to be fixed in the street and the sum tied to the hem of a garment and suspended from the top of the pole. He then placed a mirror underneath, and sent for the woman, and told her what he had done and called upon her to put her hand into the mirror and receive the money. She informed him of the impossibility of taking the money by putting her hand into the mirror, and

[1] [There have been so many Maḥmûd Shâhs in the Dakhan that it is difficult to say which of them is meant in this story. The probability is it refers to the very notable doings of the Tughlaḳs, of whom Sulṭân Maḥmûd Tughlaḳ was the last (1394-1413 A.D.). — ED.]

requested the king to order somebody to climb up the post and bring the money down. But the king replied:—"As the Brâhmaṇ appeared to you only in a dream, you may take the money that appears in a mirror; I cannot order anybody to hand you over the bundle."

On hearing this, the harlot felt quite abashed, bent down her head and went away. It is therefore necessary that those who settle disputes should be conversant with tricks.

VIII.

There was a weaver in the **Karnâṭak, Haimantaka** by name, who wove both coarse cloth and fine linen. But as his profits in the calling were very meagre, he was not able to keep life and soul together. Adjacent to his abode was another of the same profession, **Dhîmanta,** who lived happily on the large income he derived by weaving coarse rough fabric. Once upon a time Haimantaka approached his wife and represented his grievances to her, told her how, despite his intelligence in his art, he was not able to eke out a livelihood, and how much better placed his brother-weaver was, though weaving only a coarse stuff.

"My talents are unknown to any one in the place," said he, and determined to quit his home for another place with the object of amassing as much wealth as possible.

His wife rejoined:—"Of what avail is your going to a distant quarter? You will get only as much as it has fallen to your lot to earn."

Despite her remonstrances, he quit his abode, went and settled for a time in a far-off country, wove such cloths as were in consonance with the requirements of the place, made considerable money by the transaction, and wended his way home. On the way he stayed at an inn, and securing his treasure in a corner went to rest for the night. While he was enjoying 'the honey-heavy dew' of slumber, thieves rushed into the inn and purloined every item of property, so that when he rose up the next morning he found to his utter disappointment and distress that he had nothing left. He thus learned, very dearly indeed, the truth of his wife's statements, from the school of experience. And, feeling very despondent, lived upon such small gains as he could make at home. The moral of this is: unlucky anywhere, unlucky everywhere!

IX.

The King of **Kalinga** had a washerman who used to wash his clothes exceedingly well and bring and give them to him daily. One day, the king was exceedingly pleased with the scrupulously clean manner in which the clothes were brought to him and promised the washerman to grant any one prayer he might make. The washerman looked at the king and said that he was most anxious to become the king's minister, and requested the king to bestow the post on him. The king did so, dispensing with the services of his old minister, who had served him for a very long time.

It came to pass that, not long afterwards, a certain other king having heard of the weakness of the washerman-minister, raised a huge army and gave battle. His master having heard of what had come to pass, called upon the new minister to muster his forces, to which he replied that as he had already made the necessary preparations, there was no cause to fear the enemy. The king fully believed in this statement, but was sorely disappointed, for not long afterwards the city was bombarded by the hostile armies. The king sent at once to the minister, told him of what had happened, and enquired of him as to the arrangements he had made.

The minister responded:—"There is nothing to fear in what has come to pass. But I find that the task of ruling a kingdom is a big affair, and while I was thinking of how best to rid ourselves of this difficulty, the enemy chanced to enter and blockade the city. Let them, therefore, undergo the perils of governing the kingdom. As for me, I used to wash the clothes of about a hundred families in this city, but since my elevation to the ministership I have had to give up my calling. I will now, therefore, resume it, and give you one-half the work and reserve the other half for myself; the calling being no trouble to me. On these considerations I have made no preparations for war."

The king was very much grieved when he heard this, but thought the result to be the natural punishment of linking himself to a fool.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

KAVIRAJ, AS A MUSALMAN TITLE.

THERE are two or three Musalmân life-convicts at Port Blair, hailing from Bengal, who bear the designation of Kavirâj, and who appear to have been petty druggists and quacks previous to their conviction. This is a clear instance of the preservation by the descendants of converts to Islâm of their old Hindu family designation.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THREE DATES OF THE HARSHA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

A. — An inscription of [Harsha-]Saṁvat 184, from the Pañjâb.

SOME five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me an impression, which he had received in 1887 from the late Prof. J. Darmesteter, of an inscription which is somewhere in the **Pañjâb**. This inscription contains four lines of well-preserved writing which covers a space of about 11″ broad by 6″ high. The average **size of the letters** is between 1⅛″ and 1¼″. The **characters** are closely related to those of the Śâradâ alphabet, as is shown by the forms of the letters *t*, *dh*, *v*, *ś*, *s*, *h*, the medial *â*, and the superscript *ô*; but for *n* the peculiar form of that letter is used which we have, *e.g.*, in the Kâmâ or Kâmavana (in Bharatpur) fragmentary pillar inscription of the Śûrasêna family (*ante*, Vol X. p. 34, Plate), and in the Bengal As. Soc.'s plate of the *Mahârâja* Vinâyakapâla of [Harsha-] Saṁvat 188 (*e.g.* in the word *śâsanasya*, l. 16, *ibid*, Vol. XV. p. 141, Plate). They include **numeral figures** for 1, 4, and 8, in line 1, and for 1 and 5, in line 2. Of these, the figure for 4 is the numerical symbol, resembling the *akshara ṅka*, which we find (employed like an ordinary numeral figure) *e.g.* in line 30 of the Chambâ plate of Sômavarmadêva and Âsaṭadêva[1] (*ibid.* Vol. XVII. p. 13); and the figures for 1, 5, and 8, are almost identical with the figures for the same numerals in the Bakhshâlî manuscript[2] (*e.g.*, *ibid.* p. 47, Plate i.,[3] lines 8 and 9). The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit; and the whole is in prose. In respect of **orthography**, it may be noted that *g* is doubled before *r* in the word *Viggraha*, in line 3.

After the words *ôṁ svasti ôṁ* ||, the inscription has **the date** *samvat* 184 *Śrâvaṇa-vati* 15 *atra dinê*, 'in the year 184, on the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Śrâvaṇa, on this day.' This date does not admit of verification, but there can be no doubt that it must be referred to the **Harsha era**, and that, therefore, it approximately falls in A. D. 789-90, a time which well accords with the palæography of the inscription. As regards the wording of the date, attention may be drawn to the employment, instead of the ordinary *vadi*, of the term *vati*, with which we may compare its counterpart *śuti*, for *śudi*, in the dates of the Delhi Siwâlik Pillar inscriptions of Vîsaladêva (*ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 218). In editing those inscriptions, I have stated that *śuti* and *vati* are commonly used in Kaśmîr, and that, therefore, it is not at all strange that we should and instances of the usage of them also in the northern parts of India proper. After the date, the inscription apparently refers itself to the reign of a certain **Vigraha**, and it then records the foundation of a well or tank by Dhôn[dh]a, the son of Aghôraśiva. It ends with the word *likhitaṁ*, but the name of the writer is either broken away or was not accessible in the original, when the impression was taken.

Text.[4]

1 Ôṁ[5] s[v]asti ôṁ || **Samvat**[6] **184**
2 **Srâvaṇa-vati 15** atra di-
3 nê mahâ-śrî-**Viggraha**-râ[jyê ?][7] = ghôraśi-
4 va-putra-Dhôn[dh]êna vâpî pratishṭhitâ[8][||*]Likhi[ta]ṁ[9]

. . . .

1 The same sign is used (in '847'), like an ordinary numeral figure, in line 20 of the Kôtâ inscription of the *Sâmanta* Dêvadatta (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 46); and similar numeral figures for 4 we have in the Bakhshâlî MS.
2 The same figure for 1 is also used in the Chambâ plate of Sômavarmadêva and Âsaṭadêva.
3 The figure for 8 in the plate differs very considerably from the figure given, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 36.
4 From Prof. J. Darmesteter's impression.
5 The word *ôṁ* is both times denoted by a symbol.
6 Read *saṁvat*.
7 I am doubtful about the *akshara* in brackets; the original, possibly, may have *jâ* or *jyâ*.
8 Originally *pratishṭhitaṁ* was engraved; *pratishṭhitâ* is used for *pratishṭhâpitâ* (in the sense of *kâritâ*).
9 The name of the writer is not given in the impression.

B.—Khajurâhô image inscription of [Harsha-]Samvat 218.

In *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. X., Plate ix. 1, Sir A. Cunningham has published a photozincograph of an inscription which is on the pedestal of a statue of the monkey-god Hanumat at Khajurâhô, in the Chhatarpur State, Bundelkhand; and *ibid.* p. 21, he has given his transcript of the text of it, in which the date which the inscription contains is given as '*samvatsrê* 940 *Mágha-sudi* 9.'[10] My account of this short inscription is based on Sir A. Cunningham's own rubbings, which some years ago were handed over to me by Dr. Fleet.

The inscription contains three lines of well-preserved writing which covers a space of 1′ 11″ broad by 5″ high. The size of the letters is between 1¼″ and 1½″. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and would, in the absence of any date, undoubtedly be assigned to about the 9th century A. D. In the word *Harim* at the end of line 3, and probably also in *-âtmajam* in line 2, they include a form of the final *m*, consisting of a half-form of *m* with the sign of *virâma* below it.[11] And they also contain numerical symbols for 200, 10, and 8, in the date in line 2, which I read *samvatsrô* 200 10 8 *Mâgha-śudi* 10. The symbols which are employed in this date are fairly accurately represented in Sir A. Cunningham's photozincograph. The symbol for 200 is like the *akshara srâ,* except that the left top stroke of the letter *s* is drawn out into a hook which is turned towards the left. Undoubtedly, the symbol for 100, known to the writer, was essentially like the symbol for 100 which we have *e. g.* in line 1 of the Mathurâ image inscription of the [Gupta] year 135 (*Gupta Inscr.* Plate xxxix, A),[12] and the symbol for 200, used by him, is developed out of the symbol for 200 in line 2 of the Mathurâ image inscription of the [Gupta] year 230 (*ibid.* Plate xl, D). The symbol for 10, which resembles the *akshara lṛi,* is like the symbol for the same number in line 14 of the Dighwâ-Dubaulî plate of the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla (*ante,* Vol. XV. p. 113, Plate), with this difference only that a small circle is attached to the top of the symbol on the right side. And the third symbol is a more developed form of the symbol for 8 in line 1 of the Bijayagaḍh pillar inscription of Vishṇuvardhana of the [Vikrama] year 428 (*Gupta Inscr.* Plate xxxvi, C), and is essentially like the later sign which looks like the *akshara hrâ.* The word *samvatsrô* (for *samvatsaraḥ*) of the date we also have, only spelt *samvatsrô,* in the date of [Harsha-]Samvat 188 of the Bengal As. Soc.'s plate of the *Mahârâja* Vinâyakapâla (*ante,* Vol. XV. p. 141, l. 17), while the date of [Harsha-]Samvat 155 of the Dighwâ-Dubaulî plate of the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla, instead of it, has *samvatsrâ* (*ibid.* p. 113, l. 14). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, writing by an uncultivated person.

The inscription divides itself into two parts; the first, proper right half of the three lines (marked A in the text) is in prose; the second, proper left half (marked B in the text) is a verse in the Anushṭubh metre. The part A, in line 1, records [that the statue under which the inscription is engraved is the work or gift] of Gôllâ, the son of Śâhîla (or Śahila, as the word is spelt in B); in line 2 it has the date, given above; and in line 3 it adds that Gôllâka, *i.e.,* Gôllâ, bows down to the holy Hanumat. And B repeats, in verse, that Gollâka, the son of Śahila, piously made (or gave) the [statue of] Hanumat, the son of the Wind.

The only thing of interest in the inscription is the date, partly because this date also, in my opinion, must be referred to the Harsha era, and partly because, if my views regarding the era which is employed here be accepted, this for the present is the latest certain date from an inscription in India proper, in which numerical symbols are made use of. Concerning the first point, I need only state that for Harsha-Samvat 218 the date would correspond to

[10] See also *ibid.* p. 20: 'The date is in the beginning of the second line, which I read as "*Samvatsra* hundreds nine (and) forty," the figures being those of the old notation with the 9 placed immediately on the right of the symbol for hundreds.'

[11] A similar (not quite the same) form of final *m* is used in the Kôṭâ inscription of the *Sâmanta* Dêvadatta, *ante,* Vol. XIV. p. 45.

[12] Compare also the symbol for 100, in the symbol for 400, *Gupta Inscr.,* Plate xxxvi, C, line 1.

Friday, the 15th January A. D. 824,[13] which is just about the time to which the inscription would be assigned on palæographical grounds, and that we know of no other era of which the year 218 would fall in the 9th century A. D.[14] And as regards the second point, the latest Indian[15] date with numerical symbols, from an inscription dated according to one of the well-known eras, hitherto was that of the Bengal As. Soc.'s plate of Vinâyakapâla of [Harsha-] Saṁvat 188 = A. D. 793-94. It is a curious, but rather significant fact, that that date of Vinâyakapâla's plate is the only other known date which, like the date of the present inscription, contains the word *saṁvatsrô*.

Text.[16]

A.—1 Ôṁ [‖*] Gôllâ[17] Śâhila-pû(pu)trasya |
2 Saṁvatsrô[18] 200 10 8 Mâgha-śudi[19] 10 [|]
3 Srî-Hanumantaṁ Gollâkaḥ praṇamati [‖*]

B.—1 Śahilasya[20] sutaḥ śrîmân=Hanumân[21]=Pa-
2 van-âtmaja [m] |[22] [a] karôd=dharmmam=â-
3 lôkya Gôllâkô[23] prâkṛitaṁ Harim [‖*]

C. — Pañjaur inscription of [Harsha-]Saṁvat 563.

In *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. XIV., Plate xxii. 3, Sir A. Cunningham has published a photozincograph of an inscription in four lines, which he discovered at Pañjaur (Panjor, Pañchapura), an old town about 70 miles north of Thaneswar, and 80 miles north by east of Peheva Pehoa),[24] in the Pañjâb; and *ibid.* p. 72 he has given, without any comment, a transcript of the text, in which the date of the inscription is read as '*samvat* 56 . . *Jeth Sudi* 9 *wâr Sukre.*' Although I possess an excellent impression of this inscription, kindly given to me by Dr. Flee t I am not prepared, owing to the damaged state of the second and third lines, to publish the full text, which, indeed, with the exception of the date, does not seem to me to be of any importance. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskṛit, greatly influenced by the Prâkṛit of the writer. The **characters** look like a mixture of the ordinary Nâgarî and the Śâradâ characters ; they in some respects resemble those of the Chambâ plate of Sômavarmadêva and Âsaṭadêva, and still

13 The same 10th *tithi* of the bright half of the same month Mâgha of the [Harsha] year 155 of the date of the Dighwâ-Dubaulî plate of Mahêndrapâla, which admits of verification, corresponds to the 20th January A. D. 761.

14 The only later date, hitherto published, of an inscription in which the Harsha era is employed, is that of the Pehevâ (Pehoa) inscription of the reign of Bhôjadêva of Kanauj, of the year 276 (given in words and numeral figures) ; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 186. I take this opportunity of stating that the *Piśâchî-chaturdaśî,* which is mentioned in the Pehevâ inscription (see *ibid.* p. 188, note 25), is the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Chaitra (or *pûrnimanta* Vaiśâkha), and that it is so called because bathing in the Ganges near Śiva on a Tuesday during this *tithi* is believed to remove trouble from Piśâchas.

15 In Nepâl we have an inscription of [Gupta-]Samvat 535 = A. D. 854-55, in the date of which numerical symbols are used (*ante,* Vol. IX. p. 168, Plate), and even one of the Newâr year 259 = A. D. 1138-39 (Prof. Bendall's *Journey,* p. 81, Plate).

16 From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings.

17 This is used in the sense of the Genitive case; judging from the list of names, given in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 171, the proper form to employ would have been *Gôllâkasya.*

18 Read *saṁvatsaraḥ,* and see my introductory remarks.

19 The rubbings have clearly *śudi,* not *sudi,* which is the reading of the photozincograph.

20 Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

21 The writer apparently meant to say *śrîmantaṁ Hanumantaṁ.*

22 The photozincograph, instead of *m* and the sign of punctuation, has here an *akshara* which looks somewhat like *śrî* and was so read by Sir A. Cunningham ; but I have no doubt that the sign in the rubbings is a final form of *m,* followed by the sign of punctuation.

23 If the following *prâkṛitaṁ,* which is quite clear in the rubbings, is correct, *Gôllâkô* must be altered to *Gôllâkaḥ* ; but I do not understand the exact meaning of the word *prâkṛitaṁ,* nor do I see how the words *prâkṛitaṁ Harim* are to be construed with what precedes.

24 See *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. XIV. Plate i.

more those of the Chambâ plate of Bhôṭavarmadêva.[25] Owing to the nature of these character it would be somewhat difficult to assign the inscription on palæographical grounds to any particular century ; it is sufficient to say that it cannot well be earlier than the 11th, nor later than the 14th century A. D.

In line 1, after the words *ôṁ svasti* [*ôṁ*] ||, the inscription contains a date which I read—

Saṁmvat[26] 563 Jêṭha-śûdi 9 vâra Śûkraḥ.[27]

Three of the four numeral figures of this date are not drawn very accurately in Sir A. Cunningham's photozincograph. In the original, the figure for 5 is like the figure for 5, *e. g.*, in line 33 of the Harsha inscription of Vigraharâja (*Ep. Ind.* Vol II. p. 124, Plate) ; the figure for 6 is a more ornamental form of the figure for 6, used in the Bakhshâlî manuscript (*e. g.*, in lines 25 and 26 of Plate ii., *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 276); and the figure for 9 resembles the figure for 9 in the Sîyaḍôṇî inscription[28] (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 173 ff.) The figure of the unit of the number of the years (which is fairly well drawn in the photozincograph) may be compared with some of the figure-numerals for 3 in the table of Prof. Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts*[29]; there is just a possibility that it might be interpreted as 2, but I believe that it is really 3. Put into proper Sanskṛit, the date would be —

Saṁvat 563 Jyaishṭha-śudi 9 Śukra-vârê, *i. e.*, Friday, the 9th of the bright half of Jyaishṭha of the year 563.'

Considering the locality where the inscription is, and the fact that on palæographical grounds it has to be assigned to some time between the 11th and 14th centuries A. D., I feel sure that the era to which the date must be referred here also is the **Harsha era**. The only other date with details for verification, which may be confidently referred to this era, is the date of the Dighwâ-Dubaulî plate of the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla,[30] the 10th of the bright half of Mâgha of the year 155, which has been shown to correspond to the 20th January A. D. 761, Now, judging from that date, and assuming the years of the Harsha era to have been *Chaitrâdi* years, our date of the month of Jyaishṭha of the year 563 would be expected to fall in A. D. 1168, in Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4269 expired. And for that year the date really does work out faultlessly. For in Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4269 expired the 9th of the bright half of Jyaishṭha corresponded to **Friday, the 17th May A. D. 1168,**[31] when the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

That we should have so late a date of the Harsha era, I consider no more strange than the occurrence of dates of the 10th century of the Gupta-Valabhî era; and I expect that more such dates will be dicovered, when the country about Thaneswar and Pañjaur is carefully searched for inscriptions.

[25] See *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 7 and 10.

[26] It may be stated that the dental sibilant is denoted here by the sign which in the Śâradâ alphabet denotes the palatal sibilant, and *vice versâ*.

[27] This may have been altered in the original to *vârê Śukrê*. In a date of Śaka-Saṁvat 654 from Java we have *vârêndau* instead of *Indu-vârê* ; see *ante*, Vol. XXIII. p. 113, No. 1.

[28] The figure for 9 resembles even more closely the figure for 9, used in the Cambridge MS. Add. 1693, which was written in A. D. 1165 ; see Prof. Bendall's *Catalogue*, Table of figure-numerals.

[29] See especially the figure for 3 of the MS. Add. 1648, written in A. D. 1216.

[30] See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 112, and *Gupta Inscr.* Introduction, p. 178.

[31] As there may be some slight doubt as to whether the year of the date is 563 or 562—it must be either one or the other—I would add that, judging from the date of the month Mâgha of the year 155, the above Friday, the 17th May A. D. 1168, would be the proper equivalent of *Jyaishṭha-śudi* 9 of the year 562 also, if the year commenced with the month Kârttika, or in fact with any of the months from Âshâḍha to Mâgha.

SPECIMENS OF MODERN BRAHMANICAL LEGENDS.

BY G. K. BETHAM.

No. II. — The Vanavâsî-Mâhâtmya.

Part I.

A salutation to the great Gaṇapati !

The Ṛishis asked :— "O reverend all-knowing and most wise Sûta, where is the auspicious place which was formerly called by you **Vanavâsî** ? Be pleased to tell us in detail how it was built, and how it became holy."

The holy Sûta replied : — "O Ṛishis who desire to know, listen to this holy story, which is the remover of sin and cause of astonishment to all hearers. After the destruction of the (former) world, the great Brahmâ, Lord of the Worlds, created many worlds, male[1] and female rivers, causing delight to the people there, and he also created seven cities and seven villages (suburbs ?). O great Ṛishis ! listen to their holy names : namely, Vanavâsî, Kuśa, Laṅkâ, Kaśmîra, Kundinîpura,[2] Jahari,[3] and Mandari.[4] These are the names of the villages.[5] Vanavâsî was called **Kaumudî** in the Kṛita-Yuga ; in the Trêtâ-Yuga it was called **Baindavî**[6] ; it will be called **Jayantî** in the Dvâpara-Yuga ; (and) it will[7] be called Vanavâsî in the Kali-Yuga. The person who bathes in the **Varadâ** at Vanavâsî will get the same benefit as if he bathed in the Ganges for sixty thousand years. The great rivers[8] are the removers of sin. People who have curbed their passions[9] always go and bathe in the Varadâ in the month of Kârttika, and then return to their own places : therefore it is the holiest river. O great sages, listen to the rules for bathing in that river : — a Brâhmaṇ, having got up from his bed during the fourth part of the night, should, being attentive, contemplate the feet of 'Siva in his mind,[10] and he should wash his teeth, and in this way he should become stainless. Longing for (the state of blessedness) and wearing his cloth, he should afterwards enter the waters of the Varadâ according to rules, and first pray thus to the river to remove his sins — 'O goddess Varadâ, remover of sins ! Thou that risest in the Sahyâdri mountains and goest as high as 'Srî-Saila, I bathe in thy waters to-day ! O Varadâ, chief of the goddesses, partaker of the power of Gaurî, remover of sins, accept my offerings and become the means of my happiness.' After having given offerings to the river Varadâ, he should perform his ablutions, and pleasing the gods and the sages, wearing clean clothes, should become holy. Finishing his daily ceremonies, he should worship the god Madhukêśa ; and all sins committed in former lives, by one act will be thus remitted. There is no doubt that he becomes sinless and gets the same benefit as if he had bathed in the Ganges. The worship of Madhukêśa is the remover of great poverty, the bestower of great wealth, and the remover of great sin : the Varadâ resembles the Ganges, and the god Madhukêśa resembles the god Viśvêśvara. Vanavâsî resembles Kâśî, and is the giver of supreme bliss.

Now I will relate the history of this place. O great sages, listen to this. Verily in former times there lived a Brâhmaṇ, called **Mârtaṇḍa**, who resided in a foreign country. He knew the *Vêdas* and *Vêdângas*, and philosophy, and was always devoted to his daily (ceremonial) duties ; hospitable, a fire-worshipper,[11] and always charitable to every one. His wife **Chaṇḍikâ** hated him ; crooked-minded, harsh, cruel and disobedient to her husband's commands. Her husband

1 The Brahmaputra, the Indus (Sindhu), and the Śôṇa are all of the masculine gender.

2 The capital of Vidarbha or the modern Berar.

3 Probably Jejuri : the sacred shrine of Kâṇḍâ Râo, near Poona.

4 Perhaps Madura.

5 *Lit.*, so the villages are called.

6 *I. e.*, belonging to or consecrated to Bindu or Śiva.

7 This conversation is supposed to take place in the Trêtâ-Yuga.

8 *I. e.*, the Narmadâ and others.

9 Or being beyond the reach of passion.

10 *I. e.*, meditate upon.

11 *Agnihôtrin* = a Brâhmaṇ that maintains a perpetual fire.

being cognisant of this, abandoned her and married another woman according to law. After a while she died and went to hell, where she remained till the end of the Kalpa. She afterwards passed through various existences and eventually became a goblin,[12] and in terrifying form wandered about in the uninhabited forests of the Sahyâdri mountains for many years in great distress and without food.

Once upon a time a holy Brâhmaṇ, by name **Vîrêśa**, a religious man and one of the leaders of the followers of Śiva, who was wandering on the face of the earth, intending to make pilgrimages to all holy places, came to the Varadâ, and after bathing in that holy stream and worshipping **Madhukêśvara** he (Vîrêśa) was returning to his home holding *bilva* leaves in his hand. Seeing the holy Brâhmaṇ passing through the Sahyâdri forest the goblin, hungry and thirsty, came to devour him. On seeing her, he, being distressed and frightened, ran away fast, but she followed him quickly and seized him violently. In his extremity the Brâhmaṇ threw the *bilva* leaves upon her, and at the mere touch of them she left him and went far from him. She fell at his feet crying: — 'Save me! save me!' Seeing her, the wondering Brâhmaṇ asked her what was the matter. That worshipper of Śiva, whose heart was full of fear, said to her, who was unfit to be seen and of terrible voice and horrible shape: — Vîrêśa said: — 'O most cruel, terrible and fearsome goblin, tell me who you are and why you have such an ugly shape.'

Hearing the voice of Vîrêśa and remembering her former sins the goblin replied: — 'Previous to this, I was the wife of a Brâhmaṇ in my fifteenth birth. O Brâhmaṇ, my husband's name was Mârtaṇḍa and my name was Chaṇḍikâ. Sometimes I used to wish evil to my husband and did not act according to his wishes: weeping and casting myself down on the ground I daily cursed my husband, and I used to weep when ever I approached him. I subdued people by various philtres and charms; and I was addicted to adultery and also to improper conduct. I stole money belonging to my husband and gave it to other people. I used to eat before my husband ate and I ate from the cooking utensils: my husband used to eat after me and I used to stand before him in dirty garments. I used to sit on the broom, on the mortar and on the threshold.[13] I used to look at my husband severely and speak to him harshly. I was addicted to drinking and used to talk to Śûdras. If any beautiful person came within my view I subdued him forcibly with charms and philtres and sported with him to my heart's content.

'Once upon a time, when under the influence of liquor, I burned down my husband's house, and my husband knowing me to be of such bad habits abandoned me. He married another woman according to the law, and after a while I died and went to Śyâmaṇi[?].[14] Yâma on seeing me despised me deeply, and saying 'O servants, throw her down, beat her and bind her,' he of the terrible shape plunged me into torment. He made me live in hell up to the of the Kalpa and caused me great distress. After that he caused me to enter the wombs of the lowest kinds of animals. I will tell you of those lives, and when I think of them I tremble: — in the fourteenth life I was a tigress; in the thirteenth birth I was a lioness: in the twelfth life I was a (female) alligator; in the eleventh life I was a mungoose; in the tenth life I was a lizard: in the ninth life I was a python; in the eighth life I was a vile bitch; O Brâhmaṇ, in the seventh life I was a sow; in the sixth life I was a hen; in the fifth I was a serpent; in the fourth I was a porcupine; and in the third I was a crow: in the second birth I was a Mâhar born blind and affected by leprosy, and the cavities of my nose and ears were full of ulcers and worms: my relations and even my parents deserted me — unhappy, writhing, weeping, distressed with hunger and thirst and full of sores. A certain Brâhmaṇ saw me in this condition, burnt by the sun, naked and unable to walk. Uttering the words 'Śiva!

[12] *Lit.*, entered into the womb of a goblin.

[13] It is considered to be an ominous thing to use any of these things as a seat: the mortar is used for separating the rice from the husks.

[14] The city of Yama — the lower regions.

Siva!'[15] he went away, and I, distressed in various ways, died on the spot. I then entered into the womb of a goblin, and there also I was in great distress. I had a large and protruding belly, a large mouth and nose, hollow eyes, tawny hair, my hands and feet were like *tâlî*[16] (palm-leaves), my neck was thin enough to pass through the eye of a needle, and my voice was as terrible as the clouds at the end of the Kalpa.[17] And now my shadow always looks like the sky, water seems like stone, trees look like brambles, and what I eat appears like poison: distressed in this way, I have passed five hundred years. But having fortunately seen you I consider myself blessed. I once heard the name of Siva when I was in the form of a Mâhar, and owing to the greatness of that merit I have met you to-day. O great sir, relieve me, relieve me! The good are full of compassion.'

So greatly lamenting she fell prostrate at his feet. The humbled woman, remembering her trials, wept sore and the great sage saw her rolling, much distressed, on the ground. His heart melted with compassion for her, and in order to remove her sorrow he said: — 'O goblin daughter, get up and take courage: I will relieve you to-day; be quiet, be quiet.' So saying, he went away from her and made[18] a cavity of his hands:—'O goblin, hollow-eyed, fearful and of trembling body, hear me! The Varadâ is the holy river for men. She is in the city of Vanavâsî. She actually bestows beatitude; the mere beholding of Madhukêśvara secures happiness. What reason can there be for anxiety for men after death, when there is so great store of happiness there?' So saying, he took her with him and went back to the Varadâ. Seating her on the bank of the river he bathed himself, and then plunged her body in the sacred stream, saying: 'May Madhukêśvara save (you)!' At the mere touch of the holy water she lost her goblin shape and he adorned her body with the cast-off flowers of Madhukêśvara. Immediately the followers (attendants) of Siva, brightening all the eight directions (of the heavens), came quickly to them with the *vimâna*.[19] They placed the lovely woman, wearing beautiful garments and smeared with sandal-wood powder, in the *vimâna*, which grants all desires. Then the good woman, adorned with all kinds of ornaments and accompanied by the Brâhmaṇ, felt much satisfied in her heart, and after walking round the Brâhmaṇ and worshipping Madhukêśvara, she, shining with her own lustre, got into the *vimâna*, and while all the people and the people of Vanavâsî were looking, she was borne swiftly to the paradise of Kailâsa.

Vanavâsî is the place to live in, Madhukêśvara is the object to be seen, the Varadâ is the river to bathe in for all people searching for religious and other happiness. Therefore Madhukêśvara should always be chosen as the object of worship. That merit which is obtained by charity, that benefit which is gained (by bathing) in holy waters, that happiness which is to be found in all other sacred places is to be gained by worshipping Madhukêśvara. O good people, a certain hunter named **Huṇḍa** coming (to Vanavâsî) with the intention of stealing, saw the worship of Madhukêśvara, and went to Kailâsa."

Part II.

A SALUTATION to the great teacher Dattâtrêya!

The Ṛishis said: — "O great sage, whose sin has been put away by saluting the feet of Siva,—thou who knowest, by the favour of thy teacher, both the past and the future, we pray thee to tell us in detail the holy story of **Madhukêśvara**. Who wos the hunter named **Huṇḍa**, and when did he come to steal? When did he come to Madhukêśvara-protected Vanavâsî? When did he see the worship of Siva, and how did he attain to final happiness? Thinking over all this, please tell us in detail."

[15] Expressive of pity, compassion: also occasionally of disgust.

[16] *Corypha umbraculifera.*

[17] *I. e.*, the thunder, etc., at the end of the world.

[18] *I. e.*, assumed a prayerful attitude.

[19] The chariot of the gods, self-directed and self-moving.

Sûta replied :— "O assembly of Rishis, who are desirous of hearing, listen to my story, by the mere hearing of which your devotion to Siva will be increased. O Brâhmaṇs, formerly in the Trêtâ-Yuga, in the time of the great sage Manu, there lived a certain hunter named Huṇḍa, the leader of the tribe of **Pulindas**.[20] He was cruel, a slayer of animals and fond of hunting: he was very expert in the use of the bow, and he was very brave. He had four brothers, who were like him and were always murderers.[21] The wicked Pulinda lying in wait[22] used to kill travellers; the evil-hearted man was always anxious to take away the wealth of others. Doing this and being eager to amass great wealth he meditated where to build a fort that his enemies could not enter.

While he was debating with himself in this way, his beloved wife **Pulikâśî**, the daughter of **Bahuṇḍa**, a cruel woman, thought: 'Now I will ruin my father's enemy.' So thinking she came gently to her husband, and Pulikâśî spoke thus: — 'There is no doubt that all your followers are against you, therefore you should always act circumspectly. The fortress belonging to my father is in a hut on a mountain. There is no doubt that it belongs to us by inheritance. There is much water on the hill which cannot be found by strangers, and there are many lions, tigers, bears, etc., there, and in the hill there is also great treasure which has been amassed by my ancestors. A king named **Malla**, residing in the city of **Baindavî**,[23] knowing that my parents had grown old, came there with a large army. Besieging the hill-fortress he killed my parents; and taking all the wealth and turning out our followers and relations, the brave king, Malla, took possession of the fortress. I, who had been turned out and gone to another country, came to you.[24] Up to this time I have never told this to you. 'I shall do something when opportunity offers' — thinking thus, O husband, I did not tell you this before. He[25] now resides in Baindavî, having his heart and mind attached to it. He has a few warriors, but they are not very brave. You are wise and powerful, and your brothers are powerful also. You have many mountaineers, *i. e.*, Ândhras, Kirâtas, Kunas, Pulindas, Pulasikas,[26] Kaśas, Kôlhas, Abhîras:[27] all these are always attached to you. O my beloved, I should like to start this very day.'

Hearing this speech of Pulikâśî, the chief of the Pulinda tribe praised his wife for her foresight, and said to the leader of his men :— 'O **Kumbhâṇḍa**, by my order call all the dwellers in the forest quickly, with their weapons: call all the hunters of my caste, the Pulindas, the Birukas, all the Prahmikas:[28] and all our other friends. This day I intend to scale the best of the hill fortresses.'

Hearing him say this, Kumbhâṇḍa, according to the orders given him by Huṇḍa, sent messengers to the various hill forts and forests to summon all the leaders of the hunters residing there. On receiving the summons all the hunting tribes set out, keeping one man behind for the protection of their respective homes. Some mounted on horses, some on elephants, some on donkeys, some on jackals, some on lions, some on tigers, some on bears, some on porcupines, carrying bows, painted bows,[29] clubs, javelins, spears, maces, slings and swords in their hands: all the tribes living in the forests of Mauñcha, Muñcha, Bhata, Bherinda,[30] etc., (came). Seeing them come, Huṇḍa harangued them as follows: — 'All the warriors have become proud and puffed up because they are living with Malla. They killed my wife's parents, captured the fort and drove all my relations away to foreign countries. This day, accompanied by you,

[20] A name applied to any wild or barbarous tribe, particularly hunters, more especially to the tribes of Central India.

[21] *I. e.*, takers of life.

[22] *Lit.*, blocking the way.

[23] Or Vanavâsî.

[24] *I. e.*, married you.

[25] *I. e.*, Malla.

[26] Possibly inhabitants of Pulâsika, the modern Hulsagi in the Belgaum District.

[27] An aboriginal race inhabiting the Karnâṭikâ; they are mentioned in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, *Mahâbhârata* and *Râmâyaṇa* (see *ante*, Vol. XIV. page 321)

[28] Aboriginal hill-tribes; no traces are forthcoming of them.

[29] *Chitradhanus.* Ornamented or indented bows.

[30] Forest tract; their exact situation is unknown.

I will besiege the fort, and having killed all the defenders I will afterwards destroy her principal enemies.'

Hearing Huṇḍa's speech, all the leaders of the mountaineers accepted it and cheered.[31] He then set out, followed by them, for the hill on which the fort was situated. At the time of his departure all kind of music were played, many large drums, cymbals, bells, kettle-drums, side-drums, tambourines, *madhus*,[32] *mandalas*,[33] *majêśtas*[?],[34] and golden horns. Being excited by the music they went with him, cheering and shouting. From the different kinds of cheering and shouting, it would seem as if the god of death had come accompanied by thunder-clouds, and the Taulavas[35] wondered what it was. Thus making an uproar, they forcibly ascended the hill, going from one forest to another; and clambering over large rocks, they at length came in view of the fortress, situated on the top of the hill: the stones of which are always wet with the spray of waterfalls, having the soothing sound of bamboos blown by strong breezes, and beautified by numerous date palms, *kêtakî*[36] trees and palmyra and fan palms. The hill, having betel-nut trees on it, looked lofty and shapely as the betel-nut tree, and was fragrant with the sap of the large sandalwood trees broken by the elephants (in their passage).

On seeing the fortress they (the assailants) cheered. The soldiers of Malla, residing in the fort, heard them shouting, and viewing them from the interior of the fortress, they jeered at them: — 'these soldiers are weak, our (leader's) parents, being unsuspecting and old, acted foolishly, but we are strong.' Thus thinking, they carried Huṇḍa and placed him on the top of the hill.[37] They all then, by his orders, went back to their respective homes, as they came. When they were all gone, the hunter made himself happy with his wife, and during the night he used to descend from the hill and plunder the market-towns, returning to the hill with his booty. O Brâhmaṇs, after a time, he thought (much) that he would revenge himself by murdering Malla on a certain night. Then the wicked man got ready to go with his brothers and his followers, disguised as pilgrims, on one *śivarâtri*. They set out with some pilgrims on the pretence of going to the *yâtra* of Madhukêśvara at Baindavî. On the way they all sang (hymns), muttered prayers and meditated, being devoted to the feet of 'Siva. Having bathed in the river **Varadâ**, and having applied holy ashes to their foreheads, they, wearing rosaries and carrying things necessary for worship, stood near 'Siva. Then Huṇḍa, pretending to be a pilgrim, stood with the other pilgrims in the *maṇḍapa* of 'Siva. Malla then came there with his wife and sons and daughters, and the people of the place, and performed a great worship with auspicious *bilva*[38] leaves and *drôṇa*[39] flowers, *mâlati*[40] flowers, *kuṇḍa*[41] flowers, *mandâra*[42] flowers, and *kêtakî* flowers; also with coloured rice, various kinds of dainties, cocoanuts, pomegranates, plantains, jackfruit, mangoes, grapes, dates, etc. Intending to please Madhukêśvara with his great devotion, he offered these sacrifices to 'Sambhu with great respect and effusiveness. At the end of the worship the great king[43] served the god with a dance. All the people who had come there, besmeared with holy ashes and decorated with holy rosaries, performed worship in many ways. Some recited *Purâṇas*, some said prayers some chanted *Vêdas*, some told religious stories, some read from the *'Sâstras* so as to please Siva, some uttered holy spells and some muttered prayers, and some devotees of 'Siva danced, throwing up their garments.[44] In that great festival some dancing-girls danced, and various

31 *I. e.*, uttered the words '*Sâdhu, sâdhu*': the challenge of wrestlers to each other, the sound produced by the beating of the hand on the arm and thigh.

32 Musical instruments, not now in use.

33 The modern *mṛidaṅga*, tabor.

34 Various sorts of drums.

35 The people of the Tulu country or Tulu-speaking people.

36 *Pandanus odoratissimus*.

37 That is, made him master of the hill.

38 *Ægle marmelos*.

39 A tree bearing white flowers: called after Drôna, the son of the sage Bharadvâja.

40 The great-flowered jessamine (*Jasminum grandiflorum*).

41 *Jasminum arborescens*: a small tree bearing large white flowers.

42 The coral tree (*Erythrina fulgens*)

43 *I. e.*, Malla.

44 A favourite form of worship.

kinds of musical instruments were played, and many devotional songs were sung. Having finished the great worship in the presence of the god, he offered oblations, together with the other principal people and citizens who were present. He offered the oblation in the name of 'Siva and also in the name of the protector, and he kept awake till the auspicious time.[45] He worshipped the pair (husband and wife), and gave various charitable gifts.

Huṇḍa meanwhile was watching his opportunity during the great ceremony. Keeping himself awake, he was thinking within himself: 'When shall I kill Malla? When he is asleep? When shall I break into the treasury of the god? When shall I burn the houses? When shall I utterly destroy all the citizens?' Thus thinking he could not sleep that night, owing to excitment.

The followers of Malla, taking him for a thief, beat him, and, noticing his movements, told the king about them. The king kept silence at the time, and completed the worship of Îśvara. He ate his meal the next day and satisfied all the Brâhmaṇs greatly. Then calling together all his tributaries[46] and ministers, he made up his mind to kill the cruel Huṇḍa and the Pulindas and to take possession of the hill. He therefore assembled many brave warriors skilled in war, and they, being led by many kings, pursued after Huṇḍa, and in their pursuit they made a great noise in the forest on that hill.

Huṇḍa, seeing that they were come to kill him, ran away, and they pursued him in thousands. Intending to go to his own fortress, he came to the bottom of the hill, where the soldiers of Malla wounded him with their arrows; whereupon, he, being confused, began to run about hither and thither (aimlessly), and they, coming near him, seized him and killed him on the spot. All the kings, after killing his followers and his brothers, went back to their respective homes, and then the country became tranquil. Then the followers of Yama came with their nooses and rods, and bound and beat Huṇḍa, and took him to the abode of Yama.

On the way[47] the followers of 'Siva, seated on the desire-gratifying *vimâna*, going quickly, met the followers of Yama and beat them angrily, and, stopping and releasing Huṇḍa from the nooses, they caused him to sit in the *vimâna*. The servants of Yama, panting and standing at some distance, spoke thus: — 'Oh you devotees of the Lord 'Siva, who are acting properly[48] we salute you! This hunter is an evil-doer and a slayer of animals, he is not fit to be seen by the god ('Siva): therefore leave him and go. He used not to perform the holy worship of 'Siva on Monday; he never performed the observance of 'Sivarâtri: he did not worship 'Siva on Ashṭamî, or on Chaturdaśî, or on any holy day. Therefore, leave him and go. He did not go (on pilgrimage) to any place of 'Saṅkara; he did not bathe in any Tîrthas; he never consecrated himself to the religious observances of 'Siva. Therefore leave him and go. Doubtless we need tell you nothing more.'

The followers of 'Saṅkara, on hearing the words of the followers of Yama, replied thus: — O followers of Yama, what you say is just. Now listen: we give you a concise[49] reply to your many words. 'Sivarâtri is the specialday for all who worship 'Siva. O ye followers of Yama, it is indeed an inestimable benefit to any one if he goes to 'Siva's (holy) place (on that day). This Pulinda, a righteous person and a leader of the worshippers of 'Siva, went to the holy river Varadâ, and, keeping vigil near Madhukêśvara, witnessed the great worship. Even the great serpent (Mahaśêsha) cannot count all his merits. Therefore this person deserves to be near the feet of 'Siva. O followers of Yama, cease your murmuring. 'Saṅkara always resides in these holy places, Vârâṇasi, Kailâsa, Mandara, on the top of the Sahyâdri, Gôkarṇa and **Madhukâ**:[50] Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śûdras, and even persons born in the lowest caste,[51] such as Antyajas,[52] Chaṇḍâlas,[53] Pulikasas, if they bathe specially in the Varadâ on 'Sivarâtri, and see

45 *I. e.*, till day-break.

46 Dependant kings or chiefs.

47 *Lit.*, in the middle of the way.

48 *Lit.*, in the right way.

49 *Lit.*, one.

50 Or Vanavâsî.

51 *Lit.*, born of the lowest wombs.

52 Mâhars.

53 Out-castes of mixed parentage, Brâhmaṇ and Śûdra.

Madhukêśvara, doubtless, become one with Śiva. All those mortals who pray thus, 'O god Śambhu, residing in Vanavâsî! O Madhukêśvara, mercifully save me, who am trembling in fear in this wordly life,' are to go to Kailâsa.' So saying, the followers of Śiva, triumphing and singing praises, went away. O Dvijas[54] (Brâhmaṇs), this is the most success-giving of all the (holy) places of Śiva. This place is the giver of beatitude and is Śiva's favourite spot."

(To be continued.)

THE VILLAGES IN THE GUJARAT RASHṬRAKUṬA GRANTS FROM TORKHEḌE AND BARODA.

BY GEORGE BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the Torkheḍe grant of the Gujarât Râshṭrakûṭa Govinda, published by Dr. Fleet in the *Epigraphia India*, Vol. III. p. 53 ff., the local chieftain Buddhavarasa grants the village of **Gôvaṭṭana,** belonging to the estate of twelve villages, called **Sîharakkhî,** to the community of the Chaturvedins of **Badarasiddhi.** Dr. Fleet has already stated that **Sîharakkhî** must be the modern **Serkhi,** mentioned in the Postal Directory of Bombay, and must lie close to Baroda. The identification is phonetically unobjectionable and certainly correct. For the Trigonometrical Survey Map of Gujarat, No. 29, shows **Serkhi** north-west of Baroda, on the river **Men,** a tributary of the **Mahi,** in N. Lat. 22° 20′, and E. Long. 73° 8′. A little further north lies the small hamlet of **Kôtna,** which may be identified with **Gôvaṭṭana,** or rather its equivalent **Gôvaṭṭanaka.** *Gôvaṭṭanaka* would regularly become *Gôṭnâ* in Gujarâtî. But the hardening of the *medial* consonants, which is not rare in Pali and in later Prakrit dialects, occurs also in the vernaculars. **Badarasiddhi,** where the donees resided, is the modern **Bôrsad** in the Kaira Collectorate. The fact that *badara* becomes in Prakrit *bôra* is well known, and is particularly mentioned by Hemachandra in his *Prakrit Grammar*, I. 170. The vernacular equivalent is *bôr.* The second part of the compound *siddhi* must in Gujarâtî become *sidh*, as short final vowels are invariably dropped, as in *nât* for *ñâti* and numerous other words. The form of the name, **Bôrsidh,** which thus results, is, I believe, still occasionally used and found also in the name of the Brahmans of the town, who are called both **Bôrsidhâs** (Sherring's *Indian Castes*, II. p. 261) and **Bôrsadâs.** The more common form **Bôrsad** is the result of the tendency of the Gujarâtîs to substitute *a* for *i* — whereby they convert, as the proverbial saying is, even Śiva into a corpse, *Śava*, — and to drop the aspiration of aspirated consonants. I may add that Bôrsad is not very distant from Serkhi-Sîharakkhî.

A Brahman of the Bôrsad-Badarasiddhi community is also the donee in the Baroda grant of the Gujarât Râshṭrakûṭa Dhruvarâja II., published by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, Vol. XIV., p. 196 ff. The name of the town is spelt in this case **Vadarasiddhi,** because the grant does not use the letter *ba*, but invarably expresses it by *va.* The majority of the other geographical names mentioned in the grant is traceable on the Trigonometrical Survey Map of Gujarât, No. 8, in the Daskroi Tâlukâ of the Ahmadâbâd Collectorate. But it is necessary to correct the reading in l. 31 (p. 200), where Dr. Hultzsch doubtfully reads °*grâmôparata*[*sta*]*silâvallinâmâ.* The bracketted letter is really a badly formed *â*, as may be seen from a comparison of the *â* in *âcandrârkka*° (l. 34) and *âchhêttâ* (l. 45). The name of the village is, therefore, in reality **Âsilâvalli.**

With this correction we obtain the following data from the grant, which may be at once confronted with those on the map mentioned :—

	GRANT.	MAP.
Village granted :	**Puśilāvilli**	O
in the District :	**Kaśahrada**	**Kâsandra**[1]

[54] Dvijas (*lit.*, twice-born, Brâhmaṇs).

[1] In N. Lat. 22° 54′ and E. Long. 72° 32.

	GRANT.	MAP.
Boundary, East:	Vêhichchâ nadî Vôrîvadraka	Khârî river Barôdra (?)[2]
Boundary, South:	Chatuḥsarî	Chôsar[3]
Boundary, West:	Âsilâvalli	Aslâlî[4]
Boundary, North:	Vinhuchavalli	Vinjhôl[5]

With respect to the name **Kâsandra**, often called Kâsindra-Pâlaḍi or Pâlri, it must be noted that it represents not the Sanskrit form, given above, but its Prakrit equivalent **Kâsadraha**, the second part of which in Gujarâtî becomes *dhrâ* or *drâ*, as in **Gôdhrâ** or **Gôdrâ**, the representative of **Gôdraha**. The modern **Barôdra** for **Vôrîvadraka**, properly **Bôrîvadraka**, furnishes an instance of the transposition of two vowels, which occurs also in other Gujarâtî names. Properly it ought to be **Bôridrâ** or **Bôradrâ**. The change is in this case probably due to the influence of the name **Barôdrâ**, which occurs so often on the map of Gujarât. It is interesting to learn from the inscription that the river **Khârî** was called formerly **Vêhichchâ**. Is a name like **Vechh** or **Bechh** still applied to any part of its course? The place of Pūsilâvilli is now occupied by a village called Kopra.

AN UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE FIRST BURMESE WAR.

PREFACE BY R. C. TEMPLE.

Preface.

Some few years ago I purchased a copy of **Wilson's Documents of the Burmese War, 1827**, in a binding by Hering, unfortunately much injured, which had belonged, by the book-plate in it, to **C. Hopkinson, C.B.**, the fact of the Companionship of the Bath being inferred from the device of the Order depending from the coat-of-arms.

At page 216 there is a **MS. footnote** of interest in the present connection. It is attached to Document No. 173 (B), which is an extract from the *Government Gazette* of the 13th April, 1826. This document commences quaintly,— "We have been favoured with the following Journal of the Proceedings of the Deputation to the Court of Ava" — and then proceeds to publish a diary of the deputation. It appears that on the way up the Irrawaddy, on the 28th February, 1826, the deputation met Mr. Price, the Missionary, and, after dinner, "there was a good deal of desultory conversation kept up amongst us. Just before the meeting broke up, he (Mr. Price) acquainted us that he had an interview with the King and Queen the day before in the morning; that great alarm prevailed on account of our deputation; that the Queen fell into hysterics, and that the King, on seeing him, had called out, 'Oh Price, save me': that this was caused by a false idea of the object of the deputation, it being said that the chief of our flying artillery was coming up, that we were spying out the road, and that, under the guise of a present to the King, one of the articles we were bringing was **a musket so contrived as to explode without gun-powder.**" Now the footnote above-mentioned is that attached to this last remarkable statement, and it runs thus: — "This was a very beautiful, well-made, and most powerful **steel cross-bow**, with silk strings which I had got made just before leaving London, in the beginning of the year 1824, by Jackson, in Wigmore Street, and which Sir Archibald Campbell requested me to let him have to form one of the presents to be sent to the Burmese king. I did so, together with a handsome new silver watch I had just received from Madras for my own use. — C. HOPKINSON."

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[2] In N. Lat. 22° 55′ and E. Long. 72° 45′.

[3] In N. Lat. 22° 54′ and E. Long. 72° 41′.

[4] In N. Lat. 22° 55′ and E. Lat. 72° 38′.

[5] In N. Lat. 22° 57′ and E. Long. 72° 41′.

At the end of the book are bound into it a number of blank leaves, on part of which only, as if the writer had intended to include a great deal more than he accomplished, is the document to which these remarks are a preface. It is unsigned, but is written in the same clear handwriting as the note first quoted, and is, therefore, presumably, by the same writer.

The document is commenced merely with "See Appendix, page xxix.," and by a reference to that page will be found the official (*Government Gazette*, May 22nd, 1826) version of the private narrative which the MS. gives of **the first attempt to cross the mountains between Prome and Arracan.**

At p. 214, in a distribution statement of the British force in Ava (*Government Gazette*, 6th April, 1826), it is stated that "the Detachment *en route* to Arracan consists of the 18th Native Infantry, with **Lieutenants Trant** and Bissett, of the Quarter-Master-General's Department."

I have two copies of a remarkable book, — **Two Years in Ava, from May 1824 to May 1826,** "by an officer on the staff of the Quarter-Master-General's Department"; John Murray, 1827 — on the front inside cover of one of which is noted, apparently by some one making a catalogue, "[Trant, Capt. J. A.]." That Capt. Trant was beyond doubt the author of this anonymous — and, to my mind, most intelligent of all the individual books on the War — may be taken for granted from a footnote in Lawrie's *Pegu*, 1854, to p. 287: — "Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, Ch. X." Now, from p. 416 of that book, which commences a third account of this same expedition, we learn in a footnote that "the contents of this Chapter [XVII.], with but few exceptions, were published by order of Government in the *Calcutta Government Gazette* for May or June, 1826."

It would thus appear that Capt. Trant was the author of both the printed accounts of the journey from Prome into Arracan; but who the author was of the narrative now published I cannot say, for he could not have been 'C. Hopkinson' himself, as he was too senior an officer to be with the party.

From his copy of Wilson's *Documents*, we learn who 'C. Hopkinson' was. Thus, at p. 87, where an account is given of the attack on Melloon [Malôn] on 20th January, 1825, we find :— "The efforts of all concerned in the attack were of the most meritorious description, but to none was the success due in a greater degree than to **the Artillery and Rocket Corps**[1] **under Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson** and Lieutenant Blake." This notice also accounts for a MS. marginal correction in Col. Hopkinson's handwriting on the same page to a statement in the text:— "Colonel Sale was wounded whilst in his boat." On this Col. Hopkinson remarks, "just as he got ashore."

At p. 194 ff. is given Sir Archibald Campbell's despatch on this action, which contains, and no doubt gave rise to, the mistake as to how Col. Sale was wounded. In this despatch, Sir Archibald recommends Col. Hopkinson to the Governor-General's notice. And, again, at p. 210 ff. is published the Governor-General's Orders after the war, in which "Brigadier and Lieut.-Colonel Hopkinson" is twice mentioned with distinction.

With these remarks I now print the MS. in full. It can be compared, as above said, by students with Trant's two published accounts, which are not at all inaccessible.

Document.

Narrative of an Expedition by a Detachment of the 18th Regiment of the Madras Native Infantry commanded by Major David Ross, and accompanied by Lieutenant Trant of His

[1] In a curious collection of old-world chromo-lithographs and plates entitled, 'To the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company these eighteen views taken at and near Rangoon are respectfully dedicated, by permission, by their Grateful, Obedient, Humble Servant Joseph Moore, Lieut. of His Majesty's 89th Regiment,' and published by both Kingsbury and Clay in 1825, in Plate 12 is shown a rocket, rather out of drawing. The Plate is entitled 'Rangoon, the position of part of the Army previous to attacking the stockades on the 8th of July, 1824.' This collection of Plates is worth examining, if only to grasp the difference in methods and implements of warfare between the First and Third Burmese Wars, a period of about 60 years only.

Majesty's Service, and Lieutenant Bissett of the East India Company's Service, both belonging to the Quarter-Master-General's Department, as Surveyors to ascertain the practibility of moving a body of Troops through the Arracan Mountains from Prome to Arracan. The Corps had with it a party of 50 Native Madras Pioneers with two Officers.

The party commenced its march by crossing the River Irawaddy at Pekang Yeh, where it was about 1,600 yards broad, on the 13th March 1826, a short time after the treaty of peace was signed with the Burmese at Yandaboo, from whence it moved to Pekang Yeh in eight pleasant marches, and, on its arrival, encamped close to the River for the facility of embarking, while the Officers occupied the Kyong, which is one of the finest buildings I ever saw, but at present gave us a most melancholy picture of the miseries of war. The richly gilt, embossed and inlaid with coloured glass boxes lay broken and scattered about, as did the books, many of them on religious subjects being in the golden Pali type, thus wantonly destroyed by the followers of our Army. On our approach to Pegam Mhew, the Burmese Chief, who had been sent with us for the purpose of procuring us supplies and assistance, and safe conduct through the hitherto unexplored country by any European, arrived from the opposite shore at 11-0 o'clock, bringing in his company twelve canoes, and the crossing of the River immediately commenced, so that before dark 200 men, with a proportion of baggage, was got over. The elephants, 36 in number, were sent higher up the River, and were crossed over to an island in it, from whence they easily swam the rest of the way over. The next day, the 14th March, was employed in transporting over the remainder of the detachment with the Commissariat, which was effected with the trifling loss of three ponies and five or six bullocks. The breadth of the River at this season was about 1,200 yards, and from the point of embarkation to where we landed, 1,600 yards, with a very strong current. About 11 o'clock next day, 15th, Lieutenant Bissett, of the Survey Department, and myself started with the Commissiariat for Sembaya Gung; the Regiment moved in the evening. After proceeding a short distance along the banks of the River, leaving a small fishing village on our left, we struck inland to the village of Kutchmen. The whole of this part of the country is overflowed during the rainy season, and a rich deposit remains on the water subsiding; indeed, the whole soil appears alluvial, and the country, everywhere that we have seen, is extremely fertile, and in the neighbourhood of the village rice was cultivated by irrigation, the water raised, as in India, by the Piccotah, or Yettum.

The village of Sembaya Geung must, from its present appearance, have been very extensive, but it is entirely destroyed, having been burnt by the Burmese when their Army retreated to Chelain Men, when the British Troops carried Maloon, to prevent the inhabitants remaining and giving any assistance in the way of supplies. We took up ground for the encampment of our little party to the southward of the village on the banks of the Chelain River, on arriving at which place we were told that the loads had been plundered from four bullocks, and that this part of the country was noted for its number of thieves; one man was seized, but, no offence being proved against him, he was released.

On the 16th we marched at daybreak, and arrived at the Chelain River about 8 o'clock; the road was extremely good, and evidently very great pains had been taken to make it so, being bordered on each side by a parapet wall of brick, seemingly intended to protect it from the overflowing of the neighbouring paddy grounds which were abundantly watered from the Chelain River. The whole of this part of the country had an appearance of richness and comfort producing the most pleasing effect, and was particularly striking to our party, so long accustomed to have seen little else than abandoned villages and deserted uncultivated fields.

After breakfast I went with Lieutenant Bissett to take a survey of the Fort of Chelain Men, which is a place of great antiquity, being one of the oldest brick forts in the country. It is very insignificant as to strength, but its position is extremely well chosen; three sides of it are completely surrounded with water, and the road to the south, also easily laid under water

also. Formerly the fort was entirely of brick, but there is now little of it remaining, except at the north-east side, but there is one bastion entire, but apparently of a later construction; the sections between the remaining portions of brick-work are stockaded. The circumference of the fort we found about 2,634 yards. The houses both inside the fort and outside had been destroyed as at Sembaya Geung, and for the same reason.

Chelain Men, during the late war, furnished 10,000 fighting men for the Burmese Army, the half of which only proceeded down the country towards Rangoon, and few of those who went had yet returned. It had been intended to have sent one wing of the Regiment, according to the instructions furnished us, by the way of Talack, but we had reason to believe that the road was quite impassable for beasts of burthen, and that there was no water, so this intention was obliged to be given up.

On the 17th March we commenced our move at daybreak; the road led through extensive paddy grounds, but which at this season are dry. The high road strikes off to the right at the Pagoda Seeing-ghoon, and ran in a southerly direction, but is not frequented at this season of the year from the want of water. At this point our march lay in an easterly direction to the village of Pounglahary, which is situated at the foot of a small range of hills covered with jungle, and on the back of a very extensive Jheel, which is formed from the overflow of the great River Irawaddy. On this water there were numerous flocks of water-fowl of all descriptions, so little accustomed to be annoyed or disturbed as to allow us to pass within a few yards of them, and afforded abundant game to those of our party fond of shooting. A large jackal was seen here by Capt. Smith, which proves Major Symes to be wrong in the assertion that there are no such animals in Ava. We encamped on the banks of the Jheel, about a mile from the village, and beyond it. It seemed to be numerously inhabited, the people coming in great numbers to see the "Colars Strangers." From a small hill near the village we had a fine view of the plain beneath, extending to the banks of the Irawaddy, which appeared to be about four miles distant.

Marched, as ususal, on the morning of the 18th. The first part of the road winding along the borders of the Jheel, which we then crossed for about a furlong, — to have gone round would have been about a mile — at about a mile from the Jheel we ascended a small Ghaut to the Pagoda of Minushutwah, and thence to the village of Kwazee, which is a considerable place, and in it there are boilers for saltpetre which is produced in the neighbourhood. From Kwazee to Koonzomy or Coonzomy is a distance of about three miles. Koonzomy is situated on the banks of the Mow River, which river is navigable for small boats. This place is the southern boundary of the Chelain District, which for richness and size is the finest in the Burmese Empire, and is said to contain 200,000 inhabitants. A little above Koonzomy we crossed the Mow River, and passed through the village of Keungulrah, which has a large gilt Pagoda and several good Kyoungs. Four miles from this place is the village Lehdine, at which we encamped; it gives its name to the District. The road for about two miles before we arrived at Lehdine ran between two Jheels of a large size, which served to irrigate a vast extent of paddy-ground.

This was a very long march, and the detachment did not reach its ground until very late. I was this day with the rear Guard, and did not reach my ground until one o'clock. We got some very fine toddy, which we found most refreshing, and abundance of fine fish. This district is said to contain 24 villages and 10,000 inhabitants, and is generally fertile.

We started next morning at daybreak, as usual; the road led through an extremely well-cultivated country, interspersed with several groves of Palmyra-trees, from which are extracted large quantities of toddy. This morning we had a specimen of the summary justice of the Burmese. The old Chief, who accompanied us, was displeased with some of the villagers; he jumped off his horse, and, seizing a stick, the thickness of his wrist, made some of his attendants hold the culprits head to the ground. He began beating him with all his strength, taking a spring into the air at every stroke; we with some difficulty persuaded him, after a time, to desist.

We this day passed through several villages, all well inhabited, men, women, and children flocking to look at us; they were all very respectful, and did not appear in any way alarmed; many of them, from their mode of making salaam, had evidently met with Europeans before. To prove the entire ignorance we were in as to the nature of the country, it was always understood that the Upper Provinces depended on the vicinity of Rangoon and Bassein, for their supply of grain, and that our having the possession of these places would cut off the supplies from the interior, when, in fact, the reverse is the case, as we could now plainly see, for almost the whole country we had passed from the banks of the Irawaddy was far better cultivated than any we had seen elsewhere. We this day passed by the village of Sheegeoun, which is inhabited by Shans, a very warlike race; they are something similar to the Burmese in appearance, but with features rather more prominent, and they wear loose trousers instead of the silk or cotton *lounjee* worn by the Burmese. We this day encamped at the village of Kevensah, situated on the banks of the Mine River. The country about is low and jungly. This is the southern boundary of the Lehdine District.

In the evening we had a fine view of the mountains, and in the morning (20th March) we moved at daybreak, and, after twice crossing the Mine River, arrived at the foot of the first range of hills, and were now on the eve of deciding the so-much-questioned point of "whether there was a practicable road or not from Ava, through, or over, the Mountains to Arracan" — a fact which, could it have been ascertained two years before, would have saved the Government vast trouble and great expense, by being the means of terminating a most harassing warfare in about half the time it had taken. There was an evident ascent during the whole of this day's march, but nothing but what the cattle could easily surmount; after once more crossing the Mine River, we encamped in the vicinity of the famous Kyoung and Pagoda of Chatvah. The scenery at this place was really magnificent, the Pagoda and Kyoung standing on the summit of an almost perpendicular hill, the Kyoung being gilt from top to bottom. To the southward and westward was a range of hills, and in the valley beneath, in which we were encamped, the Mine River was flowing over its stoney bed clear as crystal, winding its course within a few paces of our tents. The Pagoda of Shoe Chatvah is considered of great sanctity, and resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of the Kingdom. At the Pagoda is shewn a mark, an indentation on a stone, said to have been impressed by the foot of Gaudma, and which is held in great veneration. This footmark is enclosed in a small gilt Kioum, surrounded by a quadrangular railings; into its precints admittance can only be obtained by money, exacted by a person appointed by the Government, which demand seemed to be proportioned to the rank of the visitor, but the lowest demand seemed not to be less than about the value of 20 Rupees. The poorer classes, from whom payment was not enforced, paid their devotions outside the enclosure.

In descending the hill on our return, one of the party had the curiosity to count the number of steps, which were found to be 970, the whole way covered by a beautiful carved canopy, supported on pillars of carved teakwood.

On moving next morning we followed the course of the river, which winded through the hills for about 4 miles. We then ascended a small range, at the foot of which was an extensive plain covered with the most luxuriant pasturage, and cultivated land, watered from the river Mine. After passing two small villages called Servah and Cheetalaing, we arrived at the large stockaded village of Massah Min, the chief place in the District, and to which it gives its name, and in which are seven villages computed to hold 10,000 inhabitants; its quota of fighting men called for during the last war was 300, none of whom were down the country, but were employed as a Garrison in its stockade, and for the defence of the hills in its neighbourhood — the personal appearance of the inhabitants of this part of the country, not only from a more pleasing caste of features, but with their dress, being neater than any we had met with before. The stockade did not appear to be of any great strength, and was falling to decay, but surrounded by a thick abittis [*sic*].

From this place the road led through a small range of hills covered by thick jungle, until we arrived at the small Kyoung village of Doh, and here the country for a short distance was more open. We encamped on the bank of a Nullah which empted itself in the Mine River, and which we had during this last march crossed and re-crossed nine times. Having had few opportunities of observing the Kyeang until now, we strolled in the evening through the village which was surrounded by a strong pallisading as a protection from wild beasts, as well as to confine their cattle during the night. The Kyeangs are quite a distinct race of people, inhabiting only the hills; they appear to acknowledge the Burmese supremacy, but governed immediately by a Chief of their own race, and, contrary to mountaineers in general, they are not of a warlike character; none were employed by the Burmese during the war. They appear to have but little idea of religion, beyond the Sun and Moon as affording them light, and their cattle, wine, and poultry as affording them subsistence. The women, on arriving at the age of 40, have their faces tattooed, which gives them a hideous appearance, not improved by their dress, which is composed of black cotton; that of the men in general, white. They are employed chiefly in fishing the mountain streams. The fish, when caught, is laid upon a frame of bamboo, having fires underneath, and thus completely dried, and then become an article of traffic in the valleys, and are exchanged for rice, cloth, &c., &c.

At the usual hour we commenced our march this morning, and almost immediately entered a narrow valley with extremely steep hills on each side, covered with thick jungle, which at this time was dry and withered, from the turning of the long waste grass, a thing that often occurs; and when it does, it, of course, destroys all vegetation for a time, within its course. The Mine River flows through this valley, and we this day crossed and re-crossed it 31 times. At one part of the road the ascent was so steep as to oblige us to dismount from our ponies, and it was the cause of much detention to our baggage. We stopped this day at a confined spot in the valley hardly large enough to give us space to pitch our Sepoys' tents; we, however, contrived to crowd together.

Knowing that we had to ascend the great range to-day, we moved off at an earlier hour than usual, which was the cause of some unpleasantness from the darkness, especially as the road was broken and rocky, and interspersed with water-courses of some feet deep; at the distance of little more than 4 miles from whence we started, we arrived at the foot of the great range of mountains, and here took our leave of the Mine River after tracing its course, a distance of about 30 miles. We then began to ascend the mountains in earnest, and on foot; to ride was out of the question.

Our horses were led up, ourselves and followers scrambling after in the best way we could, stopping occasionally to rest and to allow the elephants and other cattle to come up. When about a mile up, we stopped to breakfast under the shade of some large trees, procuring water by descending about 200 yards on the north side, where a fine spring rises in a ravine, surrounded by large trees and bushes of . . . .[2] From this place for the distance of about a mile the road was very abrupt, and at one point of its defence was placed a stockade, the position well chosen — the advance to it from the western side being along the top of a narrow ridge from 12 to 15 feet broad and a distance of 5 furlongs, and the whole length of the ridge, with the exception of a narrow footpath, defended by a strong abattis. The road continued very abrupt, and great pains appeared to have been taken with it, but much injured by the torrents of water that must at times rush along it. The soil appeared of a gravelly nature, mixed with sandstone. Three miles further on, and we arrived at the summit of the Arracan Mountains on the great range of Pokoung Romah Toung, which is now the boundary of our Eastern Empire. The mountain we had just ascended is the highest of the range, and is called Marang-Mateng-toung; the whole of this range, as far as we could see, was covered with a thick

[2] This and a second like hiatus seem to show that the writer was copying some MS. which he could not always read.

forest of lofty trees, among which we observed the walnut flourishing most luxuriantly, the fruit of which, though not yet ripe, was of a very large size. At a mile further we halted at a stockaded position called Naddy Gine, which commands the whole of the road, and which, if occupied by even a small body of resolute men, would be a serious obstacle to overcome. Our party here were much distressed from a want of water, none being to be got except at the distance of 600 yards and down an almost perpendicular descent; our elephants and cattle were consequently obliged to go without, although every exertion was made to procure it for them; of course, both men and animals were excessively fatigued by the march: the rear guard did not come up until near two o'clock in the morning, leaving on the road three elephants and many bullocks. One elephant, as if he was perfectly aware of the difficulty, refused to attempt the ascent, even at the commencement. None of these animals could be recovered, although every pains was taken. The distance we ascended in this day's march was six miles, two furlongs.

We could not move this morning until 10 o'clock, but at this hour we set off. Our road was down a most precipitous descent for 6 furlongs, when we came to a small spring of water which flowed in a valley on the right of the road, and here we stopped to allow our cattle to drink; we then descended again a distance of another 6 furlongs, and so very steep was the road that some of the cattle that fell, unable to recover themselves, came rolling over the others and causing great confusion and distress; even the elephants kept their feet with great difficulty. We here found a small weak stockade, intended apparently as an advanced post to the one on the hill. The road from hence wound round the side of a conical hill, with a steep precipice on our right. The whole of these hills were covered with a superior species of bamboo, growing up very straight to an immense height. An accident happened here which might have been attended with serious consequences. Lt. Vivian was leading his pony over a fallen tree, which the animal sprang over, and alighted on some ground which gave way with him, and, being unable to recover himself, rolled over the edge of the precipice and bounded over and over to the distance of 100 yards, when, to the great astonishment of every one looking on, the animal regained its feet apparently uninjured and began eating the surrounding leaves. Pioneers and ropes were obliged to be sent down to drag him up, and on his resurrection even his saddle was found to be uninjured. The nature of the ground during this march was much the same, being generally on a ridge on the side of a hill running around it. We had, at different times, a sight of the stockade we left in the morning, now towering above our heads and seemingly mingled with the clouds. At dusk we encamped at the fall of a ridge at a place called Waddeh. A short way down the southern side of the ridge was a spring of water, and the access to it not difficult — a most important relief to our poor cattle. On this day's march the baggage arrived between 9 and 10 o'clock P.M. The ascents, after leaving this place were numerous, but the road generally good through a very fine bamboo jungle in which are numerous herds of wild elephants, the tracts [*sic*] of which could be seen in every direction. There was little variation in this day's march, the road lay over the ridges and necks of land until within two miles of Surwaywah, when it began to descend gradually, and we shortly found ourselves to our great delight on the banks of the river Deng [*sic*]. Here we got plenty of fine fodder for our cattle and good encamping ground for ourselves. We had been led to suppose that from hence to Deng would be but a short march, and that the road was good, but we found, on crossing the river, and ascending the opposite hills, that it was with the greatest difficulty we could keep on our feet, the ground being so remarkably slippery, and as we were marching before daylight, darkness added not a little to our embarrassment. Shortly, however, after the day broke, the road became better, running through a thick jungle. We crossed over eight mountain torrents, all of which had bridges composed of strong wood and well formed, but decay had commenced, and they would have been unfit for our troops to have passed over, which was unlucky, as it gave our Pioneers much trouble to cut and form roads, which they were obliged to do up the steep banks. We again crossed the Aeng River, leaving the hills entirely to our right. The road now ran through a flat country covered with jungle. After

crossing the Kaing Nullah, and once more re-crossing the Aeng River, we arrived at the long-looked-for village of Aing. Here we found a small detachment of the 68th Bengal Native Infantry. The headman of the village, with several of his people, came out to meet us, and afforded us every assistance in housing the men.

We had thus successfully accomplished in twelve days a march through a range of mountains heretofore entirely unknown to Europeans, and the existence of any road through which, by which a body of troops could move, was not believed. This point is now decided, and in any future war with the Burmese this knowledge may be of great importance, leading as the route does into the very heart of the Burmese Empire. It appears that this road was commenced about the year 1816 by order of the present King's father, who employed 500 men for the purpose, giving them at the rate of about seven Rupees a month. The responsibility and superintendence of the work fell on the Chiefs through whose districts it passed. In 1817 they had nearly gained the summit, when 200 more men were added to the working party, and the work was in consequence completed in 1818.

We here enquired what means had been used to transport the famous colossal statue of Gaudma, taken by the Burmese from the Arracanese across the hills, and were told that forty years ago orders had arrived for it being sent to Ava by Ingy Kadoo, for which purpose the head was taken off, and the body divided above the navel. Three rafts were then constructed, on which these different parts were floated down the Sunderbunds to Chandwaye; thence it was transported in the same way to Tongo Koung, at the foot of the hills, where it remained until a road was formed to Padown Mhew just below Prome. When the road was made, the three parts were placed on sledges and dragged by manual labour over the mountains to the banks of the Irawaddy.

The only inhabitants we found at Aeng were Mugs, the Burmese having long since deserted to avert the deserved retaliation they were likely to meet with from this race of people for the numerous cruelties they had practised on them during the . . . . and sway of the Burmese. Aeng is situated in a small plain, surrounded by a thick jungle. In the front runs the Aeng River, and on each side of the village is a small river, or rather large nullahs. From this place there is no road down the country, the communication with the lower provinces being entirely by water through the Sunderbunds.

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(*Continued from Vol. XXV., p. 342.*)

Mr. MANNER'S VARIANTS.

No. 2. — THE ORIGIN OF THE BHUTA PANJURLI.[38]

When the God Nârâyaṇa was in Vaikuṇṭha and when the thirty and three *kharôrs* of gods who are the offspring of Âditi, and Kaṇva and other ascetics, Nârada and other Ṛishis, Vidyadhara and other Bhûta tribes, and Urvasî and other celestial women were serving at the feet of the god, one day **Brahmâ** came to pay a visit to the god **Nârâyaṇa**. At that time the gate was kept by two watchmen named Jaya and Vijaya. Brahmâ asked them thus:— "O **Jaya** and **Vijaya**, I wish to go in. Will the god be at leisure now?"

They answered:—"O Brahmâ, at this time there are many persons inside, but you will surely get an opportunity to go in."

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[38] Two versions of this important Bhûta legend have already been given. This is the completest version and contains many remarkable passages.—R. C. T.

So saying, they let him in. Thereupon he went in and saw the god and thus exclaimed: — "Victory, victory, unto thee, O thou that fillest the fourteen worlds, thou omnipotent, eternally holy and eternally pure, thou spotless one and good and self-dependent, thou form of transcendental brightness, thou form of illimitable size."

While Brahmâ was thus praising him, the god addressed him and said:—" O Brahmâ, art thou happy in the exercise of thy authority? Is the whole of the creation in all the worlds progressing?"

To this **Brahmâ answered** and said:—" O god, why dost thou test me thus? Dost thou not know how the worlds are going on? Art thou not he that doest all these things? Why dost thou speak thus, complimenting me? **Am I not thy [Narâyaṇâ's] servant?** Why dost thou make much of thy servant? I am equal to the dust of thy feet. Thou oughtest not to speak so highly of me."

To this Nârâyaṇa answered and said:—" It is true that you are my servant; but throughout the world if one respects others he will be respected by others; but if one does not respect others, others will not respect him. He should not shew him any disrespect. I will tell you something more: hear me. The people of the world commit sin and then blame me. They do not see their own sins, but blame me in vain. When they fall into distress, then only they remember me. But when they are in prosperity they forget me. What shall I do with such men? They commit sin only; they do not do any good deeds. They revile one another. They despise others, saying this man is so and so. Brothers born under the same roof, and of the same parents, quarrel and fight with one another, and fall upon forts and castles, and possess them and enjoy them. They do not support the mother that bore them, but hearken unto their wives, and forsake their fathers and mothers and brothers and hate them. Besides this, they make distinctions and say, that man is of that caste, this man is of this caste; he is of a low caste, I am of a high caste. I must not touch him: it is a great sin for me to touch him. Besides this, they steal one another's property, and covet one another's wives, and envy and hate one another, and kill one another by poison. All such heinous sins they commit. And yet I have not commanded them to do such things. I have not commanded them to bserve caste distinctions. I have commanded them not to lie, not to covet another's wife, not to rob another's property, and not to envy others. I have commanded them according to the *Shâstras* which I have made. I have given them commandments according to the word. To me caste is nothing. Wherever righteousness, faith, truth, peace and a quiet mind are found, there I hold communion. Those who do not act according to my statutes and commands have been condemned by me to receive Yama's punishment in hell. Besides this, there are those who make distinctions at feasts. Such also will have to endure the punishment of hell. Now I am very glad that you have come to me. What is the business for which you have come here? Tell me your purpose in coming to me."

When he said this, Brâhmâ answered and said:—" O Lord, I am always anxious to see thee. But there is no means of doing it. I have no time, owing to pressure of work. Thou knowest it."

To this, the god replied:—" O Brahmâ, sit awhile here; now **Isvara** will come. You can see him also and then go. See the wonderful things that take place here."

To this Brahmâ said:—" I do not understand what the cause of this is. Thou must tell me."

To this the god said:—" See! what is to take place must not be told beforehand; whether it is known or not, it must not be told. Remember this advice."

While they were thus speaking, Îśvara and **Pârvatî** were sitting on a throne in Kailâsa, and sixty and four thousand of male demons were dancing joyfully and praising Îśvara. They were leaping and shouting, running and biting at each other, and snapping and tearing

and spitting at each other, and swallowing and sucking at each other, and bawling. In this manner they came before Îśvara, and prostrated themselves before his feet, and begged him to give them his orders. Îśvara commanded them, saying: — "All of you must now come with me to Vaikuṇṭha. The god Nârâyaṇa is there. He is the Lord of us all. Let us pay him a visit, and return."

At this, the great demons came out very joyfully and descended fram Kailâsa. Îśvara and Pârvatî, sitting on a bull dancing like a black-bee, with trumpets and pipes and drums playing, came down from Kailâsa to Vaikuṇṭha. At that time the door-keeper Jaya spoke to Vijaya thus:—"O Vijaya, tell me, who is this coming with so much grandeur?"

He said:—"This is Îśvara coming to pay a visit to the god. What a multitude of demons is with him! What is this? Where were all these demons? Where will they get space to sit or move?"

While they were yet speaking, the demons came before and Îśvara came behind them. When they approached the gate, Jaya and Vijaya quickly got up and stood before the gate with clasped hands, saying: — "Be gracious unto us poor gate-keepers; we are always keeping the gate."

So saying and praising him, they kept their post as before. In this manner, Îśvara entered in and began to praise Nârâyaṇa, and Brahmâ also praised Nârâyaṇa. After both of them had finished praising him, Nârâyaṇa asked Îśvara: — "O Îśvara, are you dwelling in Kailâsa as in former times, or are you worse off than formerly?"

Îśvara answered: — "By thy grace I have been happy till now."

In this manner, while Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Îśvara were speaking for a long time, the god Nârâyaṇa perspired. Then he scratched his arm-pit. Then some of his perspiration dropped down upon the earth, and out of that perspiration a great boar was born. He came upon every one and drove every one before him. At this, the followers of Îśvara and the gods were astonished exceedingly, and asked the god Nârâyaṇa: — "What is this? Whence is this boar? Where has he been so long? What is the cause of this? Please tell us."

When all the gods asked this of the god Nârâyaṇa, he said unto them: — "O ye gods, hearken. In the world wickedness is increased among men, and they commit great sins. Therefore I have created a boar by my perspiration, and, giving a name to it, I have sent it to give trouble to the sinners, in order to humble them and make them wise."

Then the boar came sighing, grunting and roaring, and striking the earth with its tusks, and digging up the earth with both its fore legs as well as hind legs, and digging a pit and falling and leaping came to the god; and stood before, him trembling in anger, and trembled more and more. Then the god Nârâyaṇa said to Brahmâ and Îśvara:—"Behold, the boar is dumb and cannot speak. Therefore it has now come to me that I may give it speech, and is trembling in anger. But now I will take away its form of a boar and give it in a minute before your very eyes the form of a big Bhûta, which is the form of a big man."

So saying, he took hold of the tusks of the boar and lifted it up and threw it away. At once the form of the boar was changed into the form of a man as tall as a cocoanut-tree. Seeing this being, all the gods were very much astonished, and said:—"O Lord, thou art the creator of the men of the fourteen worlds and of all the eighty-four lakhs of species of animals. To thee it is not at all difficult to create this Bhûta. We know that thou art a great magician. Thou art very glorious."

While the gods were thus praising him, the man in the form of a Bhûta leapt and came to the god and began to tremble. And yet he could not open his mouth without the permission of the god; and because he could not open his mouth he felt great distress. Then the god, knowing this, said to him:—"Speak now and beg of me whatever is in your mind; be no more in distress."

Then the Bhûta fell prostrate before the god and wept, shedding tears. Then the god said: — "Why do you weep? Tell me whatever you desire. I will give it to you. I will satisfy your longings; do not weep, rise up."

In this manner, after the god had given him a promise and encouragement, the Bhûta arose and cried aloud, and said to the god: — "O Lord, I am thirsty, I cannot endure this thirst; my throat is dried up without any moisture on account of my thirst. Show me a way to quench my thirst. If I am to live I must first quench my thirst."

When he begged of the god in this way, the god said to him:—"I know you are very thirsty; now, there is **a large tank here called Dêva-pushkaraṇi.** Go and drink the water of that tank and quench your thirst. Then the Bhûta went to the tank and stood upon the brink of it, and bowing his head drank the water very eagerly, and being filled and joyful, he returned to the god and said: — "O Lord, according to thy command, I went to the tank and drank as much water as I wanted. Now my thirst is quenched, and I beg of you to give me some food. Thou hast created me in the form of a Bhûta. Thou only art my stay henceforth. Therefore, please shew me a way to obtain food."

At this, the god said to him: — "Behold, I have created you by the sweat of my arm-pit. Now if I do not support my son, it will be a great shame to me; therefore, I will shew you a great way; do not be anxious. Now, therefore, go down to the world. There are many sinners there. They have infants and cattle, and children and calves, and cows and she-buffaloes and he-buffaloes, and young heifers and young bulls, and many other animals. If you go and enter into the cowpens belonging to the sinners and attack the animals, they will come and see. I have, therefore, created and sent **fifteen hundred kinds of diseases** before you. **I send you as a promoter of the diseases, and also, that you may get food, I have kept there wise men and charmers and fortune-tellers, who can distinguish the diseases from the doings of the Bhûtas.** Now if you go to the world and give trouble in the houses of the sinners, they will consult the fortune-tellers and come to know that the trouble was caused by you, and then they will put their trust in you and do just as you tell them. And they will believe in you gladly out of fear, lest you should give them more trouble if they do not believe in you. Then you can take whatever sacrifices you like; have no fear as to that. You can take sheep, fowls, and such sacrifices of flesh; besides this, you can take tender cocoanuts and ripe cocoanuts, baked rice and beaten rice, jaggery and sugar-cane, and cakes of various kinds, and torches and signet; all such sacrifices you may take. Do so and give trouble to the sinners of the world and fill your stomach and be happy."

So saying, the god gave him a blessing and said: — "Behold, go you before, and I will send behind you many Bhûtas into world. Go you before and receive the sacrifices."

When he said this the Bhûta asked:—"O Lord, if I go into the world and possess a man and make him to tremble; then, if they ask me who I am, what shall I say? What is my name? You must give me a name."

Then the god said:—"Behold, your name is **Pañjurli Bhûta.** I give this name to you. Establish this your name in the world, and receive sacrifices and homage and be happy."

So saying, he sent him away. Then the Pañjurli searched for a way to come down to the world from Vaikuṇṭha. He saw many ways, but he took the way that led him to the district of **Yelenâḍu on the Ghâṭs.** So he descended to the valley of Yelenâḍu, and wandering for seven days and seven nights he came to **Subramaṇya** and made obeisance to the *gunda* and prostrated before the god Subraya and said:—"O Lord Subramaṇya, I have come near thy feet; be thou also kind and gracious unto me wherever I go and help me and prosper me."

When he was thus praying, the sound of a bell was heard from within the *gunda.* Then the Pañjurli said to himself:—"Now, this is miraculous doing of this god. It is a very auspicious sign."

Thinking thus, he started from the place, and while coming with his face to the west he saw in a forest at **Mardâl** a *budu* which appeared to him beautiful; and he thought :—"Now in this place I must obtain a feast; here I must proclaim my name. I must find out some means for it."

Thus meditating, he wandered about in the day-time in the forest about the *budu* in the form of a wind. At that time the cowherd boys came there, driving the cattle of that *budu* to the grassy plot for grazing. Then the Pañjurli in the form of a wind wandered about in that place, and, seeing the fat cows and he-buffaloes and she-buffaloes and their young ones, was very glad; and said to himself:—"What shall I do now? However, let the sun set. After sunset I will enter the *budu* and try to obtain a feast for myself."

Meditating in this manner, he wandered about in the forest till sunset, and afterwards entered into the cow-pen, and kept quiet in a corner, till the cowherd boys had collected all the cattle into the cow-pen. In the meantime the night came on, and it was time for the master of the house to take his meal. Then all the servants of the house, the bondmen, and those who had undertaken work on contract and day-labourers and rice-men and rice-water-men, all these came to take their meals. Then the bondmen went to the cow-pen to give fodder to the cattle, and gave rice-water to the buffaloes and oxen, and, after they had drunk, they put the watering trough upside down, and then put straw and green grass before them, and making everything comfortable for the cattle went their way. In the meantime, the mistress of the house, having served food to her husband, called the bondmen:—"O bondmen, bring your vessels and take your food."

Then they called their wives from their huts, and told them to bring the vessels. Then they took their children on their hips and the vessels on their heads, and each came to the *budu* and called the mistress of the house:—"O mistress, mistress, please bring me the rice; I have brought the vessel. I have no one in my hut. I have kept paddy on the fire to be boiled, and there is nobody to look after the fire."

At this the mistress quickly brought the rice and gave it to the bondwomen. She also brought a big spoon of cocoanut-shell and put out four spoonsful of rice and four spoonsful of conjee for each and sent away the bond-women to their huts. And after all had eaten and finished, all lay down to sleep. After one *jama* of night was over, the racing-buffaloes in the cow-pen began to cough. The master of the house, who was lying on the swinging-cot heard it. Then he called his wife, and awoke her, and said:— "Do you hear, the he-buffaloes in the cow-pen are coughing; be quick and light a lamp."

At this, his wife quickly got up and lighted a lamp and brought it to her husband. Then he quickly took the hand-lamp and went to the cow-pen, and there he saw two of the racing buffaloes lying prostrate on the floor. As soon as he saw it, his spirit left him, and suddenly falling on the floor he became insensible. In the meantime his nephews came to him, and applying water to his eyes and chest brought him to consciousness, and raised him up; and afterwards they tried to raise up the buffaloes. When they raised the buffaloes, they saw that they had no strength in their legs to stand. They also saw that they had not eaten a single straw out of the food that was before them.

Then they said:— "Alas! what is this! The buffaloes were quite well yesterday; what has become of them to-day?"

When the uncle said thus to the nephew, he said:— "There must be some reason for this; if these buffaloes should survive till the morning, we can do something, we can prepare some medicine and try to save them."

When they said this the buffaloes began to gasp. Then the master became afraid; but what could he do? They all kept awake till the morning as if they had put rice in their mouths. After it was morning the buffaloes became worse and worse. Then they said:—"We must call our neighbours and ask them what it is; it could not have taken place of itself."

So saying, they called in the neighbours. The neighbours came and saw the buffaloes, and said to the master of the *budu* :— "This looks as if it were the trouble of some Bhûta; the buffaloes are vomitting white foam. If you go to some fortune-teller and ask him and do as he bids you, it will be all right; but you will have to spend about ten pagodas."

So saying, they departed. Then the master turned his face to the east and said:— "O Lord God, I will do just as told by the fortune-teller. I will not fail."

So saying, he removed the husks of two cocoanuts, leaving a tuft at the top, and taking these cocoanuts with him went straight to the house of the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa. At that time he was worshipping the god. He went to his house and sat on the verandah. Then the Brâhmaṇî went to the well to bring water. Then the master of the budu said to her:— "O Brâhmaṇî, is your master at home?"

She replied:—"Yes."

Then he took courage and said :— "O madam, let the Bhaṭṭa come out for a little while; I want to consult him. It is getting late for me; let him do me this favour. It will be a great merit for him."

Then the Brâhmaṇî quickly went in and told her husband:—"Behold, you are requested to go out for a little while. The master of the *budu* is calling you; be quick, some fortune-telling is to be done; please go out quickly."

When she said this, he made haste and went out. Then he, who was sitting on the verandah, stood up, and, joining his hands, said:— Sir, Sir."

Then the Bhaṭṭa said:—"Come, come, what business has brought you here? You come very rarely."

Then the master of the *budu* said:—"O Bhaṭṭa, in my *budu*, my racing-buffaloes are ailing. They are at the point of death. Whatever I do is of no avail. They never had such sickness before. Please, therefore, discover the cause and use some means to stop the disease. You only can do it; there is no other way."

So saying, he stood clasping his hands. Then the Brâhmaṇ said to him:—"Well, I will do so and tell you what I come to know."

So saying, he went in and brought a bag of *kauṛîs* to the verandah, and, keeping a low stool before him, he placed on the stool a number of *kauṛîs* for each of the twelve signs of the zodiac, commencing from Mêsha, and said:— "O Lord God, shew to me everything just as it is; the man is poor."

Thus prayed the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa, and then said to the man:— "Now, place your present before these signs of the zodiac."

At this he untied the knot in his cloth and took half-a-rupee and placed it together with the two tufted cocoanuts before the signs of the zodiac, and, clasping his hands devoutly, said:—"O Lord God."

The fortune-telling Bhatta saw the present which he had placed, and made his calculations and came to know that there was great distress in his house. Then he told the man:— "You see, there is great distress in your house. But because the present which you have placed has come forth at the sign of Mêsha, I can say it is a **Bhûta with a hog's face.** Yet he seems to have come recently. Before this he was not in your house. Now he asks sacrifice from you. And not only a sacrifice, but he asks to have a *stâna* built for him, and sacrifices offered. And further he says that he will not leave you without your building a *stâna* for him. Such is the case."

At this the master of the *budu* again asked:— "O Bhaṭṭa, **I will cause a stâna to be built for the Bhûta, and I will believe in him, but the he-buffaloes must get well this minute.** Then I will do just as you tell me. What do you think? **Tell me, do you think the buffaloes will get well this minute, if I believe?"**

At this the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa again took the *kauṛ's*, and prayed thus: — " O Lord God shew us a sign of good fortune if the buffaloes are to get well."

So praying, he took the *kauṛ's* and put them down, and on calculation a good fortune was shewn. Then the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa took the *kauṛ's* and told the man: — " You see, you are a fortunate man. It is very well; such a fortune has not come to any one; it is very auspicious. Behold, when you go home, you will see the buffaloes up and eating grass. They will get well."

At this the man took courage and again asked him: — " O Bhaṭṭa, you have just now ordered me to build the *stâna*; I do not know in what month I should begin it. You must inform me about that."

To this, the Bhaṭṭa said: — " You see, I cannot tell you. Pañjurli Bhûta is not a small Bhûta; he is very great and powerful. You must do one thing: you must get Pañjurli to possess a man in your house. Then you must invite your neighbours and relatives and friends and invite some great persons also, and get the Bhûta to come upon a man, and then begin to build the *stâna* on the day mentioned by the Bhûta. I would have told you, but I cannot tell about this Pañjurli. He is a Bhûta that would not hesitate to murder a man for the sake of a cocoanut. I cannot even talk of him."

Then the Ballâḷ of the *buḍu* said: — " O Bhaṭṭa, what you have said is very wise, I am very glad of it. I will get everything done according to your words. You must tell me an auspicious day for inviting the Bhûta."

At this the Bhaṭṭa, consulting his almanac, said: — "You can invite the Bhûta on Friday, the 27th of this month."

At this the Ballâḷ said: — " You must be pleased to come to my house on that day."

To this the Bhaṭṭa said:—" You see, it is as if I had come. Because I have much trouble at home, I cannot come. If I am not at home for a single moment the children quarrel and make a great row. Therefore, I cannot come. What am I to come for? Tell me, why am I needed? Who will do you any harm if I am not present? Do just as the Bhûta orders you."

At this, he said:— " Whatever you may say, you must come. Without you I will do nothing."

At that time his nephew, **Îśara Ballâḷ**, came to see his uncle. He said to himself:— " My uncle has gone a long while ago; what is he doing at the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa's house? I will go and see."

His uncle said to him:— " How are the buffaloes? They are well; is it not so?"

To this the nephew answered:—" Yes, they are well: however, for this once they have survived. They have got up of themselves, and now they are eating some grass. Therefore, now there is no more need of any medicine or anything else."

At this the uncle said to the nephew: — " Nephew, keep quiet. If I had not come to the fortune-teller and had not consulted him, by this time they would have died. What do you know? As I made haste and struck the iron while it was hot, it became effective."

While thus speaking, the sun reached the meridian. At that time a man came to call the fortune-teller to perform worship at the temple. Then he said to them:—" You see, I am now going to the temple. Go you also."

Then both the uncle and the nephew said:—" Sir, now give us leave to go. On the day when I invite the Bhûta I will send for you; you must come to my house accompanying him."

So saying, they went to the *buḍu*. As soon as they reached home they went to the cow-pen, and when they saw the racing-buffaloes eating grass eagerly, they were very glad.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 6. — The Charitable Maid-servant.[1]

ONCE upon a time, in a certain country, there lived a king, who was notorious for his stinginess. Being no friend even to almsgiving in the abstract, he went so far as to tell his wife to see that not a single ear of corn went beyond the threshold; much less was she ever to give a handful of rice, wheat, or any of the pulses to the poorest human being out of the granary. The king was as niggardly in his own household as he was uncharitable to others; and the daily rations for himself and his wife were a *sêr* of wheat flour. This the queen, following the instructions of her lord, used to give, after carefully weighing it, to a maid-servant to make cakes with; and the cakes were weighed after they had been baked, so that it might be known for certain that no flour, not even a grain, had been pilfered.

Now the maid, who used to cook the meals for the king and queen, was of a charitable disposition by nature; so, notwithstanding the weighment of the flour in the first instance, and then of the cakes when baked, she used to pilfer one-eighth *sêr* of the flour, putting in its place an exactly similar amount of fine firewood ashes. With what she pilfered she used to make a cake, baking it along with the others, and passing it through a drain to a needy beggar, who was the recipient of her charity in this manner for a number of years.

Now, a foreign potentate, who had had an eye on the possessions of the king for several years, appeared with great suddenness one day before the gates of the royal castle, and began operations for taking it. His forces were so superior that the castle seemed to be lost, when there arose before the king's vision, standing upright, an innumerable number of *chapâṭîs* (cakes), close to one another, which shielded the king, and prevented his small force from being overwhelmed by the enemy. Thus was the kingdom saved, which, had it not been for the protection of his small army in this miraculous manner, would have been lost to the king. The vision of the protecting cakes remained in the king's mind for many a day; so, one day, he sent for his queen and asked her what the vision meant. She could not explain the matter; so the king turned to the maid-servant who cooked meals for him, and enquired of her. Before explaining anything, she asked for the liberty of speech, and when this was granted, the maid, preparing herself for either good or evil, made a clean breast of the whole affair — how she used to pilfer the wheat flour, prepare a cake of it, and pass it through a drain to a beggar.

It was "those cakes," the agitated damsel added, "that saved you, O king, from the invaders; for the charity, though I was the humble instrument of it, was solely and wholly yours, and you have reaped the benefit, not only for yourself, but even more for our sake — for servants, subjects, and all."

Pleased with the sagacity of the maid-servant, as also with her eloquent address, he made her his queen, making the former queen change places with her. The king did thus for the reason[2] that she should have exercised her faculty of understanding and discriminated between right and wrong, though he had, in an evil hour, laid upon her the injunction not to be charitable.

It need not be said that the king was ever afterwards charitable. Nay, his name became proverbial, and his newly-made queen found wider scope in her new affluent position as queen for the exercise of her favourite virtue.

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[1] Narrated by the writer's wife, the late M. Hîrâ Bâî.

[2] This is a strictly Oriental notion.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

By C. K. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(*Continued from p.* 28.)

X.

At **Madura** lived a Brâhmaṇ who had two sons. After hoarding up immense riches, he at last died. The two sons collected the money together, and effected a division of it equally. Each put his share into a sealed bag, entrusted it to an old woman, saying that they were going to a far off country on a pilgrimage, and told her to return the amount safely on their return, when they would both come and ask for it. This was agreed to.

After traversing a short distance, the younger brother devised measures to dupe the elder. He rose one night at midnight, went back to their starting point unknown to his brother, visited the old woman, and told her that while they were both wandering along, a tiger had put an end to the elder brother, and that that was why he was obliged to return alone, and requested her to return the money entrusted to her by both the brothers. The old woman was a little staggered, but considering that he was not likely to cheat his brother entrusted the whole sum to him. He took it and quietly went away to a far off place.

Then the elder brother, not finding the younger one, returned overwhelmed with sorrow to his own abode, went to the old woman, and said that he did not know what had become of his brother. He therefore called upon her to return the whole of the sum entrusted to her. The old woman told him what had happened a few days before; how his younger brother misrepresented the state of affairs, and had walked away with the whole amount.

On hearing this, he began to dispute with the old woman, and brought her before a court of justice. The magistrate heard both the plaintiff and the defendant in the suit in full, saw how the old woman had been duped, called the man and decided as follows:—"The money was entrusted to the woman on the understanding that it should be returned when *both* of you came back and demanded it. It is not fair therefore to ask her to pay back the amount when you come and ask for it singly. If you are in need of money, therefore, fetch out your brother."

The man was unable to answer this argument and went his own way.

XI.

At **Avanti** lived two merchants, **Durbuddhi** and **Subuddhi** by name. These two men went to a foreign country, amassed much wealth there, and returned, and buried unknown to anybody the whole of their riches under a huge tamarind tree very near the town, and went to their respective houses.

Not long after, Durbuddhi went clandestinely to the spot, purloined the whole treasure and carried it away to his house. A few days after the incident, both of them conjointly went to the tree and found to their sad disappointment that the treasure was gone. Upon this Durbuddhi accused the other of having secreted the treasure, dragged him before a court of justice, and carried a complaint against him, saying that Subuddhi alone had carried off, unknown to him, the treasure which they jointly buried under the tree, and requested that justice be done in the case.

The judge looked at him, and called upon him to prove the truth of his accusation against Subuddhi. Durbuddhi said that he would prove it by the tree itself under which the treasure was buried. The judge replied that he would investigate the affair the next day.

Meanwhile, Durbuddhi took his father along with him, placed him in the hollow of the tree, and instructed him to answer favourably (to himself) the judge's queries on the morrow. The next day, the judge, according to promise, came with his attendants near the tree and asked who had taken away the money. To the intense astonishment of the bystanders (the man inside) the tree accused Subuddhi of having secreted the money. But the judge was not a man to give in so easily. After a little reflection he caused some straw to be brought, stuffed the hollow with it, and set fire to it. The man inside was suffocated and fell out of the tree dead. The judge, perceiving the deceit that Durbuddhi had played, came to the conclusion that it was he who had walked away with the money. He caused therefore all the money to be brought and given over to Subuddhi.

Durbuddhi having paid very dearly for the deceit he had played — in the loss of his riches and his father to boot — went home with a very sad heart.

XII.

At **Vizagapatam** lived two friends, one of whom used to perform with care the morning ablutions at dawn, and proceeding to the temple, remained there for a long time circumambulating

the deity. The other was a frequenter of brothels, and passed his time in frivolous conversation with prostitutes. The former, though a frequenter of the temple, always had his heart with his friend who led so evil a life, and was overwhelmed with grief that he did not follow in his friend's footsteps. The latter was, however, ashamed of his depraved character, and was extremely sorry that he did not follow the virtuous ways of his friend.

This went on for a time, and then they both breathed their last. But the former went to Hell, and the latter to Heaven. The sage Nârada, seeing the fate of these two, approached the Almighty and said: — "O God! Hell has fallen to the lot of the man who spent his days in your temple, while you have given Heaven and final beatitude to the fellow who never for a moment thought of you, and delighted always in the conversation of women of ill-fame. If you, who, are all-powerful, perpetrate such barefaced injustice, who in the world will adore you?"

The Almighty smiled on hearing these words and said that he gave the latter man redemption, for, though a frequenter of houses of ill-fame, he centred his mind on the deity; while the other who frequented the temple diverted his attention to other matters and totally forgot the deity. Hell therefore had become his lot. Thus we see that upon the purity of the mind depends the good or evil state we attain after death.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE DONKEY-RIDE PUNISHMENT.

In the Delhi district the celebrated and ancient punishment of sending a man with blackened face and necklace of old shoes round his neck and seated on a donkey facing the tail, round the village as a punishment for lewdness, has dwindled into merely putting him on a donkey and riding him round the village. This punishment was recently inflicted on one Bhûlû, a Mêô, for suspected intimacy with a potter's wife (*kumhârnî*). It would be interesting to ascertain in what forms this old custom still survives up and down the country under British rule. — *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BOOK-NOTICES.

Gana Vidya Sanjivini. A Treatise on Hindu Music, by C. Tirumalayya Naidu. Printed at the Uyjayanti Press, Madras.

This little work aims at describing in a small compass the leading characteristics of Hindu Music, in so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned. The Introduction, in English, shows considerable research, and the author has evidently studied to advantage all that has been advanced by modern writers on the subject. No attempt is made to vie with Captain Day's elaborate work *The Music and Musicians of Southern India*, but a valuable addition to the scanty literature of a little-known subject has been produced, which should be in the hands of all interested in this branch of Oriental research. The author's remarks on the fact that a knowledge of the physiology of the human body was essential for the true understanding of Hindu Music may be compared with the statements in Mersennus, for long a standard work on European musical theory; and his notes on the Śrutis and their acoustic divisions are important. We have also an explanation of the Râgas and Râgiṇîs, which may be likened to the Modes in the Music of the Greeks.

The gap between Hindu Music and the music of modern European nations is so great, as to lead those who are only superficially acquainted with the subject to suppose that there can be no connection between them, but such is not the case. Modern European music is the growth of a few centuries, and may be said to owe its existence to the invention of the Organ, the use of which necessitating the employment of a system of Harmony; and at the time of the formation of the Roman Empire, Hindu Music, as performed on such an instrument as the *vina*, would have taken a high place. The Highland Bagpipes still remain as a modern proof of this. The author indeed shows that, by the use of the Ansa Swara, of Tonic, as the fundamental note in Hindu Music, Hindu musical art is considerably in advance of Greek Music, and more nearly approaches to our modern theory.

Mr. C. Tirumalayya Naidu could not do better in the interests of science than supplement his present work by an accurately scored record of the Râgs and Râgiṇîs, and by an account of the intervals used in the methods of tuning the instruments about which he writes.

The Uyjayanti Press deserve great credit for the manner in which this little work has been placed before the public.

BULLETIN OF THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA.

BY A. BARTH OF THE INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

(Translated from the French by Dr. James Morison.)

(Continued from Vol. XXIV. p. 73.)

Buddhism.

PUTTING aside two or three events which the Greeks have recorded, **the dated history of India begins with the inscriptions**, and the oldest of these inscriptions, the celebrated edicts of King Piyadasi Aśôka (in the middle of the third century before our era), are, at the same time, the first Buddhist documents of indisputable authenticity which we possess. It is very probable that, among the materials incorporated in the *Tripiṭaka*, there is an element which goes further back than this, for it is certain that the Buddhism, which we see in the inscriptions to be in a manner elevated into the position of the state religion of the most powerful empire of India, had a literature even then. But several reasons justify us in doubting whether it was in possession of a canon so early as that.[82] In any case, there is not a single fragment of the canon in its present form, either in Pâḷi or Sanskṛit, which we can affirm with any degree of confidence to belong to so remote an age. Further, every discovery which adds a fragment to his precious series is a kind of event, and happily recent years have enriched us with several. The English translation of M. Senart's brilliant labours on these inscriptions was not yet completed.[83] Professor Bühler was in the middle of the painstaking revision which he was devoting to them, partly with the help of better copies,[84] when new versions of the edicts were found near the Afghan frontier.[85] Then came the fuller versions of the edicts of Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth, found by Mr. Rice in Mysore. The monuments have suffered a great deal, and the first facsimiles were very imperfect, at least M. Senart was unable to make out a coherent text.[86] At the same time he brought out well the importance of the discovery of inscriptions by the great northern king so far to the south, so far from the coast, far within the central plain in countries which have sometimes been represented as hardly out of a state of barbarism seven or eight centuries later.[87] Professor Bühler has contributed his share of elucidations of these inscriptions, and has promised others. Meanwhile he has called attention to the hitherto unnoticed fact that the signature of the writer of these inscriptions is in the southern variety of the

[82] The word *paṁchanêkâyika*, found in the inscriptions at Bharhut and Sâñchî, which Prof. Bühler and Dr. Hultzsch agree in translating by "knower of the Five Nikâyas" (in any case the compound would be hardly regular), would cause us to admit a codification for an epoch which is not, perhaps, much later than that of Aśoka. But to assume from this phrase the existence of the Five Nikâyas of the Pâḷi Canon is rash. This division, like many others, is unknown in the sacred literature of the north.

[83] *The Inscriptions of Piyadasi* in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX. (1880), Vol. X. (1881), Vol. XVII. (1888), and Vol. XXI. (1892); this last series has additions in which the author expresses himself more exactly on several of the results of his previous work.

[84] *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften* in the *Zeitschrift d. deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXXVII. (1883), Vol. XXXIX. (1885), Vol. XL. (1886), Vol. XLI. (1887) p. 1, Vol. XLV. (1891) p. 144, Vol. XLVI. (1892) pp. 54, 539; *Arch. Survey of Southern India*, Vol. I. (1887) p. 144 (the edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. (1890) p. 122 (the pillar edicts); Vol. XX. (1891) p. 361 (the cave inscriptions of Barabar and Nagarjuni). Professor Bühler calls attention to the fact that some of these caves were designed for the use of Brâhmaṇ and Jain ascetics, and that we must be careful not to assign a Buddhist origin to all these excavations indiscriminately; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. 1893, p. 245, the pillar edicts.

[85] In the preceding Bulletin (Vol. XIX. p. 267) I reported on the interpretations given of them by M. Senart and Prof. Bühler; by the latter we have further, *Die Mansehra Version der Felsenedicte Aśoka's* in the *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Vol. XLIII. (1889) p. 273, and Vol. XLIV. (1890), p. 702.

[86] *Notes d' Epigraphie Indienne*, Vol. IV. *Trois Nouvelles Inscriptions d'Aśoka-Piyadasi* (*Journ. Asiat.* May-June, 1892).

[87] As by the late Dr. Burnell, Rev. Thomas Foulkes (*The Dekhan in the Time of Gautama Buddha*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. (1887) p. 49) had attempted to prove the contrary; but all the evidence collected by him does not outweigh the simple fact of the presence of these three inscriptions in Mysore.

alphabets named after Aśôka.[88] Many points in these texts are still obscure; and conspicuously the principal difficulty which those of Sahasrâm and of Rûpnâth still present has been found more complicated than simplified. Better copies are necessary before greater success can be obtained. Professor Bühler has pointed out a new variety of the southern alphabet on an unedited monument from the valley of the Kṛishṇâ,[89] and he has recovered a variant of the Kôsambi edict of Aśôka among General Cunningham's facsimiles of the Sâñchî inscriptions.[90] His latest communication on this subject, made after examining the better copies sent by Prof. Führer, shews that the surname of the king *devânâṁpriya*, restored on Cunningham's facsimile, is not found on the original. The connection which has been pointed out and the place of origin of the fragment are quite consistent, and it seems likely that, even before this epoch, a Buddhistic sanctuary existed in these parts. Last of all, a short time ago, Dr. Burgess announced the discovery, in the Teraï of Nêpâl,[91] of a new column covered with Aśôka inscriptions, and exhibiting two hitherto unknown, besides the seven, edicts commonly found on such monuments.

More or less closely connected with these first inscriptions are others in a character either identical or very slightly modified, whose date must for the time remain undetermined within a century or more, according as we assume this southern alphabet, or alphabet of the *lâṭs* or pillars to have changed more or less rapidly and specially more or less uniformly and more or less definitely. Of this class must be mentioned in the first place, because of the amount of information which they give as to primitive Buddhism, the curt but varied inscriptions of the *stûpa* of Bharhut (or Bharaut, according to Mr. Fleet) of which we owe a new and carefully revised edition to Dr. Hultzsch,[92] and the analogous inscriptions of the *stûpas* of Sâñchî which had been published by General Cunningham, and of which Prof. Bühler has undertaken a critical and much more complete edition, after the excavations made by Dr. Führer and with the help of new facsimiles furnished by that explorer. In place of the 241 numbers contained in the *Bhilsa Topes* of Cunningham, the collection placed at the disposal of Prof. Bühler contains nearly 500, of which 486 are legible.[93] The commentary on what he has published is such as we might expect from Prof. Bühler and abounds in interesting remarks. Among other details he draws attention to the great number of religious men and women, that is persons who can have had no private property, whose names are inscribed on these monuments as donors, and he explains this fact (which is observable elsewhere) by supposing that their gifts were the result of begging. This is, of course, very possible, but the texts do not say this, and the conjecture is perhaps also possible that side by side with rule of poverty there were then relaxations. Strictly speaking, the communities, as well as their members, were debarred from possessing property, and yet everything indicates that from a very early time they were wealthy. Besides the ancient inscriptions, which are by far the most numerous, there are found at Sâñchî inscriptions of a modern date. We have seen above that Prof. Bühler has tried to prove the existence in these parts of Buddhist worship before the age of Aśôka. This worship kept its ground long, and, even in the tenth or eleventh century of our era, statues were there erected to Buddha. There is similarly at Sahêt Mahêt, the ancient Śrâvastî, one of the cradles of Buddhism and Jainism, a long Buddhist inscription of the 13th century discovered by

[88] *The Aśoka Edicts from Mysore* (*Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. k. d. Morgenl.* Vol. VII. (1893) p. 29).

[89] *A New Variety of the Southern Maurya Alphabet* (*Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. k. d. Morgenl.* Vol. VI. (1892) p. 148).

[90] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. (1890) p. 124; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. (1892), p. 87; *Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. k. d. Morgenl.* Vol. VII. (1893) p. 292.

[91] *The Academy*, October 14th, 1893, p. 324.

[92] *Bharaut Inscriptions* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. (1892) p. 225. These inscriptions, published besides by General Cunningham in his large monograph on the monument (1879) had been already revised in part by Prof. Hoernle (*Ind. Ant.* Vols. X. and XI. 1881 and 1882, and Dr. Hultzsch had given an excellent edition of the whole collection in the *Zeitsch. d. d. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* Vol. XL. (1886). The new edition contains a list, with a reference to the collection of Prof. Fausböll, of all the *Jâtakas* mentioned expressly or merely represented on the monument; the number of those thus identified is twenty-four.

[93] *Votive Inscriptions from the Sânchi Stûpas* (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. (1892) p. 87); *The Inscriptions on the Sânchi Stûpas* (*Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. k. d. Morgenl.* Vol. VII. (1893), p. 291).

Dr. Führer, among remains of various dates.[94] So at Buddha-Gayâ, the sanctuary of the tree of wisdom, where the Master attained the perfection of a Buddha, and whose long continued history has lately been recounted by the veteran of Indian archæology, in a magnificent volume.[95] Here again the inscriptions date from the earliest times down to the twelfth century. The long series of excavations executed under his direction[96] have enabled General Cunningham to determine the successive additions which made the actual building, and to reconstruct the plan and chief arrangement of the original sanctuary. In agreement with tradition, he attributes this sanctuary to Aśôka, and this conclusion is not impugned by epigraphy; for, though the name of the king has not been met with, the characters of the inscriptions, those at least of oldest date, are the same as those of his edicts.[97] At the extreme north-west of the Pañjâb and of India, where the alphabet called northern, Bactropâli, Indo-Bactrian, or as Prof. Bühler prefers to call it, the Kharôshṭhî, prevails, we are face to face with a similar problem. There also we have on a series of monuments, a form of writing, which beginning with Aśôka, remained with hardly any change for several centuries. A considerable number of these inscriptions is dated; but, in certain cases, when we have not to do with the epoch established by Kanishka, which scholars are almost all agreed in fixing at A. D. 71, there is anything but agreement as to the era or eras to which these dates refer. In a carefully

94 *Archæological Survey of India, New Series*, Vol. I. *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur; with notes on Zafarabad, Sahet Mahet and other places in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. By A. Führer, with Drawings and Architectural Descriptions by Ed. W. Smith. Edited by Jas. Burgess.* Calcutta (and London): 1889. On the other hand one result of the researches of Dr. Führer is that the identification of Bhuila Tâl with the lost Kapilavastu, the place of Buddha's birth, which was proposed by Mr. Carlleyle so confidently, is entirely imaginary. — In the following volume of the *Archæological Survey of India* (*The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, described and arranged*, Allahabad (and London 1891), Dr. Führer has condensed an enormous mass of information on the archæology of that district, which he is exploring with such intelligence and zeal. On Sahet Mahet, the ancient Śrâvastî, see further the essay of Mr. W. Hoey, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXI. *Part I. extra number*, 1892. In the preceding Bulletin (t. XIX. p. 267) I have mentioned the discovery of Mr. Cockburn, near the junction of the Ganges and the Jumnâ, of the cave where, in the time of Hiouen-Thsang, the shade of Buddha appeared. Mr. Cockburn also recovered there an ancient inscription and took an imperfect copy of it, of which Prof. Hoernle (*Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, p. 103) was not able to make much. This inscription, as well as another in the interior of the cave, has since been published by Prof. Führer in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. (1893) p. 240. It is indeed very old, of the first or second century before our era, but possibly Jaina. In the seventh century the cave had been taken possession of again by Buddhism; at the present time, the nearest inhabitants are Jainas.

95 *Mahâbodhi, or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha Gaya.* London, 1892. I regret to have to record the death of General Cunningham on the 28th November 1893. What a wonderful scientic career came to an end in the death of this bold and tireless worker in his eighty-fourth year, and with his pen still in his hand? His first essay bears the date of 1834, when he was the companion and fellow-worker of James Prinsep, and only the other day the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress* held in London, and the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Part III. 1893) brought us his last labours on the coins of the Indo-Scythic Kings.

96 These excavations have unfortunately ended in restorations for which General Cunningham is not answerable and which are too like an act of vandalism. The temple, which for centuries had become Hindu, has been made brand new by means of countless square yards of stone facing and has been claimed again for the community of Buddhists in all quarters of the globe by agitators in Calcutta and Madras.

97 I bring together in this note some other discoveries and identifications of the sacred places of ancient Hindu Buddhism: — I. E. Abbott, *Recently discovered Buddhist Caves at Nâdsûr and Nenavalî in the Bhor-State, Bombay Presidency* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. (1891), p. 121. — Henry Cousens, *The Caves at Nâḍsûr and Karsambla* (*Archæolog. Survey of West. Ind.* No. 12, Bombay, 1891). — T. W. Rhys Davids, *Fa-Hien's "Fire Limit"* (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc. of Gr. Brit. and Ireland*, 1891, p. 337). — T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Buddha's Residences* (*Ibid.* p. 339). — A. Macaulay Markham, *Report on Archæological Excavations in Bijnor, North-Western Provinces* (*Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. LX (1891), p. 1). — Henry Cousens, *Report on the Borid Lakha Medi Stûpa near Junagaḍh* (in Kaṭhiâwâr) (*Ibid.* p. 17). — L. A. Waddell, *Discovery of Buddhist Remains at Mount Uren in Mongir District, and Identification of the site of a celebrated Hermitage of Buddha* (the hill in Hiraṇyaparvata, where, according to Hiouen-Thsang, the Buddha had conquered a certain Yaksha Bakula). (*Ibid.* Vol. LXI. (1892) p. 1). — L. A. Waddell, *The "Tsam-cchô-ḍung" of the Lamas, and their very erroneous identification of the site of Buddha's death* (the Lamas situate it in Assam) (*Ibid.* p. 33). — Lastly I shall mention the very careful translation of the voyages of Fa-Hien by Prof. James Legge, though it has appeared some time ago; *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fâ-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon* (*A. D.* 399-414) *in search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline. Translated and annotated with a Corean Recension of the Chinese Text.* Oxford, 1886.

written essay,[98] M. Senart has tried to let some light into this darkness. Founding on a recently published inscription,[99] which he was the first to decipher correctly,[100] and, bringing it into connection with several other monuments of the same class, he gave it as his opinion that the dates of these texts have reference to an era the beginning of which would fall between 90 and 80 B. C., and the establishment of which must be attributed to those Parthian dynasties, which come between the Greek kings and the great Indo-Scythic empire, and which held sway in the basin of the Indus at the commencement of the Christian era. These results, especially if we take into account the cautious reserves with which the author has taken pains to guard them, ought always to be taken into serious consideration, although it is certain, after the publication of the new facsimile by Mr. Smith, that the date of the inscription of Hashtnagar contains signs for hundreds, and that the most likely reading is 284[1] and not 84. Along with the era proposed by M. Senart, this would bring us, in fact, to about 200 A. D. and, though it is hard to see how this local Parthian era should, in this region, have survived not only these Arsacide dynasties, but even the establishment of the era of Kanishka; it is still more difficult to reckon here according to that latter era, and, with Mr. Smith, bring down this inscription and the alphabet in which it is written as low as 362 A. D. As, on the other hand, we cannot think of the era of the western Arsacides, an era which the Parthian dynasties themselves such as Gondophares, did not employ for their inscriptions, the hypothesis of M. Senart remains the most probable, unless we will fall back on the era of the Seleucides, or content ourselves with a simple confession of ignorance. In any case, to judge by the facsimile, this date of 200 A. D. is not contradicted by the scene depicted on the pedestal. Its pilasters with their broken Corinthian capitals, its foreign garments, its heads with nothing Indian about them but the mode of dressing the hair, its prettiness, which is slightly vulgar and quite secular though the subject is a religious act, very likely an offering to Buddha: all we can say of this sculpture is, that it is derived from western workmanship, and is connected with some period of Græco-Roman art.

(*To be continued.*)

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(*Concluded from page* 53.)

WHEN they came out of the cow-pen, the Ballâḷ's wife asked her husband:—"What, my dear, are you not hungry to-day? The rice and curry have been prepared for a long time. All is now become quite cold. What are you doing? Come and dine, and then go about."

Then he frowned and rebuked her in anger, saying:—"Here, what did you say? You are wailing because you have finished your cooking? Have you to go anywhere? Have you any business? You see, if the buffaloes in the cow-pen are well, all will be well with us. If they are alive, we have food. What do you know? After the buffaloes got ill, I felt neither hunger nor thirst. All that flew away."

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98 *Notes d'Epigraphie Indienne*, Vol. III. *De quelques monuments indo-bactriens* (*Journ. Asiat. février-mars* 1890).

99 This inscription, cut on the base of a statue of Buddha and coming from Hashtnagar, in the north of Peshâwar, had been published, with a not very good facsimile, the only one which M. Senart had at his disposal, by Mr. V. A. Smith, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. (1889) p. 257. A better and more complete reproduction, giving also the bas-relief of which the inscription forms a part (the statue which was erected on this base has not been recovered) has been supplied by the same scholar (*Journ. of the As. Soc. of Beng.* Vol. LVIII. (1889) p. 144.

100 The same corrections had been made independently, but after the publication of the second facsimile, by Prof. Bühler, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. (1891) p. 394. Mr. Smith's reply to M. Senart and Prof. Bühler, *ibid.* Vol. XXI. (1892) p. 166; he gave an extended analysis of M. Senart's essay in the *Journ. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. LXI. (1892), p. 52.

1 Professor Bühler and Mr. Smith both give their voice for 274; but I cannot see any real difference between the signs representing ten.

Then the nephew said:—"Aṇṇa, Aṇṇa, I am very hungry; now let us go."

At this both went to the verandah of the house, and there they saw rice served in plates (of brass) and milk in bowls (of brass) and everything ready. They took water in a pot and washed their hands and faces and sat down to take their meals; and took rice a second time. And having eaten and being filled, they got up and went to the raised platform on the verandah. Then the Ballaḷ called his wife, and told her to bring the bag of betel-leaves; and when she had brought it, he opened it and ate betel-leaves and betel-nut, and reclining on a pillar spat continually. While doing so, he called his nephew and said:—"Behold, you will know after I am dead; because when you came to the house of the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa, did you ask me—'Aṇṇa, did you consult the fortune? What became manifest?' Or some such thing? Do you think any disease is cured of itself? You are a wise fellow. If any one has such nephews, his rice will give place to conjee; there is no doubt of it."

To this the nephew said:—"You see, Aṇṇa, I would have asked; but on account of hunger I had become nearly insensible, as if saffron powder had been put into my eyes. Even my tongue clave to my palate. Therefore, I did not ask. Now I ask you, tell me: what became manifest in the fortune?"

To this the uncle said:—"You see, you Uṇpaṇṇa,[1] as you ought to be called. You are only a boiled-rice man. What shall I tell you?" So saying he rebuked him.

At this the nephew said:—"Do not be angry with me. It is true I am an ignorant man, a boiled-rice man, because I do not know how to live without eating."

To this the uncle said:—"Enough, enough; do not speak much."

So saying he still continued:—"You see, a new Bhûta called Pañjurli has come to this village. It had not come to any place before this; it has first come to our house and shown its power and influence. It is now ascertained by fortune-telling process to be a very powerful Bhûta; and the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa told me to believe in him. Then I told him that I was willing to believe in him; and asked him how I should do it. Then he told me to cause a *stâna* to be built and to keep a cot in it and offer sacrifices to the Bhûta, and thus believe in him. 'If you believe in him thus,' said he, 'your buffaloes will get well this instant, and begin to eat grass.' Accordingly, I agreed to what he said and returned. Therefore, I must begin the work of building the *stâna* next Friday. I must call the carpenters and then begin the work. I cannot do all this work without fifteen pagodas. I am, therefore, anxious, not knowing what to do. What do you know of my anxiety?"

So saying he called his sister and said:—"Akka, the produce of our fields in this year is not enough for four months. If the conjee vessels of the bondmen are not filled to the brim their countenances fall. If three cash of the Government money remains unpaid the collector will not leave us. In this year's rainy season we shall not get conjee water to drink. You see your son has no sense. How will he live? How will he conduct the affairs of this *budu?* I cannot understand it."

At this she said:—"You see, brother, do not tell him anything. Let his life be in him, and let him only live before our eyes; it is enough. Do not you tell him anything. Do as I say; hear me."

At this he left off speaking and went to his work. Then the nephew calling his mother said to her:—"Mother, there are many lumps of cowdung on the grassy plot where the cattle are grazing. I will go and fetch them. When my uncle comes home, if he sees me sitting idle he will abuse me very much. I will do as much as I can."

So saying he took a cowdung basket and a cowdung ladle and went to the grassy plot and filled the basket with the cowdung lumps, and taking it upon his head came home. As he was

[1] *I. e.*, a boiled-rice man, that is, one who is good for nothing but eating.

coming he met his uncle. Then the uncle thought within himself :—"The lad is not idle; he does as much as he can. In this manner, day by day, he will get wiser and wiser; what my sister said is true. Henceforth I must not say any thing to him."

Moreover he thought :—"I must look for a site for a stâna. I do not know where it should be built. Therefore, I must call a magician and shew him the place."

Thinking thus, he quickly took his meal and went to the magician's house. When he went there, he saw the magician sitting in his house and talking cheerfully with his relatives who had come to him. Then the Ballâḷ said to him :—"O magician, I come to you on account of some business."

Then the magician, seeing the Ballâḷ, showed him respect and gave him a mat and a low stool and water in a pot and milk in a bowl, and said :—"Drink, sir," and also placed before him betel-leaves and betel-nut in a brass plate; and after finishing their talk, and after the Ballâḷ had told him everything, the magician accompanied the Ballâḷ to the *budu*. After reaching the *budu*, he ordered a good dinner for him, as if it were the dinner for a feast. So he and the Ballâḷ, having finished dinner, ate the betel-leaves, and then got up and walked round the whole house; and yet they did not find a good site for the *stâna*. Then they went further and looked for a site; there they found a large milk-banyan tree. When they found it, they thought it to be a very suitable site for a *stâna*.

Then the magician said to the Ballâḷ :—"O Ballâḷ, you cannot find such a fine site if you go in search for it in a thousand districts. Such a banyan tree ought to be in a place where a *stâna* is to be built; without it you ought not to build a *stâna*. In this place everything is convenient; therefore, you must build here."

At this the Ballâḷ said :—"It is not enough if you say you must build here. You must tell me how much space is needed, and bringing the measuring line and rod, you must measure the ground just now."

So saying he brought the line and the rod and all the measuring instruments, and having measured the required space drove stakes into the ground, and making everything ready returned home. The next day, being Friday, when the sun arose and came above the horizon to about a man's height, carpenters came to the Ballâḷ with their axes, ready to fell trees, and stood before him with clasped hands. Then the Ballâḷ said to them, "O carpenters, are you come? Sit down in the verandah; I will come shortly."

So saying he ordered a big pot to be filled with water, and taking the water and four *sêrs* of jaggery and four sugar-canes and twenty tender cocoanuts with him, the Ballâḷ called the carpenters to him, and went with them to the forest; and seeing good trees asked the carpenters and got them felled at their suggestion. After the trees were felled, the Ballâḷ and the carpenters being exposed to the hot sun became thirsty, and felt as if saffron powder had been put into their eyes, and began to breathe hard. Then the Ballâḷ, giving to each carpenter one tender cocoanut and one pot of water and a quarter *sêr* of jaggery, drank as much as he liked, and said to them :—"O you carpenters, what is this? Our mother's milk which we had sucked while young, even that is burnt up; is it not so? By one day's work only you are quite exhausted. We have yet to fell down many trees. How will you fell them? I am anxious about it. What is this? It seems as if you had never before felled trees. I am very much astonished at this. Now you must cut off all the branches of the trees which you have felled, and then you must strip the bark of the trees, and make them four-sided to be ready for sawing. The sun is going to set soon. Therefore, make haste and strip the bark soon. To-morrow the sawyers will come. When they come we must make everything ready for them. We must make four posts to stand, and tie cross-pieces on them on which the trees must be laid to be ready for sawing."

Then the carpenters stripped the bark, and made everything nice. In the meantime the sun set and it became dark. Then all of them went out of the forest and took their way home. After they reached the *bulu* the Ballâḷ gave to the carpenters their *batta*, which consisted of rice, cocoanuts, salt, tamarind, chillies, curry-stuff, and onions, and everything else they needed, and ordered them to come earlier on the next day, and sent them away. And then he entered his house and bathed with warm water, took his meals and went to bed. So it was morning, and the carpenters came. Then the Ballâḷ went to the forest with the carpenters and searched for trees, but they did not find any straight suitable trees. Then the carpenters said :—"Sir, you see this is only the edge of the forest. There will not be many trees here. Because this place is near to all the people, they cut down the trees from this place. Therefore, we cannot find good trees here. Let us go more to the eastward, there we shall find whatever tree we desire."

To this the Ballâḷ said :—"Yes, yes, let us do so."

So saying they went further and further to the eastward and searched for trees; there they found a tree which was very tall and of great girth. Its circumference was so great that four persons were required to embrace it. Its height was about thirty yards. When the carpenters saw such a big tree, they were frightened and said :—"O Ballâḷ, we have not seen such a tree anywhere; we have built *maṭhas* and big houses and also temples and shrines. We have cut down very big trees for such purposes. But we have never seen such a big tree anywhere up to this time. When we look at it our heads become dizzy. You must ask a word from some one before felling this tree. This tree ought not to be felled before asking some one."

At this the Ballâḷ was astonished, and he thought of it, and said :—"O carpenters, just now you boasted of your cleverness and said that you had built *maṭhas* and temples and houses, and various other buildings. Now you say that this tree is a very big one, and make a great fuss about felling this tree. What is this? People will laugh if they hear that you, sons of carpenters, are afraid of felling down trees. Fell this tree at once. I will take the consequences. Be not afraid, but mind your work."

When the Ballâḷ had said thus, one of the carpenters threw away his axe and began to tremble. At this, the other carpenters were frightened and astonished, and went further and further from him, and said :—"What is this? He is trembling, and his looks frighten us."

At this the Ballâḷ approached him, and as his name was Karaga, he called him thrice :—"O Koraga-achari, O Koraga-achari!"

To this he did not make any response. When he was quiet and made no response the carpenters became more frightened than before, and said :—"Sir, do not call him now, he is not conscious. Some Bhûta has possessed him. There seems to be some miracle about this tree. Now, see, it will speak through this possessed man."

After this the Bhûta, which had possessed the carpenter, manifested his power and broke a stick and struck his breast and his belly and sides, and biting his lips and teeth uttered such a loud cry as if to make the earth open itself. At this the Ballâḷ and the carpenters were exceedingly frightened and were almost petrified. Then they said :—"This must be some great Bhûta. He has much power, and yet he does not open his mouth. Is he a dumb Bhûta or what? If he had opened his mouth and told us his purpose, we could have done something."

So saying he asked the man possessed with the devil :—"You must tell me who you are. If you are a demon of truth, if you are a demon of sixteen commands, you must tell us truly who you are. Without doing so, if you strike yourself in this manner, who suffers the pain? What is the use of it? Tell us soon. Why do you give so much trouble to the man whom you have possessed? If you bruise his body and his hands in this manner, how can he live by labour? You ought not to do so. Tell us soon who you are."

When urgently asked thus, the Bhûta said :—"O Ballâḷ, you came with carpenters and intended to cut down this tree which is my habitation. Is it not so? It is well! It is commanded that my friend the Pañjurli Bhûta is to go to every town. I know it. And yet, what your *budu* is to you, this tree is to me. Therefore, you must not cut down this tree. You will get another tree elsewhere. If you go a little to the north you will find in a valley a group of blackwood trees[1]; and in the midst of it you will find a *kiribun* tree. You will get enough of timber to build a *stâna* out of that tree. Did you not wish to know my name? My name is Kallurti. When the god was born I was born at his right hand. I am not of to-day or yesterday. It is a long while since I have possessed this man. Now, therefore, I will go into my abode. You have also much business. On account of my coming it has stopped. Now I will leave this man. It will be well if you give me something to drink. Then I should be very much pleased with you."

At this the Ballâḷ made a hole in a tender cocoanut which he had kept for himself, and giving it to the man possessed said:—"Now, O Kallurti, take this in my name gladly."

Then the man possessed by the Kallurti took it from him and drank it at a single draught, and suddenly fell down on the ground and became senseless. After about one *ghalige*[2] he became conscious and asked:—"Sir, what is this? You are standing. Why are you not felling the tree, but standing idle?"

Then the carpenters who were with him said to him:—"What did you do? Tell us what took place here up to this time."

Then he said:—"I do not know anything; I only felt as if my head had been turned. I did not know where I was. Therefore, I feel as if I had lost my senses. I feel pain in my whole body. I feel quite tired. I feel as if I have been beaten with the fists. I have also pain in the back. I do not know what took place."

Then all the carpenters, who were with him, told him:—"Behold, Kallurti who is residing in this tree came upon you; and Kallurti told us not to fell this tree as he was residing in it. So saying Kallurti left you. You know nothing, is it not so?"

At this he said:—"Then this is a great wonder; I do not know anything; what is the cause of my feeling this pain in my body? And yet, never mind; now what shall we do? What work shall we do?"

When he asked this question, the Ballâḷ said:—"O you carpenters, why do you idle away your time? Now I will have to pay your hire without your doing any work."

At this they were afraid and made haste, and went with him to the north and found the tree in the valley and felled it, and stripped its bark and branches and made it four-sided, and returned home.

In the night, after the meal was over, at the time of going to bed, the Ballâḷ's wife came near his bed and said:—"Behold, by going daily to the forest to fell trees, you have been much burnt by the sun and much reduced. If this continue it will be hard for you. If any one else go instead of you, it would be a good thing. If you are alone, see, this will be your state. How many days more will this work of felling trees last? For how may days will you have to go to the forest? When I see your body, my life runs away. How will you get well henceforth?"

When she said thus, her husband said:—"Now, in four days more, the work of felling trees will be over. Then we will cause them to be brought to our house. Then the work will be near the house. If we make the carpenters work near our house it is enough. There will be very little work, and it will be easy for me."

1 *Vatica laccifera.*

2 *I. e.*, about twenty-four minutes.

So saying, he, moreover, continued:—"Now go you in, the night is far spent; go to sleep. You must get up early and boil the paddy; go."

So saying, he sent her in, and lay down near the entrance. So it was morning. On that day again he went with the carpenters to the forest and felled trees and returned. And in the same way they felled as many trees as they wanted. One day he went to **Polippu** and called all the fishermen, and said to one of them:—"How many males are in your house?"

He answered:—"Sir, we are four in our house."

Then he called another, and said:—"O you fisherman, how many males are in your house?"

He answered:—"Sir, we are two."

In this manner the Ballâḷ called a man from each house, and ordered all of them, and said:—"O you fishermen, hear each one of you: trees have been felled in the forests for the purpose of building a *stâna* for the Ballâḷ's *buḍu.* All these trees should be brought to the *buḍu;* because the day is fixed for building the *stâna* and for raising the upper storey, therefore the work is stopped. Therefore, to-morrow, all of you must come together; one or two hundred of you must join together and bring the trees to my house. The man who does not come will be fined. And if he does not pay the fine, I will see that nobody gives him *chunam* or fire."

When he had thus frightened them, all of them said:—"Sir, do we tell lies to our lord? We walk as it is agreeable to the god and this earth. We are not such rascals. Had we been such, how should we have survived? We who have to go on the sea and catch fish and bring them and sell them, going from house to house; in this way we have to live, we who are such will never tell you lies. If we do not go out and bring all your trees to-morrow morning, you may drive us out of this town."

Having said this, they obtained permission to depart and went their way. The next day the headman of the fishermen called all the fishermen, and went with them to the forest, and tied ropes to the trees, and, dragging them and carrying them on the shoulders, brought them to the Ballâḷ's *buḍu.*

Then the Ballâḷ, seeing the fishermen, said to them:—"O you fishermen, when you go home tell me and go; do not go without telling me."

At this they said:—"When we are going we will tell you."

So saying they went their way. The trees were such that those who saw them said:—"Whence are these trees! Such trees are not found by any one."

Afterwards the sawyers were called and the work was given to them on contract. And they were told to do the work quickly and finish it in fifteen days. So they came on the fixed day and said to the Ballâḷ:—"O Ballâḷ, we have not spoiled any bit of your timber, but we have done our work so that there is no crookedness nor flaw in it. Now call some one of your men and measure everything and calculate the money that is due to us, and settle our accounts. Give us what is due to us."

When they said this the Ballâḷ brought the measuring rod and measured all the planks, and cast up accounts, and counted the money and gave them their due. He also gave them presents and sent them away. Afterwards he called the carpenters and made them prepare posts and the struts of the posts and their pedestals and the joists and the wooden cornices and the wall-plates and the beams and the ridge-pole and the rafters and the ceiling planks. After he got all these things prepared he got the wall-plates fixed into the forked-pieces lengthways, and then got the joists and the cornice fitted into the square, and also got the planks joined; and afterwards he got the scantling raised and got the earth-work and plastering work all

done within. After these things were done, he got a cot prepared for Pañjurli Bhûta, and got a wooden railing on three sides of it and got it painted. Then he sent iron to the blacksmith's workshop and got a trident prepared with a chain and small jingling bells attached to the three points of it, and also got a sword and goglets and stool and bangles and shield and chain with tiger's nails in it and all other necessary ornaments prepared. After all these things were prepared the Ballâḷ went to the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa's house. When he went he found the Bhaṭṭa sitting in the verandah and telling fortunes. Then the Ballâḷ seeing the Bhaṭṭa clasped his hands and saluted him. Then the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa said:—"Let some one spread a mat for the Ballâḷ that he may sit."

Then some one who was near brought a mat and spread it there. The Ballâḷ sat upon it. After some time, when the fortune-telling business was over, the Bhaṭṭa asked the Ballâḷ:—"On what business did you come here, O Ballâḷ? You come very rarely here. It is a long time since I saw you last."

At this the Ballâḷ said:—"O Bhaṭṭa, I came to visit you; according to your fortune-telling on that day my racing-buffaloes survived. If not, they would have certainly died. Now I have got a *stâna* built; and a cot and other ornaments for Pañjurli Bhûta are all ready. Now you must find out the auspicious day, and tell me on what day we should **establish Pañjurli Bhûta**, and dedicate the *stâna* to him. For this purpose I am come to you."

At this the Bhaṭṭa said:—"Well, yes, I will think of it and tell you the auspicious day."

So saying, with the help of the *kauṛîs* and his almanack he found an auspicious day and said:—"O Ballâḷ, there is not any auspicious day in this month. But there is one in the next month. The Friday, the 11th of the next month, is the day on which you can dedicate the *stâna* to the Bhûta. That day is very auspicious. Therefore be prepared to do this on that very day."

So said the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa. At this the Ballâḷ said:—"Sir, you must come and establish the Pañjurli Bhûta. There is no one so able as yourself; therefore it must be done by yourself. And I do not know what things are necessary for the sacrifices on that day. You must tell them also to me plainly."

At this the Bhaṭṭa said:—"You say that I must come, but I have much business; what shall I do?"

To this the Ballâḷ said:—"No, that won't do; you must come yourself."

When he urged in this manner the Bhaṭṭa said:—"Well, I will come; what can I do when you are so urgent? I cannot deny you. Therefore I will come. And I will tell you what things are necessary on that day. Twelve *sêrs* of rice and twelve bundles of betel-leaves, forty-eight betel-nuts, twelve bunches of the flowers of the Areca-nut tree, forty-eight kinds of parasitic plants, a bundle of firewood of the jack-tree, ninety-six tender cocoanuts, ninety-six ripe cocoanuts, forty-eight grains of rice and forty-eight *sêrs* of baked rice, forty-eight *sêrs* of beaten rice, ninety-six *sêrs* of jaggery, twelve dried cocoanuts, one hundred plaintain-leaves, one hundred ripe plantains, twelve *sêrs* of *ghî*, forty-eight *sêrs* of oil, and three *sêrs* of butter; you must procure all these and then find out a good man to represent the Bhûta. Let all these things be procured; and on that day send for me early in the morning; and I will come to you. And what else can I do?"

At this the Ballâḷ said:—"So then I will send a man to fetch you; you must come with him. And I do not know anything. Please do what I ask that people may say that everything was well done, and that I did it. Whatever I have to spend on that account, let it be spent; I do not care."

Saying this, with clasped hands, he said moreover:—"Now I am going, please give me leave to go."

At this the Bhaṭṭa said:—"Well then, go. You have much business; you have to do everything single-handed."

So saying he sent him away. He came to his *budu*, took his midday meal, and, sitting in the verandah, called his sister, saying :—" Akka, where are you ? What are you doing ? Come here for a moment. I have something to say to you."

At this she came and said :—" What is the matter ? What can be your business with me ? My place is a corner in the kitchen ; of what use am I, an old woman ?"

At this the brother said :—" Akka, are you not to me like a mother ? I think that my mother is not dead. You are my mother. Now, I went to the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa's house, and asked of him the day when the *stâna* is to be dedicated to the Bhûta."

At this she asked :—" Brother, when is that day ? And how many days hence ?"

He replied :—" It will not be in this month ; it will be the eleventh day of the next month. The Bhaṭṭa said that it is a very auspicious day ; I must send for him on that day. I have done so much work. To-morrow get paddy boiled and two *muras* of rice prepared. To-morrow I will go and bring all the things required for the purpose."

Early in the morning he got up and went to the garden of the Kunbîs, and, going from house to house, he got from thence, plantain-leaves, and bunches of plantains, and the tender rinds of the plantain-trees, and grey and red and white pumpkins, and vegetables of various kinds, and caused them to be carried by servants and sent them to his house. And then went to his garden and called the pujârî and told him:—" O Pujârî, go and get a hundred ripe cocoanuts from the cocoanut trees."

Days went on, and the day to dedicate the *stâna* came near. On that day he got up early and went in search of a man to represent the Bhûta. He was not in the house : he asked the inmates of the house where he was gone. Then they replied that on the previous day he had gone to their neighbour's to represent the Bhûta on account of a *tambila* which took place there ; and that he had not returned, but would soon return. So saying they requested him to wait for him for some time. As they were yet speaking he came to his house. Then the Ballâḷ seeing him said :—" O devil-dancer, to-day in our *budu* a *stâna* is to be dedicated to a new Bhûta Pañjurli. I have asked for the auspicious day, and to-day is the day. Therefore you must come to represent the Bhûta and dance. You must come in the evening and be ready. All our neighbours will come at that time. You must come soon. Otherwise there will be delay on your account. Take care ; you must come. Now, I am going."

So saying he came to his *budu* and quickly took his meal, and went to the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa's house; and, sitting in the verandah, called :—" O Bhaṭṭa, O Bhaṭṭa, what are you doing ? Please come out. I have come on business."

When he thus called him he came out and saw the Ballâḷ sitting in the verandah. Seeing him, he said :—" O ! are you come ?"

So saying he gave him a mat and a low stool and water to drink and jaggery to eat, and said :—" Drink water, and eat jaggery."

So saying he shewed him respect, and then sat down. Then the Ballâḷ said :—" O Bhaṭṭa, it is very late now ; I have come to call you. Is this not the day you mentioned to dedicate the *stâna ?* I have come to call you for that purpose. I came myself lest you should be unwilling to come if I sent a man. Now make haste ; it is getting late. Get ready soon ; let us go."

To this the Bhaṭṭa consented and made haste, and taking an almanack accompanied the Ballâḷ. So they came to the *budu*. And the Ballâḷ took the fortune-teller to the place where the new *stâna* had been built, and shewed him everything, and asked :—" Is this beautiful ?"

To this he replied :—" O Ballâḷ, there is nothing equal to your fortune. You are a very good man. To the good all things become good. Now, then, let us make everything ready. The sun is beginning to set."

So saying he got the *stâna* cleansed. And the Bhaṭṭa lit a fire for a sacrifice with fire-wood from the jack-tree; and gave oblations to the Bhûta of *ghî*, and gave sacrifices according to a certain number. As the sacrifices were over, the sun set; then the devil-dancer also came. Then the Bhaṭṭa sitting before the fire took tender cocoanuts and ripe cocoanuts, and beaten rice and baked rice, and honey, and *ghî*, and butter, and curds, and milk, and prepared *pañchâmṛita;* and then the Bhaṭṭa took the sandal-stone and rubbed sandal-wood upon it and prepared sandal. Then the Bhaṭṭa called the Ballâḷ and told him:—"Now, take the devil-dancer yourself to the tank, and let him bathe there and come."

So saying he sent them; and before they returned he made everything ready in the *stâna*. And then they came and entered the *stâna* and came and stood before the sacrificial fire. Then the Bhaṭṭa said:—"Now, be not dilatory. Give the devil-dancer the flowers of the areca-nut tree and some grains of rice; and let him stand in front of us. Give him the sword and the bell."

Having done so, all of them prayed:—"O lord, if you are Pañjurli Bhûta of a truth, let it become known to us in this way."

So saying all of them at once threw rice upon the devil-dancer. Then the music was played. Suddenly the devil-dancer began to tremble and cried out with a loud voice and ran round the *stâna*, and ran to the tank and bathed again, and came back and took the sword, and began to pierce his belly with it. Then the Baragas, who had come together in the *stâna*, took away the sword from the hands of the devil-dancer, and prayed thus:—"O lord Pañjurli, if you are of truth, now you must open your mouth and speak to us. We have taken much pains to believe in you. Now you must be pleased with us and take the sacrifices which we offer, and order us and save us."

At this Pañjurli said thus:—"O Ballâḷ, I came down from the sky, yet I had no ladder to do it. Do you hear me? I am he that came down without a ladder. Great magicians tried for seven days and seven nights to catch me; and yet they could not catch me; but I am come here. Now I must go about to the great towns and see renowned places and seek for a habitation. I am come to help the men of this world. Take courage. Do not be afraid. I am very much pleased with the sacrifices which you have offered. And yet you must henceforth give me two *tambilas* every year. If you fail in this, I will give you trouble. Then you must not complain of me. Now I am very glad that I have first drunk milk in your house. In future I will help you, so that no sickness or disease attack your children or your cattle. Now bring me food; the devil-dancer is getting very tired. I must leave him. I have recently come here; I must not give much trouble. Bring me all sorts of cakes and puddings and milk, and I will take my food."

At this the Ballâḷ said:—"O Baragas, Pañjurli has spoken well. He is a demon of truth. Bring him the food that he has asked. Let him take it."

All the Baragas, hearing these words, brought food to Pañjurli Bhûta. Pañjurli, when he was about to take the food, asked the Ballâḷ:—"O Ballâḷ, shall I take food?"

To this the Ballâḷ answered:—"Yes, you may take. All is yours. It is also yours to save us all."

After the Ballâḷ had said thus, he took the food, and said:—"O Ballâḷ, how is the *triśula* which you have got prepared for me? I wish to see it; bring it here before me."

Then they brought the *triśula* to Pañjurli Bhûta, and gave it to him. Then Pañjurli took the *triśula* in one of his fingers, and said:—"All of you see this; now, though this *triśula* is so big, it is big only to you, but it is not so to me. To me this is as a straw. It is not big in my eyes. What you have got prepared for me is very beautiful. And now I must see all the other ornaments which you have prepared for me."

At this, they brought the mask which they had prepared for Pañjurli, and gave it to him. He saw the mask and was quite delighted with it, and, putting it on his face, trembled and cried out in a loud voice, and said :—"You see, this mask which you have prepared for me is very beautiful."

And again he said : —"Now bring the goglets."

And so the goglets were brought. In this manner they did everything; and the Bhûta enjoyed the feast, and having finished the dedication, the assembly dispersed.

SPECIMENS OF MODERN BRAHMANICAL LEGENDS.

BY G. K. BETHAM.

No. II. — *The Vanavâsî-Mâhâtmya.*

Part III.

A SALUTATION to the great Gaṇapati!

The Ṛishis said: — "O great Sûta, all-knowing and remover of all doubts, how was it that Madhukêśa set his affections on the *kêtakî* flower? We have heard that in ancient days it came under the curse of Śiva, and was kept far distant (from him) on account of treachery: now king **Malla**, in order to please Śiva, worshipped him on the night of Śivarâtri with the auspicious *kêtakî* flowers. O Muni, you are the only one who can explain to us why king Malla, — he who understood Śiva — acted in this way; explaining all this, relate it to us to our satisfaction."[55]

Skanda said — on being asked in this way by the Ṛishis, who were discussing (the matter): Sûta, causing them to listen, told them this ancient story : —

"O assembly of Ṛishis, the holy stories of Śambhu contain the essence.[56] The more people hear of the playful sport of Śambhu, the more they wish to hear it. In ancient times in the Kalpa, in his form of Rajas,[57] he created many people (subjects), he created the universe[58] and many supports[59] for it. By Śiva's orders Vishṇu became the protector.[60] He (Vishṇu) passed through many incarnations and killed many demons, and he protected many good people (*sâdhus*), who lived honourably.[61]

Once upon a time Brahmâ and Vishṇu, being allured by the illusions of Śiva,[62] became egotistical and proud — 'I am Brahmâ! I am the creator of the worlds. There is no one to equal me. I created many worlds and (also) many men in them. I created Gandharvas, many Apsaras, Vidyâdharas,[63] large serpents,[64] Kinnaras, the assembly of the gods and many wonderful enjoyments in the heavens. I created the Prajâpatis, namely, Marîchi and others, Svayambhu and Manu, and I created people in four ways to live in four states (or castes). (I created) the *Vêdas* with their six parts.[65] (I created) the years, seasons, months, the two

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55 *Rômaharshaṇa*, *lit.*, thrill : erection of the hair on the body; horripilation.

56 *I. e.*, the real truth.

57 The second (or, according to Monier Williams, the *first*) of the three *guṇas* or constituent qualities of all material substances, the other two being *sattva* and *tamas*. *Rajas* is supposed to be the cause of the great activity seen in creatures : it predominates in men, as *sattva* and *tamas* predominate in gods and demons.

58 *Lit.*, many worlds.

59 Or foundations.

60 Sattva = Brahmâ : Rajas = Vishṇu : Tamas = Śiva. The Trimûrti or Triad, according to Molesworth. Monier Williams, however, has it :—Rajas = Brahmâ : Sattva = Vishṇu : Tamas = Śiva. This would appear to be the modern idea and the one accepted at the present time.

61 *Lit.*, acted a just part, or up to the limit.

62 Drawn on by Śiva's blandishments or tricks.

63 Demigods.

64 *I. e.*, Ananta, Vâsuki : Takshaka : Śêsha, etc.

65 *Lit.*, limbs or members. *I. e.*, *śikshâ*, pronunciation of words ; *kalpa*, rules for ceremonies and sacrifices ; *vyâkaraṇa*, grammar ; *nirukta*, glossarial explanation of obscure words ; *chhandas*, prosody, metrical science ; *jyôtisha*, astronomy.

pakshas,[66] *saṁkrânti*.[67] And I created four castes to act according to their allotted parts, and the three Guṇas and many truths.[68] Who beside me is able to create all these things so wonderfully?'

Vishṇu, being haughty and also feeling boastful, spoke angrily and with trembling[69] lips to Brahmâ thus: — 'O foolish Brahmâ, puffed up with vain arrogance. Fools in their old age always become forgetful. People unable to do any work, hump-backed people and proud[70] people speak of their own deeds and jeer at others. It is the custom of aged people to exaggerate and to claim to have done work which has really been done by others. You are sprung from my body; you are foolish in your vain arrogance. I am the creator of all worlds, and you, being my son, are my dependent.[71] You merely create worlds through my power, and according to my behests. Othèrwise how would the variations in creation occur? I only am the supporter of all the worlds, and there is none beside me. I am the only creator and the only protector. There is no doubt that all the worlds would be destroyed without me. I have gone through incarnations and slain invincible enemies. Who else besides me would be able (to do all this)?'

On hearing Vishṇu speak thus, Dhâtṛi[72] became very angry, and he struck Kêśava on the cheek. Vishṇu, being struck, burned with the fire of anger. Hari, then, on his part, beat him (Brahmâ) with his four hands. Being beaten severely, Vidhi[73] fainted for a moment Getting up he knocked Vishṇu down with his hands. In the act of falling Vishṇu caught him by his feet and threw him away. Vidhi having fainted[74] fell down into the city of Varâṇasî. Vishṇu followed, and seizing Vidhi again, he beat him with his hands, and Vidhi getting up beat Vishṇu. O Brâhmaṇs, then the brave Brahmâ and Vishṇu, being skilled in war, fought with each other (in many ways), *viz.*, striking with their fists, pulling each other's hair, pushing with their shoulders and kicking and striking with feet and hands. Having fought in this manner, they both then got their weapons, (Brahmâ) his bow[75] and Vishṇu his bow,[76] and let fly showers of arrows. They let loose charmed arrows and to protect themselves[77] from the arrows, Brahmâ used his Brahmâstra, and Vishṇu his Vaishṇavâstra.[78] Thus getting very fierce and angry, they fought with each other, and the gods were afraid of being burned by the fire arising from the clashing of the weapons. They (therefore) all went to Kailâsa to inform Śiva of what was going on.

They all ascended the mountain, and reached the vicinity of Śiva. They saw the Lord of the World, Merudastan[79] Anâmaya,[80] and saluting him told him what Vishṇu and Brahmâ were doing.[81] The merciful one merely signed to them with his eye-brows to go away, and (then, in order) to humiliate their pride,[82] he appeared before them in Kâśî on the great Śivarâtri (night). The great and lofty, the good Sadâśiva appeared between them in great splendour in the form of the *liṅga*. They were both astonished at seeing him, and both made salutation (obeisance) to him.

Śaṅkara spoke to them seriously, as if to censure (punish) them:—'O Brahmâ! O Vishṇu! What is the meaning of this unmannerly conduct of you both?'

Hearing the words of the Master, their bodies began to tremble, and they both, with folded hands, respectively told what events had happened.[83] Śiva, knowing that they had

[66] Or the two fortnights, bright and dark.

[67] The passage of the sun from one zodiacal sign into another.

[68] Or first principles.

[69] Or throbbing.

[70] *Lit.*, vain-hearted.

[71] Referring to the legend of Brahmâ being born from the lotus which sprang from the navel of Vishṇu.

[72] Creator, and so applied to Brahmâ.

[73] Or Vidhâtṛi, creator or bestower: an epithet of Brahmâ.

[74] *Lit.*, having his movements stopped.

[75] *Châpa*.

[76] *Sârṅga*.

[77] *Lit.*, stop the flight of.

[78] Weapon or bow: also used for an arrow or other missile.

[79] The lord of heaven, free from disease: the healthy one.

[80] Anâmaya means the healthy one or the diseaseless one.

[81] *Lit.*, informed him of their movements.

[82] *I. e.*, Vishṇu's and Brahmâ's.

[83] *I. e.*, their respective versions.

become proud, spoke kindly to them as follows:—'He who finds out (discovers) the bottom and top of this great *liṅga* is the only creator of the world: otherwise he is foolish.'

On hearing these words, they both made oaths. Brahmâ, wishful of seeing the top of it (the *liṅga*), assumed the form of a swan. Vishṇu in the form of a boar went to the deep bottom (of the *liṅga*). Hari, after wandering for many years without seeing the bottom, went back to the presence of Śiva. O Brâhmaṇs, Brahmâ with tired wings and mortified in his mind, unable to reach the top, flew many *yôjanas* without seeing the top of the *liṅga*, and he became very sorrowful.[84] In this case Vidhi saw the flower of the **kêtakî** falling from the top of the *liṅga*. Seeing them he questioned:—'O *kêtakî* flower, whence have you come?' The *kêtakî* replied:—'I come from the top of the *liṅga*. I have passed many *yugas* (ages) in coming, and my body is fatigued. Now I am going to Śiva.'

On hearing this speech of the *kêtakî* (flower), Brahmâ, being very much fatigued, said:—'You say that we have, both of us, come from the top of the *liṅga*'; whereon the *kêtakî* (flower) said:—'Very well' (so be it); and then they went together into the presence of Śiva.

Śiva (Śambhu) asked them both if they had come after having seen (the top and the bottom of the *liṅga*). Vishṇu replied:—'O god, the bottom was not seen by me.' Vidhi said falsely that the top had been seen by him. On hearing this, Śaṅkara became angry, and asked the *kêtakî* (flower) about it. The *kêtakî* replied:—'O Lord, we have both come together from the top (of the *liṅga*): Vidhi's statement is not false.' On hearing this speech of the *kêtakî*, the Lord cursed them both.[85] 'O Brahmâ, in consequence of this falsehood that you have uttered you shall not deserve worship on the surface of the earth. O Vidhi, from this day forth be always senseless.[86] O *kêtakî*, on account of your falsehood, I curse you also; you shall not be worshipped[87] any more on my head.' Śambhu, having cursed them both in this way, spoke kindly to Vishṇu:—'O Hari, of true speech, deserve worship always among men;[88] those mortals who worship you will be held to have pleased (or satisfied) me also.' So saying, Śambhu-Sanâtana[89] disappeared into the *liṅga*. From that day forward he (Śiva) became famous in Kâśî under the name of Viśvêśa (Master of the World).

Then the *kêtakî* spoke to Vidhi in abundant (uncontrollable) sorrow:—'O Brahmâ, in consequence of your words (advice) I have come under (incurred) this terrible curse. I cannot endure being for a single day without the lotus-like feet of Śiva.' On hearing this manner of speech, Brahmâ said to the *kêtakî*:—'Go to the great city of **Vanavâsî** which soon yields all desires, and perform austerities with great devotion in the vicinity of **Madhukêśvara**. The curse uttered by Śiva can be removed by him only and not by others.' Acting on Vidhi's advice the *kêtakî*, having curbed its passions, devoutly performed austerities for a long time in Vanavâsî, contemplating (meditating upon) Śiva. (At length) Śambhu appeared in the *liṅga*, wishful of conferring a boon upon the *kêtakî*, who on seeing the god appearing addressed him thus:—'O Hara! O Śambhu! O Mahâdêva! O merciful one! O thou that art full of love to thy devotees! I told a lie through ignorance and by the advice[90] of Vidhi. O eternal Śiva! Store of mercy! Forgive me! Forgive me! Have compassion! I cannot remain (be at rest) without getting (being) near, or at, your lotus-like feet.' Thus speaking, the *kêtakî* fell prostrate on the ground many times. Prabhu (the Lord), listening to the *kêtakî*, himself conferred a boon upon it. Bhagavân (Śiva) said as follows:—'By my order (word) you become undeserving (unworthy of honour) on any day but the holy Śivarâtri.' So saying he then disappeared into the *liṅga* called **Madhuka**.[91] From that day it (the *kêtakî* flower) became the favourite of (sacred to) Śiva on that night. It was for this reason that king **Malla** offered *kêtakî* flowers with devotion to the eternal Madhukêśvara. Those who especially worship the god Śiva on the night of **Śivarâtri** with *kêtakî* flowers get near the feet of Śiva."[92]

[84] *Lit.*, full of care.
[85] *I. e.*, Brahmâ and the *kêtakî*.
[86] *Lit.*, of dull intellect.
[87] *Lit.*, deserve worship.
[88] *Lit.*, in the world.
[89] The eternal one.
[90] *Lit.*, words.
[91] The *liṅg* at Vanavâsî is so called. There are two *liṅgs* at Vanavâsî.
[92] *I. e.*, obtain Śiva's favour.

Part No. IV.

All hail to the great Gaṇêśa!

"Tell us the glorious[93] story of Śiva. How did the great Śiva himself, Śambhu, Paramêśvara, obtain the awe-inspiring name of **Madhukêśvara**? Pray, kindly tell this to us who are listening."

Sûta said:—"Listen to this (story), O Ṛishis, which was formerly told by Skanda to Sanatkumâra[94] Ṛishi in Kailâsa, in the house of Śaṅkara. The lord of the ascetics asked Skanda concerning this story. I tell you the story which was related by Śarajanman.[95] In the olden days in the Jâbâla[96] Kalpa, a great Asura, called **Suda**, son of **Kishmâksha**, when his father was killed by the great Bhairava, fled through fear, bent upon saving his (own) life. The Dânava remained (concealed) in a cave in the **Sahyâdris** for a long time. **Vidyunmâlin**, thinking him to be a powerful man, gave him his daughter in marriage. After his marriage that powerful man increased in power[97] on the top of the Sahyâdri mountains. Vidyunmâlin summoned all those (demons) who had escaped being slain by Bhairava, and (who) having fled in different directions, had gone to reside in the recesses of Pâtâla: also those who lived in forests, in caves and on mountains. All the Daityas and the Dânavas came at the call of Vidyunmâlin. They, having come near Suda, beheld the chief of the Daityas, and thinking that the powerful Suda would protect them from the wrath of the gods, the warriors, having cheered loudly, became the followers[98] of Suda. That army,[99] resembling an ocean (in point of size), became obedient to the orders of Suda. Once upon a time **Uśanas**[100] came to see the powerful Suda. Suda being informed (of his arrival) by Vidyunmâlin, got up quickly, and, going near and saluting him, he worshipped him with *arghya*[1] and in other ways. Bhârgava,[2] full of delight, accepted the seat offered him by Suda, and having seated Suda, the leader of the Daityas, near him, Bhârgava caressed him[3] and lifted[4] up his face with his hand and spoke to him kindly.

Śukra said:—'O child, are you in good health? Are all your followers[5] happy? The whole of the kingdom belonging to your father is forcibly taken by the gods.'

On hearing the words of Kavi,[6] Suda with his hands folded said:—'O Guru! owing to the influence[7] of your favour I am happy in every way. From the day of my father's death (in battle) I took up my abode in the forest. Now, O Guru, shew kindness to me so that I may regain my kingdom.' So saying, he wept aloud and fell down on his face at his feet. He[8] lifted Suda with his hands and seated him on a good[9] seat, and, soothing him, said to Suda, who was then full of grief:—'Build a fort in the Sahyâdris, and, being accompanied by your Daityas and Dânavas, make your residence there. I will come to you afterwards.'

So saying and having pleased him,[10] Śukra went away. Suda then, with the aid of the Daityas and Dânavas, and, being assisted by Vidyunmâlin, went to the place he was told (to go to) by Śukra, and built a fortress. The king of the Daityas built a city in his own name.[11]

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93 Or famous.

94 One of the "mind-born" sons of Rudra: ever pure and innocent. The *Liṅga-Purâṇa* has: "Being ever as he was born, he is called a youth: and his name is well known as Sanatkumâra."

95 "Born in the reeds," an epithet applied to Skanda. The resemblance to the story of Moses is curious.

96 Probably means the age of the *Yajurvêda*.

97 Or strength.

98 *Lit.*, sat near.

99 *Lit.*, body of armed men.

100 The preceptor (*guru*) of the Daityas: known also as Kavi and Śukra.

1 A libation of water.

2 *I. e.*, Uśanas, Śukra or Kavi.

3 *Lit.*, put his arm in front of his neck.

4 A common practice.

5 *Lit.*, army.

6 *I. e.*, Uśanas, Śukra or Bhârgava: *lit.*, *the* poet. "Uśanas is *the* poet among the poets" (Saṅskṛit saying). Used also to designate Vâlmîki. In the text the preceptor of the Asuras is indicated.

7 *Lit.*, essence.

8 *I. e.*, Śukra the preceptor.

9 *Lit.*, auspicious.

10 *Lit.*, having delighted his mind.

11 Called it after himself.

The city, being built by Suda, got the name of **Sunda**.[12] Residing in the beautiful and great[13] city, in which there were people of various kinds, the Daitya chief took the whole country[14] into his own possession. After a time[15] his Guru also came to the city named Sunda. Suda, on beholding the arrival of his Guru, became full of delight, and worshipping him as he deserved, he, with his hands folded, spoke to Kavi.

Suda said : — 'O Guru, through your kindness the earth with its oceans has been obtained by me. This city also is a good one, and is the residence of the army of the Daityas. Now please advise me how to obtain (the sovereignty of) heaven.'

Hearing these words of Suda, and considering (them in his mind), Kavi spoke :—'O chief of the Daityas, hear my speech. The gods are very powerful. They possess all sorts of weapons. They are brave and cannot be conquered by Daityas and Dânavas. O child, I will make a plan for you to get a son. Let your wife eat a ball filled with the spells of generation. Thereby she will become pregnant and give birth to a son. Svarga will be conquered by him, beside him no one is able.'

So saying 'Sukra gave a ball consecrated by *mantras* to her.[16] She with delight and devotion took the ball and ate it. 'Sukra then returned to his own place, and some time afterwards she gave birth to twins.[17] As soon as these powerful ones were born they terrified the world[18] with their noise. The whole earth trembled, the tops of the hills fell down, and the whole assembly of gods were troubled in their hearts and minds. He (the father) was delighted on seeing the two infants possessing such terrible forms. Suda, with his heart full of delight, assigned names (to them). This one is to be called **Madhu**, the other **Kaiṭabha**.[19] Seeing the two infants he nourished them with delight, and they — growing day by day — became very cruel and powerful. Once Kavi came, lifted the two boys, who had fallen at his feet, placed them on his lap and told them their old[20] history.

'O boys, listen to my counsel. The Lord 'Siva is Master of the whole world. At no time should treachery against 'Siva be even thought of in the mind. Your hearts should always be attached to 'Siva. They should always be bent upon meditating upon 'Siva and upon worshipping 'Siva. You should with diligence[21] erect a *liṅga*. If you follow my advice of to-day you will become powerful.'

So saying 'Sukra went away. They both of them on an auspicious day erected two *liṅgas* on the banks of the **Varadâ** in Vanavâsî, and they there performed worship with great delight and pomp. When some time[22] had passed in this way, the two powerful ones, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, determined to attempt the conquest of Svarga with the assistance of the Daityas and Dânavas. O Munis, they, with many brave men, carrying many kinds of weapons, blocked the door of the heavenly[23] city.[24] They broke down the large panels; they cut down the Kalpa[25] trees; they killed a multitude of gods (many gods), and they went to the banks of the Mandâkinî[26] in order to bathe and wash the blood off their polluted bodies. Then the assembly of the gods consulted many times[27] with Indra, and coming to the conclusion that they[28] were invincible, cruel, powerful and evil-hearted, they — in company with Indra — left Svarga and ran away and came to a cave called **Mairavî**. Some remained there, others ran still further, being frightened. O Brâhmaṇs, on seeing the multitude of gods run away thus,

12 Sonda (?).
13 Or best.
14 *Lit.*, earth.
15 Or, once upon a time.
16 *I. e.*, Suda's wife.
17 Twin *sons*: the masculine form *ubhau* is used in the text.
18 Or everybody.
19 Apparently Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the demons who sprang from the ear of Vishṇu, when he was sleeping the sleep of contemplation (*yôganidrâ*). See further on in this *Mâhâtmya*.
20 Or former.
21 Or zeal.
22 *Lit.*, many days.
23 *I. e.*, Amarâvatî : Indra's capital.
24 *I. e.*, blockaded or besieged it.
25 Or desire-granting.
26 The celestial Ganges : the milky way.
27 Or over and over again.
28 *I. e.*, their assailants.

they both[29] usurped the sovereignty of heaven, and then they again returned to earth and took up their residence in Vanavâsî. There they established the Śaivas and contemned Vishṇu. Vishṇu was deserving of worship as decreed by Paramêśa: but they,[29] wishing to dishonour Vishṇu,[30] ordered the chief Daityas to kill those persons who worshipped Vishṇu. Śiva, hearing all this through Nârada, namely, that the gods had been expelled and many Brâhmaṇs killed, spoke to Vishṇu:—'O Vishṇu, being furnished (strengthened) with my power, kill these powerful ones, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, and send them speedily to Kailâsa. In the time of the great[31] flood they will be born again through the holes of your ears.[32] At that time also kill them without any hesitation. At the time of Svârôchisha they will be born through your belly and will want to kill Svârôchisha; then also kill them. Having killed them thrice in this way bring them to me. I will make them my followers,[33] because they are devoted to me.'

Śaṅkara, having given these orders to Vishṇu, himself[34] gave the impression of wisdom[35] to Brahmâ, Vîrêśa[36] and others in Kailâsa. Vishṇu being reinforced by the power of Śiva went to the surface of the earth and killing those two wicked persons, skilled in the arts of war, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, Hari sent them to reside in the garden outside Kailâsa. On seeing these two wonderful *liṅgas* situated on the banks of the Varadâ, Vishṇu, with the gods and the Ṛishis resident in the Sahyâdris, approached and worshipped Śambhu, the chief of the gods, who was accompanied by the sons[37] of Ambâ.[38] A shower from the gods fell on the head of that (*sic*) beautiful *liṅga*. The gods then saluted it respectfully[39] and cried: — 'Victory! Victory!' The Munis prostrated themselves in devotion and uttered these two words. The principal Gandharvas sang and the assembly of Apsaras danced. All the Vidyâdharas rejoiced with devotion. While this great rejoicing was going on, Sadâśiva appeared from the middle of the *liṅga* in great splendour, brightening all the ten directions, mounted on the back of a bull and accompanied by Pârvatî. Addressing the gods, who had placed Vishṇu in the front, Śaṅkara thus spoke: — 'All of you should hear me in the *liṅga* called **Madhukêśvara.** O gods, I shall always remain (here). You also remain here. This (place) Vanavâsî is holy, and the Varadâ is the remover of the (a) multitude of sins; bathing here and worshipping me you become blessed.' So saying, he disappeared into the *liṅga* called Madhukêśvara, and all the gods and the Ṛishis (also) took up their abode there. O Brâhmaṇs, the story of Madhukêśvara is (has been) told to you. Having heard that holy story, **the fisherman** also obtained happiness (salvation)."

Part V.

A salutation to mother Rêṇukâ![40]

The Ṛishis said: — "O illustrious Sûta, you are always asked (for information). Your speech contains the essence (of knowledge), and is inspired by Vyâsa Muni. O Brâhmaṇ, how and when did **the chief of the fishermen** hear this story, to what place did he belong, and by whom was it told him, and what was his behaviour?"

Sûta (said): — "This ancient story of Śiva, pleasing to the heavens, was told in the olden times to Sanatkumâra by Skanda. Once upon a time, in the month of Vaiśâkha, the Bhûsuras,[41] at the source of the Varadâ, bathing in that sacred stream in the morning, uttered the 'Gâyatrî.'[42]

[29] *I. e.*, Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

[30] *Lit.*, break Vishṇu's temple.

[31] *Lit.*, terrible.

[32] *Vide supra*, note 19.

[33] *Lit.*, leaders of my troops.

[34] *I. e*, in person.

[35] Or good advice.

[36] Or Kârttikêya: Saṇmukha, the god of war.

[37] Gaṇapati and Kârttikêya.

[38] Pârvatî, the Śakti of Śiva.

[39] *Lit.*, with devotion.

[40] The wife of Jamadagni and mother of Paraśurâma.

[41] The gods (lords) of the earth, *i. e.*, Brâhmaṇs.

[42] A short prayer to the sun in his character of Savitṛi or 'the Vivifier.' Though not always understood, it is to this very day used by every Brâhmaṇ throughout India in his daily devotions. It occurs in *Ṛigvêda*, III. 62, 10, and can be literally translated as follows:—

"Let us meditate (or, we meditate) on that excellent glory of the divine Vivifier. May he enlighten (or stimulate) our understandings (*Tat Savitur varêṇyam bhargô dêvasya dhîmahi, Dhiyô yô naḥ prachôdayât*)."—Monier Williams.

People of many countries came there eagerly (for the purpose of bathing), and bathed there in the holy month of Mêsha[43] with the Brâhmaṇs at (the time of) sunrise. When they saw the hermitage[44] of Bharadvâja frequented by the great Ṛishis, they remained there, being eager to hear stories from him. O Brâhmaṇs, that great Muni, Bharadvâja, when he saw them approach, used to tell them stories. He used to bathe daily in the morning, and, wearing the holy ashes and the rosary, he was devoted to the worship of Śiva, and always meditated upon Śiva, and he used to tell them stories. Bharadvâja, the store of mercy, daily recited stories full of many incidents and information to those who resided on the banks of the **Varadâ**. At that time there was a certain fisherman, **Durdama** by name, who used to throw his hook into the midst of the waters of the Varadâ, and catching them (*i. e.*, fish) he used to put them into his *gulika*.[45] Once he too heard the holy story of **Kaiṭabhêśvara**, and three days passed in this manner,[46] and by hearing it he was freed from spot (rendered sinless). On the fourth day he discontinued his occupation of always killing (murdering), and remembering over and over again his own sins, his whole body shook with fear. Beholding the assembly of Brâhmaṇs, and standing at some distance, he cried aloud: — 'I am a very sinful fisherman and am always merciless. Save me, who am of evil habits, and who has neglected all religion.' So saying, he fell prostrate on the ground again and again,[47] then he threw his hook far away and folded his hands. The hearts of the people were filled with wonder at hearing this great fisherman talk in this way, and they remained silent. Then Bharadvâja spoke: — 'O fisherman, come here! Be courageous and be not distressed. Kaiṭabha is here, and the merciful **Madhukêśvara** is here also, and Varadâ, who bestows supreme happiness by merely bathing in her, is here likewise. She is always a great remedy and giver of medicine to those who are bitten by the world in the form of serpents.[48] O fisherman, why are you distressed? Be calm, be calm. The body (mind?) of people is in their hands, the river is in the hands of nobody.[49] The month of Vaiśâkha has also come. Then what reason is there for distress? There is no month equal to Vaiśâkha; there is no city like **Vanavâsî**, there is no *liṅga* like the *liṅga* of **Madhukêśvara** in the three worlds. I speak truth. I speak what is good. I speak what is right[50] again and again. Bathing in the Varadâ in Vaiśâkha gives the easy way (of salvation). A mortal by merely bathing in the **Varadâ** obtains that reward which is to be obtained by performing all the sacrifices and giving all the (large ?[51]) alms. He there undoubtledy obtains salvation in three months. This best (holiest) city of Vanavâsî is the immediate accomplisher, Madhukêśvara is the bestower, the Varadâ gives salvation. Therefore the hermitages of many great Ṛishis are situated on its banks. There are (also) different kinds of Tîrthas, all of them removing all sin. O fisherman, come here and sit beside me. Undoubtedly, I will save you to-day. O Kirâta,[52] relate your history and cease from your grief and despair.'

Hearing the great Ṛishi Bharadvâja speak thus, the fisherman approached him with his hands folded. Durdama said: — 'O great Brâhmaṇ, O (thou who art) great, merciful and compassionate to the afflicted, listen to my history. It will really give pain to all. On hearing your story I remembered my former life. The god Yama, terrible to the sinful, punished me in Satyamuni. When I think of it now, O Bhagavân,[53] it breaks my heart. I am unable to speak of it. O merciful one, save me! save me!'

So saying, he fell down on the ground like a tree that has been felled.[54] The fisherman, being much distressed, and with his hands and feet writhing, fainted. Bharadvâja

43 In this part of the country this holy month corresponds with the latter half of Chaitra and the first half of Vaiśâkha.

44 Usually located at Prayâga (Allahabad).

45 A narrow-necked basket used by fishermen for keeping their fish in safety.

46 *I. e.*, he heard the story for three continuous days.

47 *I. e.*, prostrated himself over and over again.

48 *I. e.*, to those who are weary of the world.

49 That is, people can control their minds, the river is pure.

50 Or essential.

51 Or various kinds.

52 A generic term for a forester or mountaineer, a wild man.

53 Venerable man, an epithet specially of Bharadvâja.

54 *Lit.*, had its roots cut.

seeing him rolling senseless on the earth restored him[55] by uttering prayers to Siva. He touched his limbs compassionately, and he immediately got up, and the fisherman having gained courage told his story:—'O Viprêndra,[56] listen to my story. I will relate it to you. In my former birth I was the son of a Brâhmaṇ of noble descent. I was a sinful villain. My companions, too, were very wicked. In conjunction with them I used to take away calves, and, unseen by others, I, very cruel and with the aid of those powerful ones,[57] used to throw them into deep wells and kill them. I used to set nets and killed many birds by throwing stones at them and beating them with sticks. I used to take young birds from their nests, and tying their feet very tightly, I caused them to dance for many days, and then I killed them. I, by means of many contrivances, killed crows, herons, sparrows, owls, hawks, ravens, cuckoos, pigeons (doves), partridges, francolins, babblers, snake-eaters, and many cranes, fishes, frogs, snakes and water-snakes, and worms, mice, alligators, *châtakas*,[58] dogs, foxes, monkeys, buffaloes and cows. What else is there to tell? In a very little while I killed a multitude of animals. My father, seeing me growing thus wicked, placed me in the hands of a master to learn. There also I influenced all the boys in an evil manner, and led them into bad courses. The master (*guru*), knowing this, punished me. So one night, taking advantage of an opportunity, I killed him also with stones.

Once, on a night in the month of Kârttika, I went, O Brâhmaṇs, accompanied by thieves, to **Kaiṭabhêśvara**, intending to steal. It being a dark night, I could not find the road, try as I would. So, going near a certain house, I took by stealth a lamp of great brilliancy which was standing on a pillar, and went to Siva's temple. Taking the lamp in my hand, I, after some trouble, broke open the door and went near the *liṅga*. I placed the lamp in front of Siva, and I took the golden ornaments. When I was going away the watchmen saw me. They bound me and beat me severely, and took me to the king, who ordered me to be hanged on the gallows. O Brâhmaṇs, I died there, after suffering much pain. Then the followers of Yama came, bound me and beat me severely. Those servants of the god of death placed (joined) my life in a body (so that I could) suffer torments. They put a terrible and red-hot iron chain through my nostrils, and then they took me along a horrible (fear-inspiring) road. On the way they roared at me, contemned me, and beat me. I was then weeping, I was very hungry, and my throat, lips and palate were parched. I was like a corpse, I had no clothes on, and I remembered (with remorse) the sins that I had committed. At some places there was mud, at some places there was fire, at some places there was hot (boiling) mud, at some places there was hot sand, at some places there were very pointed (sharp) stones, at some places falling from mountains (precipices), at some places climbing steep mountains, at some places numbers of thorny trees (bushes), at some places a heap of pointed (sharp) stones, at some places entering into (going through) fire, at some places climbing a precipice, at some places falling from that (precipice), at some places dense darkness, at some places on the way breaking (or tearing) open veins, at some places tearing off my skin. They put hot stones on my head, in my hands, and on my shoulders, then beating me severely they took me at great speed (like the wind). At some places snakes, at some places tigers, at some places swarms of hornets (or bees), at some places *vajra-kîṭas*,[59] at some places multitudes of crows. At some places being bitten by leeches, at some places being bitten by lions, at some places dogs bit me severely. Along such a very (most) difficult road the powerful Kinnaras led me. Thus I, lamenting, sore-distressed, and full of remorse for my former deeds, arrived at length at Hell. Yama, too, was of a terrible appearance, and looked like a burning fire. He, mounted on a buffalo, judged the despised (rejected)

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55 *Lit.*, gave him new life.

56 Excellent Brâhmaṇ or lord of the Brâhmaṇs.

57 Ruffians or bullies.

58 *Cuculus melanoleucus.* A bird fabled to drink only from the clouds, and therefore to be ever eagerly expectant of rain.

59 A winged insect which bores holes in wood and stone.

and the poor. He has horrible tusks in his mouth, and he is always frowning. In his hands he holds his rod and his noose. His voice is as deep as that of the clouds.[60] He causes the very sinful ones who have been cast into hell to be brought before him. The followers of Yama delivered me over to him. Yama in great anger looked upon me with a severe eye, and he frightened me very much, so much so that I fainted. His obedient servants of terrible and awe-inspiring form (shape) beat me with the nooses and rods (that they carried) in their hands. Nârada then came there accidentally (by chance), desiring to see Yama. O Brâhmaṇs, owing to the greatness of my merit (fortune ?) and to the favour of Kaiṭabhêśvara, Yama grew mild, got up and approached him. He offered an oblation to him and worshipped him. The Muni, after being worshipped by him, placed him on his seat. Yama, standing near him, spoke with hands folded: — 'O great Muni, welcome to you! My family have become pure. O great Muni, I am greatly blessed by your mere coming. O Lord (supreme or best) of the Yôgis, command me what I should do for you.'

Nârada, hearing Yama speak thus, answered :—'I have come from Kailâsa to-day, and one thing was heard by me there, namely, that Yama punishes (is punishing) **Durṇaya**,[61] who is a devotee of Śiva. O Virupâksha,[62] go you now, and binding Yama together with his followers, bring him who is treacherous to Śiva, and who is punishing my devotee. On hearing Śiva speak thus, I, O Yama, hastened to your presence to inform you.'

On hearing these words from Nârada, Yama trembled with great fear, he summoned me quickly, and released me from the bonds[63] with which I was tied; and then in the presence of Nârada he gave this (following) order: — 'O Durṇaya, listen to me. You will now go to the surface of the earth and you will become, by my order, the son of a fisherman on the auspicious banks of (the) Varadâ, and you will stay near the hermitage of Bharadvâja. One morning in the month of Mâdhava[64] that great Bharadvâja Muni will cause the Brâhmaṇs that have bathed to listen to a *Purâṇa*. You will hear the most holy story of Kaiṭabhêśvara. By my order, by the favour of Bharadvâja, and in the presence of Kaiṭabhêśvara, you will remember what happened in your former life. Then, after bathing in the Varadâ and witnessing the worship of Mahêśa, you will go to Kailâsa.'

So saying he sent me away speedily. O great Muni Bharadvâja, all this I have got to-day.[65] O great Yôgin, save me!' So saying he saluted him.

The merciful Muni, hearing the fisherman speak in this manner, said: — 'O fisherman, bathe in the river Varadâ, and being determined in your mind[66] approach Kaiṭabhêśvara, and seeing the great worship (or ceremony) make *pradakshiṇa*[67] and *namaskâra*. There is no doubt that you will be taken to Kailâsa in a *yâna*.'

The fisherman, being thus advised by the kind Muni, bathed in the Varadâ, and having besmeared his body with the holy ashes, he, approaching Kaiṭabhêśvara, saw the great ceremony. He himself went round the *liṅga* and made many salutations (*namaskâra*). He made his residence there, and did this every day. At length, being attacked by fever, he died on the banks of the Varadâ, and, O wise men, he went to Kailâsa.

There is another river called **Kumudvâ**.[68] It is like the best river.[69] It (she) rises in the Sahyâdri and is frequented by gods, Ṛishis and Brâhmaṇs. Those men on earth who bathe there on Saṁkrânti, on Vidyapâtha, on the day of the eclipse of the sun and moon, and on the two Ayanas,[70] will help (relieve) the twenty-one *kulas*[71] and gain Kailâsa."

60 *I. e.*, as thunder.

61 Or Durdamaḷ: see *supra*.

62 Śiva: having an irregular number of eyes: also the name of a follower of Śiva.

63 *Lit.*, noose.

64 Vaiśâkha.

65 *I. e.*, all this has happened to-day.

66 *Lit.*, of great mind.

67 Circling round or walking round.

68 A river in the Kôḍ Tâluka of the Dhârwâṛ District.

69 *I. e.*, the Varadâ.

70 Ayanas (equinoxes).

71 Here *kula* means *purusha*, seven on the father's side, seven on the mother's side, and seven on the side of the father-in-law; altogether make up twenty-one *kulas* or *purushas*.

NOTES.

Proem.

On Monday, the 5th day of the dark half of the Phâlguna, cold season of summer solstice of 1815, of the year Vijaya, this copy of the above (*Vanavâsî-Mâhâtmya*) was completed by one Suba Avadhâni, son of Dakshiṇâmûrti Anantâvadhâni of Vanavâsî, for the use of self and others.

Vanavâsi.

Banavâsî or Vanavâsî, the Forest Settlement or the Forest Spring,[72] with, in 1881, a population of about 2,000, lies on the extreme east frontier of the (North Kanara) district, about thirteen miles south-east of Sirsî. It is a very ancient town, situated on the left bank of the Varadâ river, and is surrounded by a wall. The chief inhabitants are Havigs, Gudgârs, Liṅgâyats, and Ârê Marâṭhâs, petty dealers and husbandmen. A weekly market is held on Wednesdays, when grain, cloth and spices are sold. The chief object of interest at Banavâsî is the temple of **Madhukêśvara**, which is said to have been built by the early Hindu architect, Jakhanâchârya, the Hemâdpant of the Kanara country. The temple is built in a court-yard or a quadrangle, whose outer wall is covered so as to form rooms and shrines which are dedicated to Gaṇapati, Narasiṁha, and Kadambêśvara. In one of these shrines is a huge cot of polished black granite, supported on four richly-carved legs. The temple is of considerable size, and is richly sculptured. Over the bull, or Nandi, is a canopy resting on four granite pillars. According to the local tradition the temple was built by Vishṇu in memory of the defeat and slaughter of the two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

According to the **local traditions** Vanavâsî was called **Kaumudî**, or the Moonlight City in the first cycle or Kṛita-Yuga; **Jayantî**, or the City of Victory, in the second cycle or Trêtâ-Yuga; **Baindavî**, or the palm-tree goddess,[73] in the third cycle or Dvâpara-Yuga; and **Vanavâsî**, or Banavâsi, that is, the Forest Settlement, in the present cycle or Kali-Yuga. The earliest historical (or quasi-historical) mention of Banavâsi is about B. C. 240, when, shortly after the great council held at Paṭna in the eighteenth year (B. C. 242) of Aśôka, a Buddhist elder or hero named Rakshita, was sent to Vanavâsî to spread the **Buddhist faith.** About B. C. 100, Bhutapâla, the donor of the great **Kârlê Cave** in West Poona, which he calls the most excellent rock mansion in **Jambudvîpa**, is described as coming from **Vêjayanti**, which is probably Vanavâsî; and in inscription 4 in Nâsik Cave III., Vêjayanti appears doubtfully to give its name to an army of king Gôtamiputra Śâtakarṇi (B. C. 5).

The local Pâli inscription of about A. D. 50-100 in the court of the Madhukêśvara temple shews that about that time Vanavâsî and the territory of which it was the capital, was governed by a king named Hâritiputra Śâtakarṇi of the Dutu family. The mention of a monastery or *vihâra* and the Buddhist way of dating in one of the three seasons, so common in the Nâsik inscriptions, shew that the minister who made the gift was a Buddhist. The next known reference to Vanavâsî is by **Ptolemy** (A. D. 150), who enters the city in his list of places near **Limyrike**, that is probably Damirike or the Damil or Tamil country, under the forms **Banaausi** and **Banavasi**. In the fourth and fifth centuries **Vaijayantî**, or Banavâsî, appears as one of the capitals of a family of nine **Kadamba** kings, who were **Jains** in religion, and of the sons of Hâritî. A stone inscription, dated A. D. 634, records that the **Châlukya** King — Pulikêśin II. (A. D. 610-634) —"Laid siege to Vanavâsî, girt by the river Haṁsa, which disports itself in the theatre which is the high waves of the Varadâ, and surpasses in prosperity the city of the

[72] The Rev. Mr. Kittel (*Nâgavarma's Kanarese Prosody*, note 31) derives the name from *bana*, forest or wood, and *base* or *basi*, a spring of water, and considers that Vanavâsî is a Saṅskṛit form of the original Dravidian name. Dr. Fleet (*Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 7, note 2) inclines to take Vanavâsî as the original Saṅskṛit and Banavâsî as the modern corruption. Thus Vanavâsî would mean the city of the Province of Vanavâsa, the resident or settlement in the forests. Inscriptions shew that, while the forms Banavâse and Vanavâse are coupled with some word representing a district or province, Banavâsî is coupled with the word for city.

[73] [? City of Śiva (Bindu). — ED.]

gods; (while) the fortress on dry land, having the surface of the earth all round it, covered by the great ocean which was his army, became, as it were, in the very sight of those that looked on, a fortress in the middle of the sea.''

Though the ruler's name is not mentioned, it is probable that at this time Vanavâsî was the capital of an early branch of the later Kadamba dynasty. From this time Vanavâsî seems to have remained subject to the Châlukya kings. About A. D. 947-48 the Vanavâsî Twelve-thousand, that is the Vanavâsî province of twelve thousand villages, was governed by a family of feudatories who called themselves Chellkêtans or Chellpatâks.

In 1020 **Al-Bîrûnî** mentions, in his list of places in Western India, **Banavâs** on the shore of the sea. During most of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and during the early part of the thirteenth century, though at times subject to the **Kalachuris** (1108-1183) and the **Hoysala Ballâlas** (1047-1310), Vanavâsî continued to be the capital of a family of Kadamba kings, who called themselves supreme lords of Vanavâsî, the best of cities, and whose family god was Vishṇu under the name of **Madhukêśvara**, which, as has already been noticed, is still the name of the god of the great Vanavâsî temple of **Jayantipura** (or Vanavâsî). After these Kadambas in 1220 and in 1278, the Vanavâsî Twelve-thousand is recorded as held by two of the Dêvagiri Yâdavas. In 1251 the Vanavâsî Twelve-thousand was governed by Mallikârjuna II., apparently an independent ruler. In the fourteenth century, and probably till their overthrow in about 1560, Vanavâsî was held by the **Vijayanagara** kings, one of whom, Sadâśivarâya, has left two inscriptions, one of them dated 1552-53, of grants made to the temple of Madhukêśvara. After the Vijayanagara kings Vanavâsî seems to have passed to the **Sônda** family, the first and the third of whom, Arsappa (1555-1598) and Raghu Naik (1618-1638), have left records, dated 1579 and 1628, of grants made by them to the temple of Madhukêśvara. In 1801, **Buchanan** described Vanavâsî as situated on the west bank of the Varadâ in open country with good soil, except where laterite came to the surface. During the troubles of the latter part of the eighteenth century the number of houses had fallen from 500 to about 250. The walls were ruinous and no signs remained that it had ever been a great city. It was the residence of a *tahsîldâr* or sub-divisional officer. In the dry weather the Varadâ was small and muddy with little current; in the rains it was nowhere fordable, and had to be crossed in leather-boats.[74]

Sônda.

Sônda,[75] about ten miles north of Sirsî, with, in 1881, a population of 5,017, is a small town, which, between 1590 and 1762, was the capital of a family of **Hindu chiefs.** Sônda lies about a mile to the left of the Sirsî-Yellâpur road on a low hill to the west of the Sôndî brook. The approach to the town is by a ford a little distant from an old stone bridge. The houses are mostly mud-built and thatched, and there is no regular market. The only objects of interest at Sônda are its old fort and a Smârta, a Vaishṇava, and a Jain monastery. The fort stands on a high ground to the south of the Sôndî brook. It is ruined and deserted, and its high walls are hidden by trees and brushwood. The masonry shews traces of considerable architectural skill. The posts of the gateway are single blocks fourteen to sixteen feet long, and in the inner quadrangle are several ponds lined with large masses of finely dressed stone. Perhaps the most remarkable of the fragments is a trap slab twelve feet square and six inches thick perfectly levelled and dressed, which rests on five richly-carved pillars about three feet high. Except this, which is locally believed to be the throne, not a vestige is left of the palace of the **Sônda chiefs.** Another object of interest is an old gun eighteen feet long with a six-inch bore.

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74 Vide *Gazetteer of Bombay*, Vol. XV. Pt. I. Kanara, *s.v.* Banavasi.

75 According to Dr. Buchanan, Sônda is a corruption of Śuddha, or the pure. In a Vanavâsî inscription of Raghunâth Naik, the third Sônda Chief, dated 1628 (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV. p. 207), the name appears as Sônda.

Between 1590 and till 1680, under the Sônda chiefs (1590-1762), Sônda was the centre of three districts in the Kanara uplands. After 1680 the Sônda territory included, in addition to their upland possessions, five districts in the Kanara low-lands. The country in the neighbourhood of Sônda is said to have been well cultivated under the Sonda chiefs, and the town to have been very large. It is said to have had three lines of fortifications, the outermost wall being at least six miles from the modern Sônda. The space within the outermost wall, about three miles each way, is said to have been full of houses. In the two spaces surrounded by the outer lines of wall the houses were scattered in clumps with gardens between.

In 1675 **Fryer** notices Sônda as famous for its pepper, the best and the dearest in the world. The chief lived at Sônda, being tributary or rather feudatory, bound by allegiance as well as by purse to the princes of **Bijâpur**. The Sônda Chief's pepper country was estimated to yield a yearly revenue of £1,200,000 (Pagodas 30 *lâkhs*), of which he had to pay one-half to Bijâpur, **Sivaji** sometimes sharing the tribute. The Sônda Chief had 3,000 horse and 12,000 foot. In 1682 Sambhâjî led a detachment against Sônda, but apparently without effect. In 1695 **Gemelli Careri** passed through some of the territory of the Sônda Chief, whom he oddly names Sondekirânekârâja! He was lord of some villages among the mountains, but tributary and subject to the Great Mughal, whom he was obliged to serve in war. The Chief lived at Sâmbarâni, about forty miles north of Sônda.

Sâmbarâni had a good market and an earthen fort with walls seven spans high. From this single village the chief was said to receive a yearly revenue of £30,000 (Rs. 3,00,000), which, says Careri, shews how cruelly the idolators and Musalmâns oppress the people. During the reign of Imôdi, the last Sônda Chief (1745-1762), the town suffered much from Marâṭhâ attacks. According to the details furnished to Buchanan by an old accountant, about 1750, when fresh cesses had to be introduced to buy off the Marâṭhâs, a house-tax was levied, to which 100,000 houses contributed. This is a wild exaggeration, for in 1764, when **Haidar** took it, Sônda had only 10,000 houses. Haidar destroyed the town, and in 1801, Buchanan found the houses had dwindled from 10,000 to fifty. In 1799 so much was the country exposed to the raids of Marâṭhâ bandits that the minister of Maisûr had to station a guard at Sônda. From its desolate state and the disorders to which it had been exposed, the Sônda territory took Munro longer to settle in proportion to its extent than any part of Kanara. The representative of the Sônda family still (1883) holds a position of honour in Goa.[76]

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NÂTESA SASTRI, B.A., M.F.L.S.

No. 44. — The Buffalo made af Lac.

मुग्धे ! पयोऽपि दुग्धे तृणमप्यश्नाति तर्णकं सूते ।
नाडिन्धमस्य मायां जातु न जानासि जातुषी महिषी ॥

"WHAT is the use of this miserable existence. I am poor, extremely poor. My wife is every day teasing me for ornaments, while I find it very difficult to keep my life and soul together. But, poor woman, how can I blame her? When she sees her neighbours rich, she curses her fate and imagines that she must also become rich one day or other and wear jewels. Alas! She has no idea of my difficulties in Tanjore. There is no scope for earning money here. The old-fashioned donations to Brâhmaṇs on religious or festive occasions and other charities are slowly disappearing with the rapid progress of this dark *yuga*. So, if I mean to better my prospects, I must quit this place. I must proceed to Bânâras. They say, that in the whole of India, that sacred city is the only place where charities still flourish."

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[76] Vide *Gazetteer of Bombay*, Vol. XV. Pt. I. Kanara, *s. v.* Sônda.

Thus contemplated a needy Brâhmaṇ of Tanjore, when suddenly his wife entered his room with her child of four or five years. The girl was crying and pulling her mother towards her by the end of her cloth.

"Is the morning meal ready, my dear? I am unusually hungry to-day," said the poor Bráhmaṇ.

Replied the wife: — "Ready! What else have I to do in this house? Daily I get up at five in the morning, sweep and clean the house and the utensils, bathe, cook, eat, and sleep. Again I get up the next day, and the same routine is repeated. Last evening Umâ, the daughter of Appavaiyyar, came down here to invite me for her brother's marriage. What a fine necklace she has? They say that gold sells very cheap now. How well would our child appear if, instead of standing bare like a palmyra-tree, she had a few ornaments to wear. We cannot try for many, for we are not rich. But one or two jewels, those most necessary for the ears and the neck, must be made."

At this point the bewildered husband smiled and tried to take up the child to play with it. But the wife, dragging the girl towards her, continued: "O Gaurî, thus your father deceives you, if we begin to speak about ornaments. Do not approach him."

But the child said: "When will you make me a necklace, papa!"

"Soon, my dear girl. Come here." Then the conversation changed to other subjects, and in a few minutes the whole party was reconciled and happy.

But the Brâhmaṇ's mind ever remained ruffled. He resolved to improve his condition in the world by some means or other, and the course he thought the easiest was to proceed to Bânâras. He soon informed his wife of it, and promised to return as speedily as possible with loads of money and jewels. He also requested her to take special care of the house and their daughter Gaurî. The wife assured him that she would take the best care of the family. Our hero was easy at heart, started for the sacred city, and reached it safely.

He spent two years on the banks of the Ganges, and accepted indiscriminately all kinds of donations. It is considered very objectionable to receive certain gifts, *e. g.*, oil, buffaloes, etc.; and owing to this belief the accompanying fee offered for receiving such gifts is generally large, as an inducement to accept them. Our hero's object was to make money. Who would perceive how it was made? So he freely accepted them, and was amassing a large amount of money. In less than a couple of years he had made nearly Rs. 5,000. How glad will my wife be to receive me with so large an amount, thought our hero, and started on his return journey to Tanjore. When he had reached Poona, it occurred to him that his wife would all the more be pleased if he brought her some ready-made jewels instead of jingling coins only. So he sent for a goldsmith, and, reserving only the necessary money for his journey, gave him all the rest to be converted into two gold necklaces of a hundred beads in each.

"Your orders will at once be executed, my lord," said the wily jeweller who had a most honest face. Like an obedient and honest servant he received the money, appointed a time for the delivery of the necklaces, and on the day before they were due he gave them to our hero. There were gold beads one hundred in number in each; the weight was correct, and the quality of the gold the same as that of the gold originally purchased for making these jewels.

"You are the most honest and punctual goldsmith I have ever seen. It is rare to see one of your type in your art. Unfortunately, I have not reserved any money with which to reward you for your punctuality," said the Brâhmaṇ, and the goldsmith, after thanking him for the kind words, took his leave.

Our hero soon reached Tanjore, and had a happy meeting with his anxious wife and child, for had not the long-absent husband returned with two beautiful necklaces of gold? The wife and the child each took her necklaces. The former went into the house to cook the usual meal, and the latter outside to play, and to show to her neighbours her father's present. Sitting before the fire, the wife took the necklace from her neck, and weighed it often in her hand, and the more she did so the more she began to suspect that all was not right about it. There was no harm in examining one of the beads, thought she, and she took one off the string. She put it into the fire, and after a second there was a slight fizz and smoke, and it began to burn like lighted lac. She was horrified to see that her husband had been duped by a wily goldsmith. She pitied him, and, after some time, related in a calm way the trick that had been played upon him. But the poor Brâhmaṇ's peace of mind was gone as soon as he came to know of the trick. The idea that all his hard-earned money had been thrown away made him mad, and he had afterwards one fixed idea in his head; that goldsmiths are never to be trusted.

On the morning of the third day, after the discovery of the trick, he asked his wife how she had managed to live during his absence in Bânâras. Said she:— "I bought a buffalo from Ponnâsâri, the goldsmith, that lives in the Car Street."

"What! from Ponnâsâri, the goldsmith!"

"Yes, my lord. From its milk I made butter, and from the sale-proceeds of the butter and *ghî* I managed to live very comfortably. She gives us two measures of milk every morning and evening."

"You poor innocent woman! You have not examined it. It is not a true buffalo. It is a buffalo made of lac!"

"No, my husband. It gives us milk, and, therefore, it cannot be one made of lac."

"Therefore, I say, women are fools! What if it gives you milk! It is still made of lac. You are a fool not to see through the tricks of goldsmiths."

"No, my lord. It grazes upon grass, therefore it is not made of lac."

"O my good wife! You have no brains to guess at the tricks of goldsmiths. I say it is still made of lac. Say no more."

"No, my lord. After it came to us it has given us two calves. How can it be then a buffalo made of lac."

"You stupid woman. You do not know the tricks of these goldsmiths. In your own innocent way you believe the animal to be a living one. No. Whatever you may say, I am as certain as certain can be that it is still made of lac. Now hold your tongue and gainsay me no further?"

The poor wife could only pity her lord for his state of mind. It was impossible for her to convince him by any argument, so much was the goldsmith's trick reigning predominant in his mind. She went to the backyard, dragged the poor animal into the house, made a small cut in one of its ears, and produced the red blood as evidence that it was a living animal. Her husband, as soon as he saw the blood, broke out in a most vehement language: "You foolish woman! Do you still continue to think that the buffalo of Ponnâsâri is not made of lac? What you show me now is blood, you think! Is it not of the colour of lac, and is not Ponnâsâri's buffalo a buffalo made of lac? Do you, too, want to deceive me?"

Several of the best known men of Tanjore came to convince our hero that the buffalo in his house was a living animal. But he persisted in his belief that it was not, and must be one made of lac as long as it was purchased from Ponnâsâri.

This is the story told to account for the following well-known verse :—

Mugdhe! payopi dugdhe ṭriṇam-apy-aśnâti tarṇakam Sûte,
Nâḍindhamasya mâyâṁ jâtu na jânâsi jâtushî Mâhishî.

मुग्धे ! पयोऽपि दुग्धे तृणमप्यश्नाति तर्णकं सूते ।
नाडिन्धमस्य मायां जातु न जानासि जातुषी महिषी ॥

"O Innocent woman. What if it gives us milk, what if it grazes upon grass, what if t bring forth calves! You do not know the tricks of goldsmiths. It is for all that a buffalo made of lac."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A FOLK ETYMOLOGY OF LAL BEG'S NAME.

THE holy prophet (*hazrat paighambar*), saint **(Mehtar) Iliâs** (the prophet Elias), attended at the Court of Almighty God where many prophets were sitting. Mehtar Iliâs coughed, and finding no room to spit in, he spat upwards, and his spittle fell upon the prophets. They all felt disgusted, and complained to Almighty God. The Almighty ordered that he should serve throughout the world as a sweeper (*jhârû dîâ karô*). Mehtar Iliâs begged that some prophet might be created in the world to intercede for him, and it was ordered that such an one should be born. According to the order of the God of Mercy he came into the world, and took to sweeping, and passed many days in the hope of forgiveness.

One day the Great Saint (*Baṛê Pîr Sâhib* — *i. e.*, **Pîr-i-Dastagîr** or **Sayyid 'Addu'l-Qâdir Jîlâni**, flourished 1078 to 1166 A. D.) took his coat (*chôlâ*) off and gave it Mehtar Iliâs to wear. Mehtar Iliâs put it into an earthen pitcher (*maṭkâ*) and intended to wear it at some auspicious time. One day the Great Saint asked him why he did not wear the coat. He answered :— "My work is to sweep, and it would become dirty. I will wear it on some lucky day." The Great Saint said :—"Wear it to-day and come to me." He agreed, and went to open the pitcher, but it was shut so fast that he could not open it. He came to the Saint and said that the pitcher would not open. The Saint said :—"Take my name and say to the pitcher that the Pîr Sâhib calls you." Mehtar Iliâs went and did as he was bidden, and putting the pitcher on his head, brought it to the Saint.

The Saint said :— "*Nikal âô, Lâl, bêg*, come out quickly, my boy :" (*lâl* is my dear boy, my darling son : *bêg* is quickly). Immediately out of the pitcher a fair man (*gôrê rang kâ âdmî*) wearing *lâl bêg* (should be *bhêkh*) or red clothes (*yâ lâl kapṛê*) came out, and the Saint said to **Lâl Bêg** (*Lâl bêg sê farmâyâ*); "this was the order of Almighty God that you should be the Prophet (*Nabî*) of the sweepers (*mehtarôn kê*), and intercede for them at the day of judgment." Mehtar Iliâs took him home, and placing him under a *nîm* tree (*Azidarachta indica*) filled his *huqa* (pipe) for him (a custom of the sweepers to the present day towards their religious teachers) and worshipped him. Lâl Bêg became at once invisible, and Mehtar Iliâs went to the Great Saint and told the story. The Great Saint said that Lâl Beg had disappeared because he did not approve of his religion. "However, worship him and he will intercede for you." He then ordered Mehtar Iliâs to do penance, and said :—"In the first age the *ghaṭmaṭ* (vessels worshipped to represent Lâl Bêg) will be golden; in the second, it will be silver; in the third, copper; in the fourth, earthern." This is why the Mehtars now worship vessels of earth, and believe in their prophet.

R. C. TEMPLE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

PANJABI NICKNAMES.

IN the Pañjabi some nicknames are, as in England, connected with some event in the victim's career, — *e. g.*, a low caste *employé*, a Jhînwar or drawer of water, named, say, Lâl Singh, rose to greatness, passing over the heads of men of good caste, and was immediately dubbed by his less fortunate comrades Jal-khich Singh or Water-drawing Singh, and unkind references to the discarded implements of his profession were covertly made. Again, a European officer who gave a down-trodden county *'aman* (peace, happiness, prosperity) was honorifically nicknamed Târan Sâhib, or Mr. Rescuer from drowning. The title of Dhârî-wâlâ, or the man with the beard, resulted from a weakness that a late ruler of the Pañjâb had for allowing persons with fine beards Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 a month for curds, combs and other toilet articles. A man

so unfortunate as to bear the name of Dharm Singh, or the religious one, was, of course, called Papî Siṅgh, or the sinful one, the opportunity for a joke being too good to be lost. A consequential person got the name of Pêrû or the turkey, but this last is universal. Compare the use of the words Bubbly Jock in Scotland.

I once came across an odd case. One Dasôndhî, known as Trûmpjî, was not known by his real name to the *lambardâr* (headman) of his own village, who had known him all his life. Dasôndhî was a Râṅghar; *therefore* his grandfather had been in a native cavalry regiment, and *therefore* a trumpet-major. The progression is easy enough. Trûmpjî is an obvious and easy corruption of the name of the English rank.

M. MILLETT in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

MALABAR CUSTOMS.

No. 1. — *Korava.*

As soon as a child is born to the mother — for the mother is the most distinctive factor in a Malabar *tarwâd* or family, those who wait outside her room in expectation of the joyous event (chiefly the maid-servants and lady-visitors) raise a korava, which is a shrill vocal note peculiar to the women of Malabar. It is produced by the slow expulsion of air through rounded lips, between which the tongue assumes a rapid to and fro motion, the chamber of resonance being formed by the mouth and a small portion of air almost pent up before the lips by all the fingers of the right hand similarly rounded.

In the grearter portion of the country and among the generality of the Malayâḷîs, the *korava* serves the purpose of a general notice by the people of the house to their neighbours as to the recent addition to the family. In some places, as in Trivandram and South Travancore, the *korava* has become the index of the birth of a child, boy, *or* girl; but elsewhere, it is a special note of joy, struck only at the birth of a boy.

At the same time, to supplement, as it were, the notice given by the *korava*, a male member of the house or an old dependent of the family goes into the southern or western yard of the house, and taps the earth forcibly, three or four times, with the flat portion of the woody cocoanut leaf called in the vernacular *mâdâl*. This custom, which certainly must have admirably served its purpose according to the notions of the primitive Malayâḷî, is still with scrupulous religious care preserved in almost all the Malabar *tarwâds*.

K. PARAMU PILLAI.

GURU GUGA AS A SNAKE-GOD.

(§§ 377, 378, Ibbetson's *Karnâl Settlement Report.*) In § 378 it is noted that Gûgâ "is supposed to be the greatest of the snake-gods." It seems usual (? universal) near Lâdwâ in the Ambâlâ district, for the *maṛî* (shrine) of Gûgâ Pîr to have close to it to right and left two shrinelets, that to the right being dedicated to Nâr Singh[1] and that to the left to Gorakhnâth. The following explanation was given to me by the Jâṭ *lambardar* (headman) of Chalaunḍî, in the Ambâlâ district, and before that in another village. The Chalaunḍî Jâṭ explained that Gûgâ had been Gorakhnâth's *chêlâ* (disciple), and it was also said that he had been born owing to Gorakhnâth's kindness in blessing his mother, who was childless. Nâr Singh, he said, was Gûgâ's servant or *dîwân*. Again, in a Jâṭ village, near Lâḍwâ, the two shrines were explained to belong to Kâlî Singh and Bhûrî Singh, Nâr Singh being another name for one or both of these. I have also seen a picture of Gûgâ Pîr on the parapet of a new well in a Jâṭ village. The saint was seated on a horse, and was starting from the Bâgaṛ country. His mother, standing in front of the horse, was trying to stop his departure. He held in his hands a long staff (*bhâlâ*), explained to be a mark of dignity, and over his head the heads of two snakes met, one being coiled round the *bhâlâ*. The people said that if a man got bitten by a snake he would think he had neglected Gûgâ. Both Hindû and Musalmân Jôgîs take the offerings made to Gûgâ. They carry about his *chhaṛî* (a standard covered with peacock's feathers) in Bhâdôn (August-September) from house to house; but give some small share of the collections to the Chûhṛâs (scavengers).

J. M. DOUIE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

THE RED-HAND STAMPS AT TILÔKPUR TEMPLE.

AT the temple of Balasundarî Dêvî at Tilôkpûr, near Nâhan, the priests stamp a red-hand on the left breast of the coat of a pilgrim who visits the temple for the first time to shew that he has, as it were, paid for his footing. If the pilgrim again visits the temple and can shew the stamp he pays only four annas as his fee to the priests. What is the meaning and origin of this?

R. C. TEMPLE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] [Nâr Singh or Anâr Singh now stands for Narasiṅha, the man-lion *avatâr* of Vishnu. Legends relate that Gûgâ left Bâgaṛ in Râjpûtânâ to go after his twin half-brothers Arjan and Sarjan, who had insulted him, in spite of his mother's protest. — ED.]

EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SELUNGS OF THE MERGUI ARCHIPELAGO.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

A GOOD deal of the information contained in the following extracts of correspondence regarding the Selungs of the Mergui Archipelago is to be found in Dr. John Anderson's little work under that title, published in 1890. The information now given will, however, supplement that in Dr. Anderson's book, and will afford students an opportunity of checking the statements of travellers and others with those of the officials, who have for years been responsible for the control and guardianship of this remote people.

I.

From Dr. J. Anderson, F.R.S., Superintendent, Indian Museum, Calcutta, to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma — 9th May 1882.

As you expressed a wish that I should put down in writing my impressions regarding the condition of the Salones in the island of Padaw and in the Done group, I now do so with pleasure.

In Padaw, or King's Island, I purposely visited a comparatively recent settlement of these people, at a place called Yaymyitkyee, on the western side of the island, opposite the southern extremity of Mainggyee Island. I reached this village (Yaymyitkyee), starting from the village of Kabaing on the south-western shore of Padawaw, by a tolerably good path that passes first through clearings in the neighbourhood of Kabaing, and then penetrates the primeval forest, which is tolerably free of undergrowth. Only one ridge of hills is crossed, and, as it is of no great height, the road is not a fatiguing one. A few Karens are located at Yaymyitkyee, and this path has been made by them and the people of Kabaing in their intercourse with one another.

Yaymyitkyee lies on the lower portion of the western aspect of the slope of the ridge, and is situated at some distance from the sea, from which it is reached by a long creek that dries up in its higher part at low-water.

A Karen acted as my guide across the island, and my porters, four in number, were of the same race. Knowing the timid nature of the Salones, I had taken the precaution to acquaint them beforehand of my intended visit, so that on my arrival I found them all present, although, when they saw me approach, they had threatened to decamp.

Their houses I found collected in two groups on the centre of an extensive clearing, through which ran a small mountain rivulet. The majority of the trees had been cut down, but the bare gaunt stems of many magnificent trees still stood leafless and charred, attesting to the destructive character of the fire by which the foliage and the branches of the felled trees had been burned, and the ground had thus been partially opened out for the cultivation of paddy. The first group of houses stood about a hundred yards apart from the other. It consisted of four small houses, built after the model of Burmese dwellings, and occupied by the headman and his three sons-in-law. The second group numbered eight miserably small hovels, erected on rickety platforms raised about three feet from the ground, and measuring 12 feet by 9 feet in dimensions. The platforms were made of a few cross-sticks, with bark laid loosely over them, and the little hovels built on them were open on all sides except one, which was rudely closed with bark stripped from the fallen trees, and they were certainly the smallest and most squalid dwellings I have ever seen. A little paddy was stored in huts close at hand, walled in with mats and raised a few inches above the ground. The household goods of the inhabitants of these houses consisted of mats for sleeping on, mat pillows stuffed with the cotton of *Bombax Malabaricum*, a few earthen pots, coarse China bowls, and water vessels made of a gourd and slung in an open network of ratan.

The headman, his wife, and youngest daughter were dressed in Burmese fashion; but the clothing of the remainder of the adults was restricted to a cloth tied across the hips and doubled up between their legs, the rest of the body being nude, this costume being common to the men and women alike. Everything about these people was indicative of the greatest poverty, and as the rice, gourds, and yams which they succeed in raising are insufficient for their wants, they eke out a subsistence on wild edible roots, and also on fish and shell-fish procured in the adjoining creek or on the neighbouring coast.

The occupations of the men are felling the forests, cultivating and reaping the paddy, gathering honey and wax, spearing fish and collecting shell-fish in the creek and on the shores; but in much of this they are assisted by the women, who also, as is common to all the Salones, devote a considerable portion of their time to the manufacture of mats. These mats, along with the honey and wax, are readily disposed of by barter to the traders who visit the western shores of the island during the north-east monsoon.

The Salones at Yaymyitkyee, with one exception, came originally from Done, that is, from the large group of islands immediately to the west of King's Island, and of which the largest are Elphinstone, Grant, and Ross Islands. The exception was the nephew, and at the same time son-in-law, of the headman, who was a Salone of Tavoy island, very fair and remarkably like a Burman. All the members of this colony were more or less related to one another, and all claimed to have relatives in the Done group of islands.

These northern Salones of the Archipelago are known to themselves as **Kathay Salones.**

On being questioned as to what had induced him to settle on King's Island, the headman gave as his reasons the hardships and privations which had to be endured in moving from place to place amongst the islands in search of food, the uncertainty of food-supplies, and the absence of permanent dwellings. He had been induced to take the step by the representations of the Karens at Yaymyitkyee, with whom he had met on his visit to King's Island in search of honey and wax, and who had pointed out to him how much more comfortable he would be, were he to forsake the usual migratory life of a Salone and become a cultivator of the land. He had, so far, been satisfied with the result, although the difficulties which he had at first to encounter were very great, as he had originally settled only with his sons-in-law. The second and more squalid group of houses was occupied by fresh settlement of Salones related to him, and who had been led by his little measure of success to follow his example.

The great poverty of this people was due, according to him, to the fact that they were new-comers and had yet to make their way. They had been only one year in the clearing.

From Padaw, or King's Island, I visited the Done group, where I found the Salones in their normal condition as a sea-people, spending the greater part of their lives in their boats along with their children and dogs, and only betaking themselves to a short sojourn on land during the stormy weather of the south-west monsoon, when they erect on the sandy shores huts of much the same character as those of the second group at Yaymyitkyee.

The employments of these people consist of visiting the most westerly islands of the Archipelago during the first two or three months of the north-east monsoon, where they collect *bêche-de-mer* and the large *Turbo marmaratus*, the animal of which is extracted from the shell and dried in the sun.

During the remainder of this monsoon they generally frequent their own group of islands, an occasional boat only visiting the western groups. Among their own islands, their chief occupations are spearing the large fish known to them as *caoo*, collecting *bêche-de-mer*, occasionally a few pearls, and a little black coral. After the south-west monsoon has set in, they devote themselves chiefly to collecting honey and wax in the forest, and hunting pigs.

During the north-east monsoon they are generally visited by traders, with whom they barter their mats, dry *caoo*, honey and wax, pearls, and other objects, for rice and *shamshoo*, and a very little cloth. I had the opportunity, while I was at anchor for about fifteen days in the great bay on the south-eastern side of Elpinstone Island (Peeleh of the Salones), to have about me thirty-five fine boats of these people, with their respective headmen and headman-in-chief (Hama). The Salones, as has been already said and as is well known, live for one-half of the year in their boats. A boat usually contains a family, but I have observed as many as five adults, besides children and dogs, living in one boat. A boat is generally 20 to 24 feet in length. All the household operations are carried on in the boat during the period it is tenanted, and as they never appear to clean them out, the stench emitted from decaying food and other substances is intolerable to any one but a Salone. I have already alluded to their temporary land-dwellings, but these have an advantage over the boats in the way of cleanliness, as they are annually rebuilt.

I had a good deal of conversation (through my interpreter) with the headmen, more especially with Hama, who told me that the Salones of his group (Done) would be very glad to settle on land and cultivate, provided they were assured of protection and would not be taxed for the land until they had a fair return for their labour of clearing and establishing cultivation, which, however, would be a question of some years. Without protection of some kind it would be impossible for them to settle; as he informed me, on some previous attempts of this kind, their reaped crops of paddy and the fruits of the *doorian* and other trees were stolen by the people from the mainland, traders and others: so much so that a *doorian* garden in the above bay belonging to him for some time had ultimately to be abandoned, and hardly a trace of it now remained. He also complained to me of the unsafety to which the results of their fishing of the *caoo* were exposed; and I had an instance of this feeling, as some boats which were late in arriving at Peeleh refused to remain with me beyond a day or two, as they were afraid that the *caoo* which they had left behind on the rocks to dry in the sun would be stolen in their absence, which, they said, was not an unfrequent occurrence. But these poor people are subjected to a greater evil than any of these in the rapacity and unscrupulousness of the traders who barter with them. It is the policy of these men always to lead the Salones to believe that they are in their debt and so to have them in their power; and these trading boats on their return visits compel the Salones to accompany them to collect *bêche-de-mer* and to spear fish to satisfy their demands, they paying them in rice measured in baskets far below the recognized measures in use at Mergui, and even neighbouring villages. While I was in Peeleh I had the greatest difficulty in persuading the first ten to fifteen boats, which came to see me, to remain, as news had arrived that a noted Chinese free-booting trader from Mergui had appeared amongst their islands. They had the greatest dread of this man, because he compelled them to work for him, and paid them nothing except in driblets of rice. It must be remembered that these people, as they are precluded cultivating, are almost entirely dependent on the traders for rice, as they very seldom muster courage to go to Mergui.

I have been also informed that these traders sometimes even go the length of committing serious assaults upon these unoffending people, and, I believe, some of them have been tried and prosecuted at the Courts of Mergui for so doing; but I am told that the punishments, having been pecuniary, can be well borne, considering the profits they make out of their trading with the Salones, and are therefore not deterrent. It was also brought to my notice that some of these unscrupulous men even resort to the nefarious practice of drugging the *shamshoo*, which they barter with these people, in order to reduce them to a state in which they can do with their property much as they please. Of course, I only repeat what I have heard, but I think it desirable to put this information on record. While I was at Peeleh and the Salones around me, the bay was visited by two Chinese trading boats, one of which came provided with large quantities of *shamshoo*, which the Salones, having once tasted, did not cease bartering for until the whole supply was finished; and it was a painful sight to see these

simple people so debauched for the time being as to be oblivious to their own and their families pressing necessity for rice. When I arrived in the bay many of their boats had no rice and they had been reduced entirely to live on fish and s hell-fish, and the younger children, in some instances, were crying for hunger, as their parents had no rice to give them.

The islands produce some valuable timber trees, and from the configuration of the islands, and the way their steep slopes approach the sea, the trees are easily accessible and the timber could be floated with little difficulty. I at first thought that perhaps the tides might present some obstacle to the floating of the timber to the mainland, but this anticipated difficulty does not appear to exist, because a Salone boat manned by some men and women arrived at Mergui, while I was there, with a derelict raft of timber from the island of Domel, having thus come through a part of the Archipelago noted for the strength of its currents. The learning of the direction of the currents is only a matter of observation, and their course being known, instead of being a hindrance, would aid the transit of timber. Anyhow, the fact exists that this comparatively small boat, in rather stormy weather, towed a number of large logs of teak into the harbour of Mergui.

II.

From the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Division, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma — 21st June 1882.

It may perhaps not be out of place if I record such little information as I have been able to collect regarding the Salones and the general impression conveyed to my mind by Dr. Anderson's memorandum. I have always taken an interest in the curious race in question, though I have never been able to visit them at their homes. When I first visited Mergui, now over 10 years ago, I believe such a circumstance as a Salone visiting the place was extremely rare, if it ever occurred. Some six years later I found that they did occasionally come there, and during the last two years I cannot call to mind any occasion, on which I have been there, when I have not seen some of them. There are a few Chinese traders who seem to be on very good terms with them, as parties of them every now and then come to their houses; and on my last visit to Mergui I was particularly struck by meeting a party dressed out in a sort of Burmese costume, and evidently proud of their newly-acquired garments.

Now, there may be, and probably is, some foundation for most of the statements made to Dr. Anderson; but, I think, from the above facts, it can hardly be doubted that the Salones are not, as a rule, oppressed and ground down by the tyranny of traders or others, for if that were so, a race so shy and suspicious, as they have always shown themselves, would more and more avoid the haunts of men, and seclude themselves in the islands, whereas, as a fact, they are apparently, from their own choice at least, beginning to emerge from that seclusion and to have intercourse with other places and people. With regard to the allegations that they are precluded from cultivation, I must say it sounds very like similar stories I have heard from Karens and other savages in excuse for their not doing that which they really were too indolent to do. It is extremely probable that here and there some garden or granary may have been robbed by passing traders, just as gardens are frequently robbed by boatmen on the banks of all our large rivers; but it is difficult to believe that such depredations have been carried to such an extent as to prevent the Salones from cultivating anything, if they really wished to do so, or that they could not find in the Archipelago some spot suitable for the purpose, and seldom, if ever, visited by traders.

I fear that it is but too probable that the Salones are frequently imposed upon in various ways, and that spirits, drugged or not, are frequently introduced amongst them by unscrupulous persons; but from these evils, as also from the petty thefts complained of, it will be extremely difficult to afford them adequate protection, until they change their habits of life, and until there are better means of communicating with them available by the District authorities than now exist.

III.

From the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Division, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma — *13th July* 1882.

I have the honour to forward herewith, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, a *Report*, dated the 21st ultimo, from the Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, on the subject of the Salones, together with its annexures in original.

From Mr. Menzies' *Report*, dated the 20th June 1860, it would appear that at that period the Salones frequented Mergui to a much greater extent than was subsequently the case, so far as my information goes; but why this should have been so it is difficult to understand.

IV.

From the Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, to the Commissioner of Tenasserim — *dated* 21*st June* 1882.

The facts related by Dr. Anderson, taken generally, are, no doubt, correct, but they have already been, from time to time, brought to the notice of Government by my predecessors in office for the last twenty years, and several philanthropic attempts have been made, both by Government and Missionaries, to ameliorate their condition without success.

The following letters, written 20 years ago, of which I enclose copies, give the result of careful and interesting enquiries then made by the different officers in charge of this district, and give a very complete and comprehensive account of the race :—

(1) Dated the 11th August 1857, from Colonel Ryan, Deputy Commissioner, giving extracts of a Sketch of the Salones by Dr. Helfer.

(2) Dated the 11th May 1858, by Captain Stevenson, Deputy Commissioner.

(3) Dated the 20th June 1860, by H. C. Menzies, Deputy Commissioner, a full and very graphic account and most interesting, from the perusal of which it will be seen that every endeavour has been made to improve their situation, but in vain. They were freed from taxation, and a paid headman was appointed to report all cases of crimes, but from Mr. Menzies' *Report* it will be seen that he was the head of only one group, and inclined to be jealous of other more numerous or powerful factions than his own; he drew his pay, but never made a single report of crime, and consequently the pay was subsequently withdrawn.

Missionaries settled amongst them, and tried to get them to settle down, but to no purpose.

As to the statement reported to Dr. Anderson by his interpreter, "that Hama, the headman of the Done or Elphinstone group, would be very glad to settle on land and cultivate, provided they were assured of protection and would not be taxed for the land for some years, until they had some return for their labour of clearing, etc.," this is certainly opposed to all the information we have hitherto gained, whether from Government officers or from Missionaries, and also to my own experiences.

Dr. Helfer states : — "These boats, not longer than 20 feet, are the true homes of the Salones; to it he entrusts his life and property; in it he wanders during his lifetime from island to island; a true ichthyophagist, to whom the Earth has no charm, and whom he neglects so much that he does not entrust to her a single grain of rice."

Captain Stevenson writes : — "Mr. Kincaid, an American Missionary, who visited these people in 1838, says the Salones are very poor, having no houses, no gardens, no cultivated fields, nor any domestic animals but dogs."

I myself have repeatedly asked them to come and settle permanently near to Mergui, where we could give them ample protection and where there is abundance of rich and fertile soil only waiting for the hand of man to be cultivated; they have invariably one and all replied that they could not, as they would not be happy if tied down to one place. Even when visiting St. Mathew's Harbour with the Chief Commissioner in the "Enterprise," in March 1880, we found a Salone who could talk Burmese, who said he was the son of the former paid headman, and had visited what he was pleased to call the great city, alluding to Mergui. I asked him why he did not return and stay at Mergui, and only received the same stereotyped reply, "Matha, I should be unhappy;" so that the statement made by Dr. Anderson to the effect "it must be remembered that these people, as they are precluded cultivating, are almost entirely dependent on the traders for rice, as they seldom muster courage to go to Mergui," is scarcely accurate. If they are precluded from cultivation, it is by their own wish and pleasure, and not from any obstacles in their way, for every endeavour has been made to induce them to do so, but in vain.

Dr. Anderson seems to think that the absence of rice is a great hardship, and that it must be the mainstay of life, for he says: — "When I arrived in the Bay many of their boats had no rice, and they had been reduced entirely to live on fish, shell-fish, and the younger children were crying for hunger, as their parents had no rice to give them." To any one coming from India, no doubt, the absence of rice would imply the absence of the greatest necessity of life, but, from all I have read, heard, and seen of these people, rice is a luxury, and not a necessity. Fish, combined with yams, and the numerous kinds of wild potato, are their ordinary diet; all are starchy substances, and quite as capable of supporting life as rice and it is the fact of the abundance of these kinds of tubers found growing wild among the islands that has enabled them to survive generation after generation, their condition being neither better nor worse than at the beginning.

To the above general rule of absence of cultivation on the part of the Salones, there has been only one exception at the village of Yaymyitgyee, situated on a creek on the north-west side of King's Island, alluded to by Dr. Anderson. It was originally a Karen settlement, merely a group of 10 houses, on the banks of a small stream. Their cattle (buffaloes) seem to have thriven more than their masters, for they have over 100 buffaloes. They plough and cultivate paddy and also *toungya*. Some years ago a party of Salones from the Elphinstone group, coming in to winter for the rains on the larger islands nearer to the mainland, entered this creek and squatted near to the Karens, who, being a quiet and peaceful race, very different to the self-seeking rapacious Chinamen, appear to have struck up a kind of friendship with them, resulting in that party of Salones ever after remaining there, and cultivating *toungya* after the manner of the Karens themselves, and there they are to the present day, and will, I hope, induce others to follow their example; but the settlement was commenced over 20 years ago (*vide* Captain Stevenson's *Report*, dated May, 1858), and had they been robbed of paddy and *doorians*, as mentioned by Dr. Anderson, it is not likely that they would have remained. Their rice and fruit left in their boats, whilst they go into the forest to search for honey and yams, may often, no doubt, be carried off by any passing boat, but I have no grounds of believing that their settlement has ever been robbed of its produce, for it is probable that the Karens who live in the same settlement would have reported the matter, if they, the Salones, did not.

On receipt of your letter I sent for one Myat Sein, a man who has been sailing about these islands all his life, and who was formerly my Serang, and used to pilot me about the islands, and whom I sent to Dr. Anderson to accompany him as steersman for his boat, and who was with him on his visit to Yaymyitgyee. He says the Salones are often plundered and swindled by Malays and Chinese, the former being more feared than the latter, but that he never heard that their settlement had ever been robbed; that there are no "*dorian*" trees in the Salone

toungyas; the Karens have some, but not the Salones; in fact, "*dorian*" trees bear fruit only in the rains, a time when the Chinese do not visit the islands, so that I think the story, as it passed through the hands of the interpreter, may probably have been somewhat added to.

Myat Sein tells me that the party of Salones at this settlement of Yaymyitgyee consists of 10 houses and about 40 persons; that the headman, by name Shway Doke, was formerly one of the paid headmen, and can speak Burmese well, so that it would be natural to infer that he would be well aware of our good intentions, and would have come in for protection and redress if he needed it. Myat Sein further tells me that they expect another five boats or families to come in this year from Elphinstone Island and join them in the permanent settlement.

I think I may, therefore, say from the above that though we have abundant grounds of knowing that the Salones are no doubt subject to much extortion and swindling at the hands of Malays and Chinese, there is nothing to show that the only one settlement they have as yet made has been in any way harassed, ill-treated, or interfered with; in fact, from the settlement being still in existence, and from the increment expected to join them this year, there is every reason to believe to the contrary.

As regards the traders who visit the Salones, knowing their great skill in spearing fish and diving for shells, no doubt, often do, as it were, hang on their skirts, and take their fish in exchange for rice at very unfair rates; how far the exchange is conducted by fair barter, how far by trickery or force, it would be difficult to say; but as long as they will wander about in distant and out-of-the-way places, it is quite impossible to prevent this sort of thing being carried on.

As regards drugging the liquor supplied to the Salones, this may have been done in old times once or twice, but there is no reason to believe it to be a common practice. The effect of ordinary country-spirit should, I think, be quite sufficiently powerful to render resort to other drugs unnecessary. Furthermore, the Salones are so mild and timid that they freely give up everything without resistance, so that neither force nor drugging should, I think, be required to be resorted to.

We now come to the last head of the *Report*, regarding the prevalence of illicit sale of spirits by unlicensed traders. To prevent illicit distilling and sale in the islands, a license has always been granted for the supply of spirits to the fishermen, in the hope that the former would keep down all other secret manufacture. But, considering the enormous number of islands, several over 100 miles in circumference, covered with dense jungles, the numerous creeks, bays, and channels of which in every direction give every facility for illicit manufacture, to properly check this an enormous cordon of boats would be required, and the result would be totally inadequate to the cost.

The reports attached by me will show that the subject has by no means been neglected, but has from time to time been studied with much attention and interest by each succeeding officer in charge of the district, and the only obstacle to carrying out their humanitarian views has always been the question of expense.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 14.)

Shells. — In India, spirits fear shells, especially the shells called *bhavânî* cowries,[42] that is, the cowries of Bhavânî, the wife of Śiva. Indian spirits are also much afraid of the conch-shell or *śaṅkha* of Vishṇu.[43] In the Bombay Konkan, the belief in the spirit-scaring virtue of the

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[42] *Cypræa moneta.*

[43] *Buccinum undatum.*

conch is so strong that, when a person is possessed by an evil spirit, Brâhmaṇs fill a conch with water, wave it above the *śâligrâm* stone of Vishṇu, and sprinkle the water over the possessed, when the spirit flies.[44] In North India, to cure a burn, cowries are strung over the burned place.[45] The North Indian and East Gujarât Vañjâras adorn their women's head-pads, their money-bags, and the head-stalls and saddle-cloths of their bullocks with a close embroidery of cowry shells.[46] The Ârâdhîs, a class of Bhavânî beggars in the Dekhan, wear a garland of cowry shells like a sacred thread, a shell necklace, and shells in the hair and round the arms and wrists.[47] In Poona, Bhûtês, devotees and beggars of Bhavânî, are covered from head to foot with cowry shells.[48] The Poona Râuls blow a conch-shell in front of the corpse, and pour water into the mouth of the dead from a conch-shell.[49] The Baṅgars, a class of Poona spice-sellers, before a marriage, carry a conch-shell to the temple, bring it home, set it among the family gods, and call it their *dêvak* or guardian.[50] In front of a Baṅgar funeral a priest walks, blowing a conch-shell.[51] Among the Poona Velâlîs, a Tamil class of Vaiśyas, when a man dies the chief mourners go to a well to draw water to bathe. Before them walks a Jaṅgam or priest, blowing a conch-shell.[52] The Dekhan Murlî, the bride of the god Khandoba, in the marriage ceremony, wears a necklace of nine cowry shells.[53] The initiation of the Gondhalîs or Rhapsodists consists in putting on a cowry-necklace.[54] After a death the Ahmadnagar Châmbhârs call a Jaṅgam to blow a conch over the grave,[55] and at an Ahmadnagar Liṅgâyat Burud's wedding a Jaṅgam blows a conch while a Brâhmaṇ repeats verses.[56] The Khândêsh Vañjârîs throw cowry shells and onions at the priest after a marriage.[57] The Dhârwâṛ Lavânâs, or pack-bullock owners, tie cowry shells round their head-dress.[58] The Dâsarus, a class of Bengal beggars, move about with a gong and a conch-shell resting on the right shoulder. When a Dâsaru dies, a conch-shell and discus are tied to his arm and taken off when he is buried.[59] The Râuls of Sholâpur blow a conch-shell in front of the dead.[60] The Halvakkî Vakkals of North Kânara feed the dying with a shell spoon.[61]

The Korava, or Korachar, women of Mysore wear strings of beads and shells falling over the bosom.[62] The Maria Gonds wear a girdle of cowries;[63] the Demanos, or priests of the Malhers, like the women of the early Ceylon tribe of Veddahs,[64] have strings of cowries fastened to their necks,[65] and the Gonds wave cowries and copper coins at their weddings.[66] Shell ornaments, especially conch-armlets, are much worn in Bengal.[67] Cowry-shells are used by Southern Marâṭhâ Brâhmaṇs in divining and by the Kanuja diviner or wild astrologer of Coorg as dice.[68] The Maratan or Kaladi, the priest or diviner of the slave-caste Malabar Poliars, finds out by arranging cowry shells to what spirit prayers should be offered.[69] In a cairn, opened ten miles south-east of Haidarabad in 1867, *turbinellus pyrum* shells and a

[44] In support of this practice the Brâhmaṇs quote :—

"शंखमध्ये धृतं तोयं भ्रामितं केशवोपरि ।
अंगलग्नं मनुष्याणां भूतबाधां विनश्यति ॥

If a conch filled with water is waved over Kêśava, that is, the *śâlagrâma* stone, and the water is sprinkled over the possessed, the devil disappears."

[45] *Folk-lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 136.
[46] From MS. notes.
[47] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 445.
[48] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 448.
[49] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 361.
[50] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 265.
[51] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 265.
[52] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 259.
[53] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 477.
[54] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 452.
[55] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 168.
[56] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 117.
[57] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 108.
[58] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 121.
[59] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 180.
[60] *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 136.
[61] *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 211.
[62] Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. I. p. 312.
[63] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 279.
[64] *Descriptive Sociology*, 3 (iii).
[65] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 270.
[66] Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 18.
[67] Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. III. p. 98.
[68] Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 212.
[69] Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 493.

necklace of shells were found.[70] The *śaṅkh* or conch is the product of Ceylon. The people of Ceylon and of India saw circles of the *śaṅkh* into armlets and toe-rings.[71] Armlets of conch circles used to be much worn by Gujarât Hindus. They were made in Junâgaḍh in Kâṭhiâwâṛ, but the manufacture has been almost entirely destroyed by the competition of lacquered wood and ivory bracelets.[72]

The Chinese hold cockle-shells sacred, and wear beads and necklaces of *voluta monilis*.[73] A blast on a conch trumpet is the signal for the opening of a military review in China.[74] The conch is blown in Japanese processions[75] and in Melanesia to scare spirits.[76] The chief representative of the Hervey Islanders' god, Kongo, is a conch-shell.[77] Most of the ornaments worn by the Motus are shells ground or bored by a rude drill.[78] The Motus have no regular marriage ceremony. Ten white shell armlets, two shell necklaces, an axe, and a pig are given by the bridegroom to the bride's father, and he takes his wife home.[79] A shell is a favourite brow ornament among the Mekoto and Mahenge East Africans,[80] and it is a charm and neck ornament among the Ugogo negroes.[81] In West Africa, the women of Guinea wear bracelets of cowry or porcelain shells.[82] The Gold Coast negroes wore bags of shells as fetishes.[83] Hottentot women wear ostrich-shell girdles and cowries in their hair.[84] Shells are hung in tents in Nubia.[85] In 1824, the foot-soldiers of the Central African Bournoese wore round the loins a tanned skin strung with coarse shells.[86] In South Africa, Dr. Livingstone was presented with a conical shell to hang round his neck.[87] Stanley[88] mentions men in East Africa wearing shells above the elbow and a shell circle round the head. A shell and a string of beads were given to Dr. Livingstone by a South African tribe to avert his anger.[89] By the Congo people new shells are called God's people.[90] Cowries are profusely used in their head-dress by South Central African women.[91] Among some tribes of South Central Africa, women wear a shell in a hole in the upper lip.[92] The people of the Island of Thana employ the shell of *voluta episcopalis* as a hatchet, fixing it in a handle.[93] The people of the Arru Islands, west of New Guinea, use armlets of white shells.[94] The Papuans of New Guinea place a shell in the middle of their girdle.[95] They also wear shells, fish-bone armlets, copper or silver wire, bands of plaited rattan, and *pandanus* leaves.[96] New Zealanders wear head, neck and waist ornaments of shells, and, like the people of the New Hebrides and many other Easterns, they use the *murex tritonis* as a military horn.[97] The New Mexican Indians wear ornaments made of shells.[98] North American Indians use the *venus mercenaria* as money.[99] Sea shells were popular charms among the Indians of the North American Coast.[100] The women of the Antilles, in the West Indies, clashed armlets and anklets of shell when they danced before their gods.[1]

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70 *Journal Ethnological Society*, Vol. I. p. 176.

71 *Journal B. B. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 149.

72 Compare *Kathiawar Gazetteer*, p. 261.

73 Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 301; *Ency. Brit.* Fourth Edition, Vol. VI. p. 430.

74 Mrs. Gray's *Fourteen Months in Canton*, p. 314.

75 Silver's *Japan*, p. 16.

76 *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 382.

77 Gill's *Polynesia*, p. 193.

78 *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 489.

79 *Op. cit.* Vol. VII. p. 495.

80 Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. I. p. 335; Thomson's *Central Africa*, Vol. I. p. 190.

81 Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. I. p. 194.

82 *Ency. Brit.* Fourth Edition, Vol. IV. p. 478.

83 Bassett's *Legends of the Sea*, p. 458.

84 Burchell's *South Africa*, Vol. I. pp. 395, 444.

85 Burkhardts' *Nubia*, p. 392.

86 Denham and Clapperton's *Africa*, Vol. II. p. 276.

87 Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 301.

88 Stanley's *Dark Continent*, Vol. I. p. 338.

89 Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 281.

90 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 338.

91 Pinto's *How I crossed Africa*, Vol. I. p. 228.

92 Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 577.

93 *Ency. Brit.* Fourth Edition, Vol. VI. p. 440 or 431?

94 Earl's *Papuans*, p. 97.

95 *Op. cit.* p. 19.

96 *Op. cit.* p. 72.

97 *Dresden Ethnological Museum*, MS. note, 1885; *Ency. Brit.* Fourth Edition, Vol. VI. p. 440; Turner's *Polynesia*, pp. 14, 19, 424.

98 *Journ. Ethno. Society*, Vol. I. p. 251.

99 *Ency. Brit.* Fourth Edition, Vol. VI. p. 409.

100 Bassett's *Legends of the Sea*, p. 458.

1 *Reville les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisès*, Vol. I. p. 327.

In Europe, red pigment and pierced sea-shells have been found in the Dordogne Caves in the south of France.[2] In the Bologna Museum shells are shewn among the contents of Etrurian and later Umbrian tombs.[3] The Romans kept their salt and perfumes in cockle shells.[4] In the north of Scotland, before the introduction of Christianity, warriors drank out of shells, a practice which continues in the use of horn or silver drinking cups still called shells.[5] The shell was one of the earlier ornaments which the Christians continued to regard as worshipful. The shell continued a favourite emblem and ornament,[6] and was carved on tombs, sometimes with the addition of wings.[7] In the Middle Ages, pilgrims to the shrine of St. James, at Compostella in Spain, and also pilgrims, after their return from the Holy Land, wore a scallop on their hat or coat.[8] The women of the Levant still deck their hair with porcelains, that is, with cowries.[9] In Guernsey, the shells of the edible sea-ear[10] are plastered on house walls as an ornament.[11] European gypsies hold the cowry sacred, and hang cowries round their donkeys' necks to ward off evil influences.[12] Among the Turks, as among the ancient Greeks, the cowry is a potent charm against fascination.[13]

The worship of the shell as a guardian, a guardian body, or a guardian home seems based on the early use of shell-fish as a leading article of food. In addition to the guardian influence of the shell-fish as food and as medicine was the value of the pounded shell as an absorbent.[14] These grounds of worship may have been strengthened by the shining in the dark of the oyster and of one of the snails (*helix ianthina*).[15] Finally, as shewn by their scientific names, the shapes of several shells identifies them as specially tempting guardian shrines.

Spirits. — Spirit, or Spirits, was originally applied to the air, steam, or breath of certain heated substances. In common use the term is limited to the condensed steam or breath of fermented liquors. The limiting of the term spirit or spirits to intoxicating spirits or alcohol may be partly due to the commonness and familiarity of intoxicating spirits compared with the other varieties of spirit which are known chiefly to the chemist. This explanation may to some extent be accepted. At the same time, apart from its special commonness, the properties of alcohol are in agreement with its monopoly of the term spirit or spirits. Its guardian-effect in dispelling sadness or bad spirits, its fiend-force maddening or making unconscious, its fiery nature both in taste and in burning, its virtue as an antiseptic or scarer of the demon corruption enforce the belief that **alcohol is a spirit or a spirit-home.**

Wine or strong drink cheered man, drove out sadness, and made the drinker like one guardian-possessed. Therefore, strong drink was feared by evil spirits and drove them away. **To keep away or to drive out the spirit of sadness it was good to get drunk once a month.** This, says Burton,[16] was maintained by some heathen dissolute Arabians and profane Christians. It was exploded by the Rabbi Moses, and copiously confuted by a sixteenth century physician of Milan.[17]

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2 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 71.

3 *Ency. Brit.* Ninth Edition, "Etruria;" MS. note, Nov. 1885.

4 Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 524.

5 Smith's *Gaelic Antiquities*, p. 154.

6 Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 1892.

7 MS. note in Florence, Nov. 1885; compare for England, Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 308.

8 *Ency. Brit.* Fourth Edition, Vol. VI. p. 414; Chambers' *Book of Days*, Vol. II. p. 121; Skeat's *Piers the Ploughman*, pp. 62, 144.

9 *Ency. Brit.* Fourth Edition, Vol. VI. p. 478.

10 *Haliotris tuberculata.*

11 *Ency. Brit.* Fourth Edition, Vol. VI. p. 455.

12 Leland's *Gypsies*, p. 209.

13 Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 128.

14 Compare *Ency. Brit.* Fourth Edition, Vol. VI. pp. 417 and 449, where the Roman snail (*helix pomatia*) is said to have been introduced by Sir Kenelm Digby (1650) as a cure for consumption. The Hindus (Wise's *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 125) macerate a *śaṅkh* in lime-juice and use it as a medicine.

15 *Op. cit.* pp. 418, 451. That this shining of shell-fish has attracted wondering notice is supported by the Sussex practice (Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 45) of calling the lambent flame which sometimes rises from the sick before death shell-fire.

16 *England*, 1621.

17 Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, pp. 145, 452.

Among the Khândêsh Pâvrâs the usual marriage ceremonies begin by the boy's father taking a liquor jar to the girl's house and sprinkling some of its contents on the floor of the marriage booth.[18] Pâvrâs also make offerings of rice and *kôdrá* liquor to their deity called Bîvâ Kumbhâ at the opening of the marriage ceremony.[19] Among the Nakrî Kunbîs of Ṭhâṇâ the bride and bridegroom are each seated on a wooden stool, and liquor is given them to drink as soon as the marriage ceremony is completed.[20] The Dhruva Prabhus of Poona, after child-birth, wash the mother with brandy and hot water.[21] Similarly, probably as an antiseptic or corruption-scarer, the good Samaritan of the New Testament parable dressed the traveller's wounds with oil and wine. The Telaṅgî Nhâvîs of Poona drink liquor both at their weddings and funerals.[22] The Shôlâpur Mârwârî Brâhmaṇs, on the full-moon of Âśvin (September-October), drink liquor in honour of their goddess Ambâbâî.[23] Among the Bijâpur Bedars, when an adultress is let back into caste, her hair is cut, and, to purify her, her lips are touched with a red-hot coal of the *rui*[24] bush, and a little liquor is given her to drink.[25] The Dhârwâṛ Koravars, a tribe of hunters, drink liquor when a girl comes of age.[26]

Among the Gonds, on the day before a wedding, the fathers of the bride and bridegroom drink liquor together;[27] during the wedding, liquor is waved round the heads of the bride and bridegroom, and, after the wedding is over, the wedding guests have a feast with liquor.[28] The Pâdâl Gonds are purified by drinking spirits.[29] After a Gond birth the women of the house drink liquor. They keep the water in which the mother and child were washed, and pour liquor over it,[30] and after a funeral they sprinkle the mourners with liquor.[31] The Hos of South-West Bengal use noise and hard drinking to drive out haunting or possessing spirits.[32] The Oṛaôṅ of East Bengal pleases the gods most when he makes merry by dancing all night and drinking liquor.[33] The Velamars, a wild tribe of Travancore, use ardent spirits when they make offerings to their gods. They also drink spirits at births and funerals.[34] **The early tribes of the Central Provinces are notorious for excessive drinking.** All acts of worship end in drunkenness.[35] According to certain authorities the worshippers of Śiva should drink spirits on his great night in February.[36] In the Vêdic hymns the intoxicating juice of the *soma*[37] is a guardian which drives off evil influences as is shewn by the help Sôma gave the god Indra in his battle with the demons.[38] The worshipfulness of spirits is still more clearly brought out in the Persian religion, as is natural in a religion which considered feasting good and fasting evil. The smallest use of *homa* secures the slaughter of a thousand evil spirits or *dêvas*. *Homa* makes the soul of the poor equal to the soul of the rich; *homa* is the healer, the winner, the bringer of wisdom, the scarer of plague.[39] Among the Beni-Isrâ'îls of the Bombay Konkan, on the evening of the sixth day after a birth, men are called and sit all night on mats in the verandah, singing and drinking.[40] When a Beni-Isrâ'îl boy is circumcised the wound is dressed with brandy and oil.[41] At a Beni-Isrâ'îl marriage the bride and bridegroom together drink wine, and afterwards the bridegroom pours wine into the bride's mouth.[42] The Beni-Isrâ'îls drop grape-juice and sugar-candy into the mouth of the dying.[43] In early times (B. C. 1500?), the Jews were ordered to pour strong wine unto the Lord for a drink-offering.[44] The filling of a cup of wine for Elijah is part of the modern passover.[45]

18 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XII. p. 98.
19 *Op. cit.* Vol. XII. p. 98.
20 *Op. cit.* Vol. XIII. p. 129.
21 K. Raghunâth's *Pâtâne Prabhus.*
22 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 382, 383.
23 *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 35.
24 *Asclepias gigantea.*
25 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 94.
26 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 195.
27 Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Ap. I. p. iv.
28 *Op. cit.* Ap. I. p. v.
29 *Op. cit.* Ap. I. p. vi.
30 *Op. cit.* Ap. I. p. iv.
31 *Op. cit.* Ap. I. p. vi.
32 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 196.
33 *Op. cit.* p. 249.
34 *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Sc.* Vol. VIII. p. 297.
35 Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 1.
36 *Dabistân*, Vol. II. p. 134.
37 *Asclepias acida.*
38 Barth's *Religions of India*, pp. 9, 10.
39 Bleek's *Avesta, Yaśna*, IX.
40 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 527.
41 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 529.
42 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 520.
43 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 532.
44 *Exodus*, xxix. 40; *Numbers*, xxviii. 7.
45 *St. James' Gazette*, of 26th March 1895, p. 5.

Vessels full of drink were set in Tâtâr and Upper Egypt funeral pits.[46] In China, a feast is begun by pouring out liquor, a form of grace before meat.[47] At some feasts a loving cup is also blessed and passed round.[48] In drinking, the Chinese clink cups in old English style.[49] The followers of the Grand Lama of Tibet offer their god bread and wine.[50] The Ainos, an early tribe of North Japan, before drinking, throw liquor or *saki* over the head as an offering to the spirits.[51] Rice beer is offered to the gods of the sea in a Shinto temple in Japan.[52] The custom of drinking healths is prevalent in Japan.[53] In Central Africa, possessing or haunting spirits are driven out by forcing the possessed to drink.[54] The Wanikâs of East Africa carouse at marriages, deaths and all other religious rites.[55] In East Africa, the people of the Ugogo country mourn their chief by pouring liquor and sprinkling ashes over the body.[56] In Dahomey, the custom of drinking toasts is observed,[57] apparently with the same object as smoking toasts in New Guinea.[58] In East Africa, plantain spirit is a favourite medicine, often curing illness.[59] At their religious feasts the Indians of South America get hopelessly drunk.[60] In Jamaica, when negroes have to cut down a sacred silk-cotton tree, they pour much wine round the roots of the tree, and the cutters are made to drink until they are drunk.[61] In Mexico, during the five bad days that come every four years, children were made to pass through fire and to drink spirits.[62] The Mexicans washed in wine, and considered wine holy.[63] At present, in Mexico, on entering the *tinacal* or brewery where the *pulque* or bitter aloe milk, the Soma of the New World, ferments, every one says "*Alabo à Dios*, I praise God," and reverently takes off his hat. When a fresh supply of aloe milk is poured into the vat the vatman with a long switch makes the sign of the cross in the curdled milk already in the vat saying "Hail, most Holy Mary." To this the milk-bringer replies: "I praise God and the most Holy Trinity."[64]

In the Egyptian ritual (B. C. 2000), to keep evil spirits from coming near the dead body, the mourner, morning and evening, sprinkled the whole house with sacred herbs and liquor.[65] A law bound the ancient Athenians to keep to the last pure and unmixed wine for a relishing taste to the honour of the good genius.[66] The Greek funeral fire was put out with wine.[67] In Rome, the object of drinking wine by the men who ran round the town in the Lupercalia seems to have been to drive away spirits. Roman funerals sometimes ended in boisterous scenes.[68] Before the Roman senate began business each senator dropped wine and incense on the altar.[69] The early Skandinavians had the custom of drinking immoderately at the winter solstice in honour of the gods.[70] After sacrificing they drank to Odin for victory and to Njord and Freja for a good season. They also drank to friends killed in battle. When they became Christians they drank to God, to Christ, and to the saints.[71] In Skandinavia, a new king always drank an ox-horn of wine before sitting on the throne.[72] Liquor is drunk in Russia

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46 Yule's *Cathay*, p. 509.

47 Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 65.

48 Kidd's *China*, p. 324.

49 Cubbold's *Chinese*, p. 55.

50 Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, Vol. II. p. 203.

51 St. John's *Nipon*, p. 29.

52 Reed's *Japan*, Vol. II. p. 142.

53 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 150.

54 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 148.

55 New's *East Africa*, p. 96.

56 Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. I. p. 120.

57 Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 208.

58 Ingle's *Australian Cousins*, p. 32.

59 New's *East Africa*, p. 397.

60 *Journ. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 224.

61 *The National Review*, June 1895, p. 560. The sense seems to be: the spirit who has been dislodged from the silk-cotton tree is enticed by the liquor spilt on the ground and into the wood-cutters, and so loses his chance of doing an injury. This detail is an illustration of the law mentioned in the previous note on "Liquor," that the ceremonial drinker is a scape-goat drinking from duty in order that the angry or evil influence may house itself in him and so cause no general mischief.

62 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 376.

63 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. pp. 351-376.

64 Brocklehurst's *Mexico of To-day*, p. 82.

65 Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 93.

66 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 213.

67 *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, p. 164.

68 Leckie's *European Rationalism*, Vol. I. p. 216.

69 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. II. p. 20.

70 Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 196.

71 *Op. cit.* p. 196.

72 Jones' *Crowns*, p. 538.

after a baptism.[73] A loving cup goes the round of the table at a Russian Imperial banquet.[74] Red wine is poured in the form of a cross on the throne or altar-table of a Russian church.[75] The Germans, at their feasts, drank each other's health in turn, saluting each other by name. Percy (1770) adds one custom of drinking to the memory of the dead instead of to the spirits of the dead.[76] Among the early Scottish Highlanders, according to the poems of Ossian (A. D. 300-600), spirits, drunk out of shells, were held in high honour.[77] The worshipfulness of several sacred English trees, among them the birch, alder, fir and mountain ash or rowan, seems to be due to the fact that liquor was made from them.[78] The English word ale used to mean a feast.[79] To spill wine is lucky, since wine poured out drives off evil spirits. The evil omen of spilling salt is turned aside by pouring out wine.[80] In Scotland, special hard-drinking marked the suicide's funeral, the body had to be baptised in whiskey.[81] In England, in 1827, it was usual after a death to lay in the mouth of a bee-hive some wine-soaked funeral cakes.[82] While seeing the New Year in, householders drank spiced hot ale called lamb's wool [83] Paupers, or in some districts young women,[84] carried from door to door a bowl of spiced ale adorned with ribbons singing songs. These bowls were known as Wassail bowls from the Anglo-Saxon *Wæs hæl*, Be in health.[85] In old times, in Yorkshire, fishers sprinkled the prows of their boats with good liquor, a custom they had learnt from their ancestors,[86] and which lives in the breaking of a bottle of wine over a ship's bow in launching her. After his coronation the English king takes the Sacrament of bread and wine.[87]

Spittle. — All the world over the rubbing on of spittle, especially of the fasting spittle, has been found to cure wounds and to lessen inflammation. Spittle is, therefore, a widespread guardian or spirit-scarer. Again, spittle is one of the issues of the body, and, as all issues hold part or some of the spirits of him from whose body they come, it follows that the spittle-issue of a holy man has special healing and evil-scaring properties. Once more: if spittle is a guardian home and is also a home of the spirit of the spitter, it follows that spittle is a likely lodging for trespassing, possessing and other evil spirits. When, by inhaling, smelling or otherwise, a person becomes possessed by an influence, disease, or other evil spirit, the trespassing spirit is likely to make his abode in the spittle of the possessed. It follows that, by getting rid of his spittle, the person trespassed upon is likely to get rid of the disease-spirit or other evil lodger. These three experiences and conclusions, namely, that spittle is healing, that in his spittle lives some of a man's spirit or spirits, that as trespassing spirits lodge in the spittle of the possessed they may be spat out, seem to form the sense basis of the world-wide honour and horror of spittle which the following cases illustrate.

In the Konkan, that is, the seaboard to the north and south of Bombay, when a person is affected by the Evil Eye, salt and mustard seed are waved round his face and thrown into fire, and he is told to spit.[88] In Gujarât, when a Shî'a travels with a Sunnî, he spits secretly to avert or avaunt the evil Sunnî influence.[89] Among the human-sacrificing Khonds of North-East Madras, Macpherson noted in 1842 that a member of a tribe who did not sacrifice said to a sacrificer: — "You traffic in your

[73] Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 77.

[74] Jones' *Crowns*, p. 392.

[75] Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 91.

[76] Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 196.

[77] The references are frequent. The joy of the shell (Clerke's *Ossian*, I. 200; II. 107): the shells resound (*op. cit.* II. 187): the shell of joy went round in praise of the king of Morven (*op. cit.* II. 99); the souls of the warriors brighten with the strength of the shells (*op. cit.* II. 95).

[78] Compare Hunter in Evelyn's *Silva*, Vol. I. p. 225.

[79] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 279.

[80] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 165.

[81] Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 34.

[82] Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 128.

[83] Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 727.

[84] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 1.

[85] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 338.

[86] From MS. notes.

[87] Jones' *Crowns*, p. 121.

[88] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

[89] Information from Mr. Fazal Lutfullah.

child's blood," and spat in his face.[90] In North India, itch is cured by rubbing in saliva.[91] Among the Roman Catholics of North Kânara, at baptism, the priest wets the tip of his thumb with spittle, and with it touches the child's ears and nostrils.[92] Dubois (A. D. 1810) describes a monastery, ten miles from Chinnerâyapatan (Seringâpatam) where lived a Hindu teacher whose followers quarrelled for his spittle.[93] In agreement with one of the traditions of the Prophet, Muhammadans, in wakening after a bad dream, spit on the left side and ask divine protection against Satan.[94]

Among the Kirghîs tribes of Central Asia, the sorcerers or spirit-scarers whip the sick till blood comes and then spit in his face.[95] The Polynesian legends tell that spirits were made from the spittle of the gods.[96] The Australians throw dust on their feet and spit as signs of hostility.[97] Among the Musalmâns of North-West Africa, the spittle of a madman or a lunatic is considered a blessing. The saying is : — "O blessed Nazarene, what God has given let not man wipe away. Thou shalt be happy, Sidi Moma has spat upon thee."[98]

When a Hottentot has to pass the night in the wilds he chews a root, and spits in a circle round him, and within this circle no evil animal can come.[99] In preparing a charm, the negroes of West Africa mutter sentences, and spit thrice on a stone.[100] Barbot (1700), quoted by Burton,[1] notices that the interpreter of the king of Zanap in West Africa took one of the royal feet in his hands, spat on the sole, and licked it. The priest of the Waruas gets an offering of six fowls from the chief's wife, spits in her face, and she is happy.[2] Stanley[3] says that king Lukongeh of Ukerewe in East Africa is believed to have superhuman powers. When his subjects approach him they clap their hands and kneel. If the king is pleased he blows and spits into their hands, and they rub their faces with the spittle. In inner West Africa, when a child is named, the schoolmaster spits thrice into its face,[4] and when the people see the new moon they spit on their hands and rub them over their faces.[5] At a big festival the king of Dahomey, in Western Africa, spits on the drum-sticks before they are used.[6] The people of Madagascar think that the fasting spittle cures sore ears and eyes. Also when they smell a bad smell they spit.[7] Among the Waruas of Central Africa spitting on a person is considered an attempt to bewitch.[8] Among the Dyurs of the White Nile the usual salutation, when two people meet, is to spit on each other. The spitting is a token of affection and good-will.[9] In Central Africa, on the seventh day after birth, the priest spits thrice on the child's face.[10] When a South African Bakwain sees an alligator, he says, " There is Sin," and spits on the ground.[11] The West African negro will not pass the rock or tree where a spirit lives without laying on it a leaf, a shell and some spittle.[12] When Mungo Park (1800) started on his journey up the Niger, his Negro guide picked up a stone, murmured some words over it, spat on it, and threw it in front to driv away evil influences.[13] Here the stone is a spirit-home, the words made a spirit pass into thee stone, the spittle kept the spirit from harm, and the spirit, coaxed into becoming a guardian, drove off all other spirits. In North-East Africa, certain tribes salute by spitting into each other's faces. The traveller Johnson was much sought after as a medicine-man, and his salute

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[90] Government of India Records, Home Department, Vol. V. p. 52.
[91] *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 133.
[92] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV.
[93] Dubois, Vol. I. p. 177.
[94] Seafield's *Dreams*, Vol. I. p. 414; Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 101.
[95] Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 213.
[96] Fornander's *Polynesian Races*, Vol. I. p. 83.
[97] *Descriptive Sociology*, No. 3, p. iv.
[98] Hay's *Western Barbary*, p. 100.
[99] Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 82.
[100] Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 43.
[1] Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 259.
[2] Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. II. p. 82.
[3] Stanley's *Dark Continent*, Vol. I. p. 253.
[4] Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 269.
[5] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 272.
[6] Burton's *Visit to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 361.
[7] Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 286; *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. II. p. 37.
[8] Thomson's *Lakes of Central Africa*, Vol. II. p. 164.
[9] Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 205.
[10] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 431.
[11] Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 255.
[12] Revillé *les Religions des Peuples non-Civilisés*, Vol. II. (?) p. 73.
[13] Reference mislaid.

was so valued that he had to keep his mouth full of water.[14] In North Africa, the priest of the Mandingoes spits thrice in the face of a child when he names it.[15] On new-moon days, in Africa, people say prayers, spit on their hands, and rub their hands on their face.[16] A Zulu woman, attacked by her husband's spirit, keeps the spittle that gathers in her mouth while she dreams, and the exorcist buries it in a hole.[17] Abyssinian Christians think it a sin to spit on the day they take the Sacrament.[18]

In America, a traveller rubs his legs with grass, spits on the grass, and lays it on a cross-road shrine and drives off the demon of tiredness.[19] The Peruvians spat on the ground as a sign of contempt and abhorrence.[20] Frobisher (A. D. 1577) tells of a Greenland woman who, when her child was wounded by an arrow, took off the English doctor's salves and licking the wound with her own tongue, not much unlike an English dog, healed the child's arm.[21]

Among the classic Greeks, women when alarmed spat into their bosoms.[22] The girl in Theocritus' *Idyll*, xx. (B. C. 200), spat thrice on her robe to scare an unwelcome lover. Lucian (A. D. 150) mentions spitting thrice in the face as part of an incantation.[23] According to Athenæus (A. D. 200) doves spit into the mouths of their young to guard them against fascination.[24] At the sight of an epileptic or of a madman the ancient Greeks spat thrice into their bosom.[25] Galen (A. D. 100) held that epilepsy and contagion were scared by spitting. To spit on the hand added strength to a blow. Fasting spittle cured boils. Galen advised spitting on meeting a lame man on the right; spitting into the bosom in framing a wish: spitting thrice in saying a prayer and in taking medicine.[26] The Romans spat into the folds of their dress to keep off the Evil Eye.[27] Both Tibullus (B. C. 40) and Persius (A. D. 50) praise spittle as a guard against the Evil Eye.[28] According to Pliny (A. D. 70) serpents cannot abide spittle more than scalding water: fasting spittle killed them.[29] A woman's fasting spittle cured blood-shot eyes.[30] Spitting on the person struck with the falling sickness prevented infection, and spitting in the eyes of a witch broke her power to enchant.[31] If a stranger looks on a child asleep the nurse spits thrice.[32] Boxers spit in their hands to make the blow heavy: to spit in meeting a lame man, or in passing a place where danger has been run, prevents ill-luck.[33] Fasting spittle cures warts, boils and inflamed eyes, skin, and wounds.[34] Spittle rubbed behind the ear drives out gloomy fancies; rubbed on the brow it stops a fit of coughing.[35] The Emperor Vespasian (A. D. 90) cured the blind by rubbing his eyes with spittle.[36] At a Roman birth the nurse touched the infant's lips and forehead with spittle.[37]

Christ healed the eyes of the blind by anointing them with clay and spittle.[38] The authority of this miracle is given as the reason why the Roman practice of touching the new-born babe with spittle was continued in Baptism by the Christian Church.[39] The Christian catechumen spat thrice at the devil.[40] During the fourth century a Christian sect, called the Messalians, made spitting a religious exercise in hopes of spitting out the devils they inhaled.[41] Of the

14 From MS. Note, 5th April 1883.
15 Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 269.
16 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 149.
17 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 147.
18 Moore's *Oriental Fragments*, p. 129.
19 Bancroft, Vol. IV. p. 481.
20 *Descriptive Sociology*, pp. 2, 33.
21 Barron's *Polar Voyages*, p. 89.
22 Clarke's *Travels in Greece*, Vol. IV. p. 7.
23 Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 73.
24 Story's *Castle of St. Anjelo*, p. 90; Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 42.
25 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1102; Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 401.
26 Galen, Lib. X., *De Tac. Sim. Med.* Vol. II. p. 237.
27 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxvii. Chap. 7.
28 Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 417; Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 42.
29 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book vii. Chap. 2.
30 *Op. cit.* Book xxvii. Chap. 7.
31 *Op. cit.* Book xxvii. Chap. 4.
32 *Op. cit.* Book xxvii. Chap. 4.
33 *Op. cit.* Book xxvii. Chap. 7.
34 *Op. cit.* Book xxvii. Chap. 7.
35 *Op. cit.* Book xxviii. Chaps. 2 and 6.
36 Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 420; Black's *Folk-Medicine*, pp. 183, 184.
37 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 439.
38 *St. Mark's Gospel*, vii. 34; viii. 23.
39 *Golden Manual*, p. 670.
40 *Op. cit.* p. 428.
41 Leckie's *History of Rationalism in Europe*, Vol. I. p. 25; Student's *Encyclopædia*, "Witchcraft."

high value attached to spitting by others than Christians during the fourth century Philagrus' saying is proof: — "When you spit into the drug pot use no barbarous names. The spittle without the names is just as healing."[42] That the object of the Catholic priest in touching the ears and nostrils of the infant or catechumen at Baptism is to scare evil spirits is shewn in the service for adult Baptism, where, when the priest applies the spittle to the nostrils, he says: — "Devil be put to flight for the judgment of God is near."[43] The healing spittle and the spittle of hate are the same both in virtue and in object, namely, to scare the devil. In the Russian Baptism sermon, when, on behalf of the child, the God-father and God-mother renounce the Prince of Darkness, they bow and spit at the Prince.[44] The old respect for spittle continues among modern Greeks. The modern Greek woman, like the classic Greek, when alarmed, spits into her own bosom.[45] The modern Greek, like the Slav, is shy of praise. If praised he tries to save himself by spitting;[46] if a child is praised the mother or nurse blows a spray over it.[47] The classic beliefs about spittle remain fresh in modern Italy. In 1623, when De la Valle was travelling near Mangalore, in India, he saw in a forest shrine a statue of Birimoro (apparently Bhairav) or Buto (Bhûta), a savage god, spat in its face three times, and went away.[48] At the present time, in Italy, fasting spittle rubbed on the knee cures blear eyes, cancer and pains in the neck. To spit in the right shoe scares fascination.[49] In the Middle Ages, in Spain as in Italy, to spit in the face had the sense that the person spat upon was a devil or was devil possessed. Saint Eulalia, the Spanish Christian girl, spat in the face of her judge.[50] In Roumania, you must not praise a baby or say any one looks well without spitting.[51] In Transylvania, the Saxons hold that spitting has great power to keep off spells and other evils.[52] The Wotyak Fins of East Russia beat evil influences out of every house by clubs and lighted twigs, shut the door, and spit at the ousted devil.[53] In a Russian story a blind maiden cures her eyes by rubbing them with her own saliva.[54] Before a witch's house and in crossing haunted water by night Germans spit thrice.[55] In Germany, if a fisher spits on a pot hook and calls on the devil, he will catch fish.[56] In France, hair that comes out in combing and cut hair have to be spat on to prevent them becoming enchanted.[57] According to Aubrey (A. D. 1650) if you praised a horse belonging to one of the wild Irish, the owner spat on the animal.[58] In Ireland, in 1660, a child who had been eye-bitten might be cured by being spat on.[59] Still in West Galway and other outlying parts of Ireland a new-born child or a beast, when first seen, must be spat on, especially if praised, since praise brings bad luck. The first money earned in the morning is spat on for good luck. An animal beginning to recover from sickness must be spat on. The people of Cork spit on the ground in front of any one whom they wish to bring into trouble.[60]

In the seventeenth century in Scotland, the skilful cured sick animals by spitting.[61] Till the present century fasting spittle cured warts and skin diseases.[62] In making a bargain it was the rule that the parties should spit each in his own hand before the final settling grasp.[63] In East Scotland, if a fish-hook catches at the bottom of the sea, some evil-eyed person is believed to hold it. The fisher takes a bit of seaweed, spits on it,

[42] Black's *Folk Medicine*, pp. 183, 184.
[43] *The Golden Manual*, p. 799.
[44] Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, pp. 39 and 69.
[45] Clarke's *Travels in Greece*, Vol. IV. p. 7.
[46] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1102; Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 401.
[47] Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 401.
[48] Hall's *De la Valle*, Vol. II. pp. 340, 341.
[49] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 209.
[50] Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. II. p. 678.
[51] *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. V. p. 50.
[52] *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, No. CI. p. 145.
[53] Fraser's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 801.
[54] *Zool. Myth.* Vol. I. p. 219.
[55] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1102.
[56] Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 434.
[57] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 417.
[58] Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 42.
[59] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 10.
[60] *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 103.
[61] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 73.
[62] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 99.
[63] *Op. cit.* p. 100.

throws it overboard, and again spits to overcome the ill-wisher.[64] To spit to windward is unlucky.[65] The sense seems to be that the fair wind resents being treated as a fiend or foul wind and so causes mischief. The belief is widespread. Besides, in different parts of Europe, it has been recorded in the Maldiv Islands and in China.[66] In the small island of Foula off Shetland, in dressing a sheep, the gall is carefully taken out, thrice spat on, and covered with ashes that no dog may see it.[67] In St. Kilda, the last funeral rite is to spit on the grave.[68]

In England, up to the tenth century, the Saxons put spittle into their holy salve.[69] Spittle is also an ingredient in Herrick's charm (A. D. 1650) :—

"Sacred spittle bring you hither,
Meal and it now mix together,
And a little oil with either."[70]

During the Middle Ages, spitting on the joints cured rheumatism. Up to the present century the power of a man with an Evil Eye was destroyed by spitting thrice in his face.[71] Fasting spittle rubbed on warts cured them: fasting spittle was also rubbed on new shillings that were to be used to cure ringworm.[72] To spit thrice averted the ill-luck caused by meeting a person who squints.[73] If a dog bites a child the owner of the dog should spit on the hand of the child's mother.[74] A sleeping foot is cured by marking on it a cross with spittle.[75] The fasting spittle of men was believed to cure snake-bite.[76] It is recorded that, on 16th August 1839, to cure her of the Evil Eye, a woman spat in the face of another woman who squinted.[77] An English cure for the scrofula was for a fasting virgin to spit three times, touch the sore, and say:—"Apollo denies that the heat of the plague can increase when a naked virgin quencheth it."[78] When an English baby yawns, the nurse spits or pretends to spit into its mouth.[79] If any one regrets having given a blow and spits in the hand that dealt the blow the person struck will cease to suffer.[80] In Cheshire, in 1748, Brigget Brotock, an old woman, wrought many cures by rubbing with fasting spittle.[81] In Yorkshire, in 1800, it was the rule to spit three times in the face of any one with the Evil Eye.[82] In North England, and also in Lincolnshire, fish-women and hucksters spit on the handsel or sacrifice, that is, on the first money they take in the morning.[83] In North England, any one who sees a horse-shoe or a piece of iron should take it up, spit on it, and throw it over his left shoulder. He should frame a wish, and if he can keep the secret to himself his wish will be granted.[84] In Staffordshire, fasting spittle cures warts.[85] In Staffordshire, when a dog is heard to howl, which is caused

64 *Folk-Lore Journal*, Vol. III. p. 181.
65 Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 434.
66 Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 434.
67 Sands in *Kirkwall Paper*, p. 718.
68 Buchanan's *St. Kilda* in Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 72.
69 Black's *Folk-Medicine*, pp. 183, 184.
70 *Hesperides*.
71 Black's *Folk-Medicine*, pp. 183, 184.
72 *Op. cit.* pp. 183, 184.
73 Hone's *Year Book*, p. 253.
74 *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. VIII. p. 465.
75 Black's *Folk-Medicine*, p. 85.
76 Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, Vol. I. p. 378.
77 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 50.
78 Pettigrew's *Superstitions*, p. 74.
79 From MS. Note.
80 Black's *Folk-Medicine*, p. 52.
81 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," pp. 233, 264.
82 Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 39.
83 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 32; *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 117.
84 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 106. The sense seems the same as the sense of Mungo Park's negroe guide spitting on a stone and rolling the stone in front of Park to keep off evil. In the North England case the horse-shoe or other iron is a spirit-home. Spitting on the iron drives out of it any evil influence that may have made a lodging in the iron and so dimmed its guardian power. The cleansed iron becomes a centre of guardian influence. Dropping the guardian iron over the left shoulder drives from the unlucky side of the dropper any evil influence that might confuse or pass into his wish. So his wish, which is one of a man's many spirits, passes unmolested into the guardian and by the guardian iron is protected from adverse influences and so comes to fruition.
85 Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 166, 167.

by his seeing an evil spirit, the risk of attack from the spirit is avoided by taking off your left shoe and spitting on its sole.[86] In Kent, when a funeral passes, people troubled with warts wet the forefinger with spittle, rub the wart and say:—"My wart goes with you."[87] In a stone wall in Norfolk Road, Brighton (A. D. 1875), is a crystal which school-boys call the holy stone, and in passing spit on it for luck.[88] The Devonshire peasant, when he sees one magpie, which is unlucky, spits thrice over his right shoulder.[89]

Sugar. — **Sugar, one of the wholesomest, most fattening and most cheering of foods, is a chief protection against evil spirits.** Among the higher Hindus of Bombay, on such auspicious occasions as betrothal and coming of age, sugar or sugar-cakes called *batâsâs* are handed to the guests. In the Konkan, among Brâhmaṇs, when a girl comes of age, a lighted lamp is waved round her face and a pinch of sugar is given her to eat.[90] So also when a Konkan Brâhmaṇ starts on a long journey, curds and sugar are given him to sip in order that no evil may befall him by the way.[91] The household gods of the Dekhan and Konkan Brâhmaṇs are daily washed in the *pañchâmruta* or five deathless, that is, milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar.[92] The Govardhan or Golak Brâhmaṇs of Poona lay molasses in front of the cot in which a child is born.[93] In the Dekhan Râmôsî marriage, the bride puts molasses into the mouth of the bridegroom and of his father and mother.[94] The Bombay Prabhu in his morning visit to worship the cow offers her sugar.[95] In the Dekhan, on Dasarâ day (September-October), the horse, when worshipped, is fed on sugar.[96] The Dekhan Chitpâvan, when beginning to build his marriage booth, makes a square and lays sugar on it.[97] In the Dekhan, sweet milk is dropped into the dead Mâng's mouth.[98] In Nâsik, when a child has small-pox, the mother weighs the child against molasses in the small-pox goddess's temple. The Nâgar Jain Mârwâris offer sugar to the wedding betelnut Ganpati,[99] and the Jain funeral feast consists of sweet dishes.[100] At the beginning of a new year's ploughing Bîjâpur Raddis give their bullocks a sweet dish, and wave dressed food round them.[1] Sugared water is put into the mouth of the dying Kânara Musalmân.[2] Among the Belgaum Korvis, the bride and bridegroom feed each other with sweetened rice.[3] The Râjputs of Kâṭhiâwâr distribute molasses on the day of naming and betrothal.[4] Among the Dhârwâṛ Mâdhav Brâhmaṇs nothing sweet is eaten in the house of mourning for thirteen days after a death,[5] apparently to avoid the risk of prematurely driving away the spirit which should stay in and about the house for twelve days, and should not leave until the thirteenth day after the performance of the *pâthêya śrâddh* which enables the spirit to proceed on his journey to heaven.[6] The Śrâvaks after a birth distribute molasses and sesamum seed. In Western India, among higher Hindus, sugar and sesamum seed are distributed to friends and relations on the Saṅkrânt day (12th January), on which the sun crosses the sign of Capricorn, and on the 1st of Chaitra (March-April) people eat *nîm* leaves and sugar in order that they may not suffer from any disease during the year.[7] In Mysor, fine white soft sugar is made into shapes at weddings and on other great occasions, and given to guests.[8] The Beni-Isrâ'ils of the Konkan have a ceremony called *sâkhar puda*, or sugar eating, as a preliminary to marriage.[9] In Kâṭhiâwâr, on the bright second of every month, people light a fire on the

86 *Op. cit.* p. 101.
87 *Op. cit.* pp. 166, 167.
88 *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. IV. p. 495.
89 Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 82; *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, Vol. VII. p. 91.
90 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
91 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
92 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
93 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 162.
94 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXX. p. 423.
95 Mr. K. Raghunath's *Pâtâne Prabhus.*
96 Mr. K. Raghunath's *Pâtâne Prabhus.*
97 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 123.
98 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 444.
99 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 80.
100 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 82.
1 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 147.
2 *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 409.
3 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 171.
4 Information from Col. Barton.
5 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 86.
6 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
7 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
8 Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. I. p. 341.
9 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 516.

seashore, throw clarified butter into the fire, and sugared milk into the sea.[10] On the third of November 1886, Râi Pannâlâl, the minister of Udaipur in Râjputânâ, gave a feast to twenty-five thousand people in memory of his mother. The Mahâjâns or Banias, in Udaipur and eighty villages round, ate over thirty-one thousand pounds (three hundred *mans*) of sugar in sweetmeats.[11] The Holi or spring festival on the March-April full-moon is a great time for sweetmeats. In Bombay, shops are full of necklaces of sugar medals stamped with the lucky face of Singhmukh or Old Horny.[12] The Indian Musalmân pours some drops of sugared water into the mouth of the dying.[13] The sweetened juice of the *homa* (*Asclepias ascida*) is dropped into the mouth of the new-born Pârsî.[14] In honour of a Pârsî girl's first pregnancy, both her own and her husband's families distribute sweetmeats.[15]

When the Egyptian Muslim bridegroom comes to the bride's room he sprinkles sugar and almonds on the bride's head and on the heads of the women with her.[16] In Italy, in A. D. 1590, on Christmas Eve, sweetmeats were given to the Fathers in the Vatican.[17] At Milan, during the Carnival, strings of carriages and wagons pass laden with small sugar knobs about the size of peas. The balconies are crowded with people with large stores of these pellets. And between the people in the wagons and those in the verandahs such quantities of comfits are thrown that, when the procession has passed, the street is as white as after a smart shower of snow.[18] In November 1657, at the wedding of his daughter, Oliver Cromwell threw sack posset of wet sweetmeats among the ladies, and daubed with wet sweetmeats the stools where they were to sit.[19] In West Scotland (1830), when a babe is taken to a strange house for the first time, the head of the house must put sugar into its mouth and wish it well.[20] In North Hants, on St. Andrew's day, a bell called Tandrew is rung and sweet toffee is eaten.[21]

Sulphur. — **Sulphur** as a healer, a disinfectant, and a fire-maker, is **the dread of spirits.** Among the ancient Jews the wedding crown was of salt and sulphur.[22] In Egypt, at the procession of Isis, a boat was carried which had been purified with a lighted torch, an egg, and sulphur.[23] At a Greek sacrifice the vessels were purified by rubbing them with brimstone.[24] Those who took part in the Bacchic mysteries were purified with fire, sulphur and air.[25] Theocritus (B. C. 200) advises the herdsman to purify his house with sulphur, and then rain upon it innocuous water and the accustomed salt.[26] Before Medea began her rites for renewing Jason's father's youth, she thrice purified him with fire, water and sulphur.[27] The Romans, in their early shepherd-festival of the Palilia (21st April), to purify them, rubbed sheep with sulphur or made them pass through the smoke of sulphur, rosemary, firewood, and incense.[28] Pliny (A. D. 70), apparently referring to the practice described by Theocritus, says that the Romans burnt sulphur to hallow houses, because its smell drove off fiends and spirits.[29] He also mentions sulphur as a cure for leprosy, cough and scorpion bite.[30] Tibullus (B. C. 40) speaks of purifying with sulphur,[31] and Amertius Nemesianus recommends the shepherd who is worried with a love charm to lustrate himself thrice with chaplets,

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10 Vaikuntram's *Element Worship*, MS.
11 *Times of India*, 11th November 1886.
12 From MS. notes.
13 Herklot's *Quanun-i-Islâm*, p. 409.
14 From MS. notes.
15 From MS. notes.
16 Lane's *Arabs in the Middle Ages*, p. 237; Eber (*Egyptian Princess*, Vol. II. pp. 233, 362) ascribes the same practice to the Greeks of Egypt in B. C. 500.
17 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 4.
18 From MS. note, 1886. In Rome plastered peas have taken the place of the old comfits. *Ency. Brit.*, "Carnival."
19 Hone's *Table Book*, Vol. I. p. 20.
20 Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 33.
21 *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. VII. p. 29.
22 Basnage's *History of the Jews*, p. 472.
23 Brown's *Great Dionysiak Myth*, Vol. I. p. 194.
24 Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 268.
25 Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 103.
26 Calverley's Translation, *Idyll XXIV.* p. 139.
27 Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Vol. VII. p. 261.
28 Ovid's *Fasti*, Lib. IV. 730-750. Quoted in Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 347; Aubrey's *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 16; Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 166.
29 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxxv. Chap. 15.
30 *Op. cit.* Book xxxv. Chap. 15.
31 Quoted in Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 207.

and to burn laurel leaves with sulphur and pour wine over them.[32] Some very primitive people rub stones and feathers with sulphur in kindling fire.[33]

In England, the belief in the cleansing virtue of sulphur survived the Reformation. Herrick writes: — "I'll expiate with sulphur, hair and salt and with the humour of the crystal spring."[34] Brown notes among the "Vulgar Errors" of that time (A. D. 1650) the belief that bitumen, pitch or brimstone could purify the air of the devil.[35] A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, in 1747, notes that in England in 1720 some rolls of brimstone had been found in a grave.[36] In the North of England, in 1825, a babe at its first visit to a house was presented with an egg, a handful of salt, and a bunch of matches.[37] In Scotland, Dalzell notes that sulphur smoke was perhaps the commonest way of scaring the devil.[38] In Scotland, in 1850, the sulphur fumes of a gas work cured a child of whooping-cough.[39] Sulphurous acid is a valuable disinfectant.[40] Of recent years, in Bombay and in Ṭhâṇâ near Bombay, the burning of sulphur fires has been found serviceable in epidemic attacks of cholera.[41] It is probably not so much because of man's experience of the misery of burns or of suffocation by sulphur fumes as because of their value in guarding against disease, that is, in scaring spirits, that fire and sulphur form so important a part in the upholstery of Milton's *Hell*.

(*To be continued.*)

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 7. — Lâlan, Princess of Rubies.[1]

ONCE upon a time in a certain country there lived in great amity the son of a carpenter, the son of the *kôṭwâl*, the son of the minister, and the son of the king. Finding the absence of adventures in their own country irksome, they resolved amongst themselves to go in search of them abroad. So in due course they started, reaching an out-of-the-way place on the first evening. Here, for their safety, they agreed amongst themselves to keep watch during the night by turns.

The carpenter's son kept the first watch. But hardly had he begun his watch when there appeared near him a beautiful young woman, making a musical sound by the jingling of the silver bells which adorned her ankles. On finding, however, the watcher awake, she retreated a hundred yards in the twinkling of an eye. On this the carpenter's son spoke within himself thus:—

"Oh! what have I done? By my vigilance I have been the cause at this time of night of driving away one — it may be a sister or a daughter-in-law — standing perhaps in need of human help in this unfrequented desert."

The woman, divining these thoughts, retraced her steps, and taking her seat gracefully on the watcher's knee, carried on a loving conversation; but as soon as he became sleepy she ate him up and his steed together with the saddle, bridle and all.

It was now the turn of the *kôṭwâl's* son to keep the second watch. When he went to his post at the allotted time he did not find the carpenter's son there. He inwardly reproached for having run away, and jeopardising his companions, remarking that the culprit's relatives should be hanged for this breach of faith.

[32] *Op. cit.* p. 207.

[33] Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, p. 248.

[34] Herrick's *Poems*, Vol. p. 81.

[35] Brown's *Vulgar Errors*, p. 31.

[36] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 72.

[37] *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 25.

[38] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 607.

[39] Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 96; Black's *Folk-Lore Medicine*, p. 183.

[40] Student's *Encyclopædia*, "Sulphur."

[41] From MS. notes.

[1] Narrated by Bânû Bî *alias* Kallu Bî, firewood-seller of Sadur Bâzâr, Nagpur, C. P. *Cf.* Mr. D'Penha's "Prince and the Kambals," *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 250.

As in the case of the carpenter's son, the woman with the jingling ornaments came near the *kôṭwâl's* son, and, on finding him awake, quick as thought went back a hundred yards. But when there came into his mind kindly thoughts, the captivating seducer, divining them, retraced her steps, and coming up to the *kôṭwâl's* son sat on his knee, and began talking pleasantly. Hardly had the watcher begun to feel sleepy, when she gulped him down, and also his steed, saddle and bridle, for she was an ogress.

It was now the turn of the minister's son to watch. On commencing his watch, he noticed the absence of both his predecessors and reproached his faithless companions to himself for having deserted the prince, and at the same uttered a threat that he would get both the culprits' relatives hanged for this breach of faith.[2] But then the same beautiful woman approached, and, on finding the minister's son awake, went back a hundred yards in the twinkling of an eye. When, however, the minister's son began to be sorry for being the cause of driving away a woman at such a time of night in a wild country, the fair creature, retracing her steps, came to him, and gracefully sitting down upon his knee began to speak the sweet language of love. But the moment the watcher felt sleepy, he was eaten up, his steed sharing the same fate, together with the saddle and bridle.

The watch by the king's son followed that of the minister's son. On finding himself alone and deserted as it seemed by his three companions, he exclaimed:—

"I do not know what value my friends have put upon their lives, which are at the best only precarious; but by deserting me, in spite of their profession of love, they have surely held their lives dear."

Hardly was this exclamation uttered when the king's son espied the beautiful young woman coming towards him, who, as before, in the twinkling of an eye retreated a hundred yards on seeing him awake. "Men grow by years, but princes grow by days," runs the proverb; so the prince at once suspected foul play. For he reasoned:—how could a woman cover a hundred yards in the twinkling of an eye, unless she be some Balâ or evil spirit? With this in his mind, he at once climbed a tree, troubled by his loneliness. The ogress knew that she was discovered, but, taking advantage of the prince's solitary position, approached the tree and began to shake it, having first whetted her appetite on the steed tethered close by to a stake. But the prince, firmly planted on one of the uppermost branches, would not come down; while this ogress sat at the base of the tree, expecting the climber every moment to come down, or fall a prey to her out of sheer fright.

Now it so happened that at this time a king arrived in that desert country in the course of his travels with a large retinue of followers, some of whom were despatched to various parts in search of water. Some of these, coming to the tree where the prince was, asked him to come down.

"Oh no, I will not come down, for I am sure to be eaten by the woman whom you see sitting below," was the reply that descended in clear tones from one of the uppermost branches of the tree.

On this the followers turned to the woman for an explanation. She had replied that she was waiting for her insane husband to come down, and then there came from the top of the tree the question:— what had become of the climber's three companions — the carpenter's son, the *kôṭwâl's* son, and the minister's son, besides their steeds and his own steed? She replied reasonably enough that they must have gone to slake their thirst, and thus the followers of the king believed in the insanity of the prince. Pleased with the beauty of the woman, they asked her whether she would go with them for safety to their king, as she would be helpless in such a wild country with an insane husband. After slightly demurring, not to arouse suspicion, she consented, and so they took her in a palanquin to their master."

[2] A form of oriental judgment much in vogue in olden times in the native courts.

In due course the palanquin was set down in the camp of the king, who was exceedingly glad to behold so fair a person emerge form it. Sympathising with her because of her insane husband, and offering her his protection, he conceived a violent passion for the woman; and it need hardly be said that the ogress, before long, became one of the favourite queens. Her loving husband, on reaching his own country, constructed for her a specially sumptuous palace.

The ogress-queen, exulting in the fact that there was an unlimited number of elephants, camels and horses belonging to the king, to satisfy her instinctive hunger, began swallowing them up night after night. The disappearance of the great beasts was so rapid that the king was in a quandary as to how to apprehend the robber, who was so quickly making away with his property. So he issued a proclamation, promising a handsome reward to any one who should give information that would lead to the detection of the crime, which had for so long a time evaded all vigilance.

The reading of this proclamation in the vicinity of the ogress-queen's palace attracted her attention, and sending for one of the officials concerned, she informed him that she was in a position to give the information required, and hence was anxious to see the king without delay. With great haste came the king, whom the ogress at once took to the chief queen's palace. The unfortunate woman's cot was removed from her sleeping apartment, and men were employed to dig the ground underneath it; when lo and behold the bones of elephants, horses and camels were found! Now through a stratagem of the ogress-queen the bones had found their way there without the knowledge of any one — either of the chief queen or of her maid-servants — and seemed to prove in the clearest way that the chief queen, though then carrying a babe in her womb, subsisted on huge beasts, as if she were an ogress. The king on this evidence, without feeling the slightest compassion for his queen and her unborn babe, ordered her to be taken to a forest and then and there beheaded.

In due course the executioners came and took her to the forest, but when they unsheathed their swords to behead so delicate a creature in accordance with the royal mandate, their courage failed them. So putting back their swords into the scabbards, the executioners, whose hearts resembled not the black stony heart of their king, killed a doe and took its eyes to the king, saying that His Majesty's commands had been obeyed, and that these were the signs.

In the forest, where she was left to live as best she could without revealing her identy, the Rânî built herself a hut, in which she sustained life on the fruit and berries growing around her, and in course of time gave birth to a male child. The child grew as the years advanced, and the mother used to make for him, out of shreds from her *sâṛî*, slings with which, in his tiny hands, he used to bring down small game such as birds and sometimes harts and roes. But how long could they maintain themselves on berries and fruits and occasional small game?

So the young prince said to the mother one day :— "Mother, I hear of a *sadabarth*,[3] and I am anxious to go." His mother consented, and, at the time of his departure, put a ruby in his *laṅgôṭî*, or loin-cloth, to see whether this would effect a meeting between herself and her husband the king, or whether the latter would make out the prince from his royal appearance.

While receiving his share at the *sadabarth*, the ruby fell out of the boy's loin-cloth, and a priest stooping down, picked it up, and would not restore it, although the youthful owner persisted in demanding it. Seeing the determination of the child to have his lawful property, the priest gave it over to the king, who questioned the child as to how he came by such a gem, when the necessaries of life were wanting to him. But the only answer he received was: — "Give me my ruby, give me my ruby." With a view to test whether the precious stone

[3] *Sadabarth* means a free distribution of rice, *dâl* and *ghî*, and also the place where it is doled out. There are many institutions of this sort in the Madras Presidency.

actually belonged to the boy, the king put it in a tray along with other precious gems, and told the tiny owner to distinguish it from the others.

"You are a king, and hence can distinguish precious stones. I can, too!" Saying thus the boy went to the tray, and picked out his *lâl* (ruby),[4] exclaiming at the same time that he would fill a tank with such *lâls* in six months, if the king would fill a similar tank with pearls.[5] This wager was accepted by the king.

Having received his dole, the young prince returned to his mother's hut, and on giving it to her, told of the wager. She was exceedingly sorry, and reproached herself for having, in an evil hour, put the ruby in the boy's loin-cloth. But no persuasion could deter the young prince from going in search of *lâls* in accordance with the wager laid.

Accordingly he started, and in the first stage of his journey slept underneath a tree having first killed with his sword a huge snake which, on his arrival, was in the act of running up the tree.

Now on one of the top-most branches of the tree was the nest of a pair of **white crows.** These birds had lost their offspring from year to year; and the mother-bird returning home that day with food for the last hatched brood, saw the young man sound asleep underneath the tree, and, taking him to be the enemy who had purloined her progeny year after year, was on the point of killing him, when the young ones, who had been eye-witnesses of the snake incident, prayed to God for speech for one moment. Their prayer was granted, and they told their mother how much they owed to the youth for having snatched them from the jaws of death.

Pleased with the young prince, the hen-bird and her mate, who had also returned in time to hear the story, treated him with every mark of kindness, and lovingly asked him his errand. As soon as they knew that he was in search of *lâls*, they promised to take him to **Lâlan,[6] Princess of Rubies,** who, though not accessible to man, could alone, they said, give him the precious gems he was in quest of.

As promised, the female bird took the young prince on her wings, and set him down in the palace of Lâlan in far off land, the male bird shading him from the rays of the sun with its wings all the way. On taking leave of the saviour of their progeny, the birds gave him a **feather** and spoke thus: —

"If you are in need of our service at any time, just turn this feather over a fire for a few seconds, having first put a little frankincense into the fire, and then we shall be present, and do your bidding."

The princess who was in a cage transformed into a bird, on seeing the prince, the first human being who had ever arrived at the palace, at once exclaimed: — "Oh, what have you done, young man? Why did you come here? You must thank your good fortune in not finding **the ogre** here at this moment, or else he would have made a meal of you."

Hardly were the words uttered, when **the young man was turned into a fly** and put on the wall, and immediately appeared the ogre in a great rage exclaiming: —

"I smell a man, I smell a man."[7]

"Do not be disquieted, father. There was no one here in your absence, and you see me as you left me in the cage," replied the bird from the cage.

[4] There are puns here on the Perso-Hindi terms *lâl* and *la'l* red, ruby, also darling, and *lâlin*, a dim of *lâl*, *i. e.*, a little darling, a boy, but it could also be made to mean a possessor of rubies. *Lâlin* is masc., but the commoner form *lâlan* is fem. and is usually used towards courtezans.

[5] *La'âlî*: Arab. plu. of *lûlû*: another pun.

[6] For the pun here see above note.

[7] *Manus gun, manus gun*, is the vernacular expression.

On this the Râkhas was pacified, and made the princess take her natural form by the waving of his golden magic sword, after which she ministered to his wants.

For six months, short of six days, the princess treated the prince with every mark of kindness, but making him resume human shape only in the absence of the ogre. One day he told her that he had remained long enough, and was, therefore, very anxious to depart, but wished that she should ask the ogre wherein his life lay. She accordingly on a day when he was extremely pleased with her, thus spoke to her ogre-father: —

"Father, father, will you tell me where your life is? For I am afraid of what will become of me when you are dead."

"Do not be anxious, my child," replied the ogre; "for my life is very safe, and not accessible to any human being. It is in the form of a parrot, hung high up to an iron shaft, in the middle of the waters of the seven and seven seas, which no man hath crossed. When the neck of this bird is wrung, then only shall I die, and not till then."

Having heard these words, the prince summoned his kind friends, the white crows, with the aid of the feather, and, sitting on the wings of the hen while the cock shaded him by its wings from the piercing rays of the sun, crossed the seven seas, and espying the other seven seas, discovered just in middle of them an iron column to which was suspended a cage with a bird in it. The prince at once climbed the column, took out the parrot, broke its legs, pulled away its wings, and then wrung its neck. This being done, he returned to Lâlan's palace, which he had left without telling her, and on being informed that her ogre-father was killed, she set up a loud lamentation and began to fill the earth and sky with her wailing.

The prince consoled the princess in her affliction, and before long threw a little frankincense on the fire and turned over it the magic feather and so summoned his constant friends, the white crows, and, sitting on their wings with Lâlan, he reached their home, where, after spending a few days with great pleasure amidst their progeny and in their company, he bade a farewell to the friendly birds, and started for the hut of his mother, who received him and Lâlan. Here the prince regretted that he should have in his haste forgotten to bring the *lâls*, for which purpose he had gone to the very distant country, and was bent upon going again to fetch them for the wager's sake.

"Do not be sorry," said the princess, "and I see no need why you should go back to the far off land. In order to get the objects of your desire you have only to twist my neck a little, after transforming me into a bird as my ogre-father used to do by waving in a particular manner his golden sword, which I luckily brought with me. When I shed tears, from the pain you will give me, I will drop in lâls."

Accordingly, changing the princess into a bird, the prince went to the capital of the king with whom he had laid the wager. He placed the bird in a prominent position in the centre of the tank, and after a slight twist of its neck, lo and behold! the tears it shed were changed to rubies, so many as to fill up the tank quite to the brim and over its masonry banks.

While the tank of *lâls* was filled thus to overflowing, the tank of pearls was not half filled, though hundreds of carts full of pearls had emptied their contents into it.

Seeing that his reputation was at stake, and his wager lost, the Râjâ went to the residence of the young man in the forest privately, and acknowledged him the winner of the wager; and, in so doing, saw and recognized his old Rânî. At her feet he fell, and asked her pardon for the grievous mistake he had made in sending her away to the forest. The falseness of the ogre-queen was duly proved later on and she was ordered to be burnt in a lime-kiln.

Taking his wife and son, whom he embraced with great affection, the king reached his home and there reigned with his wife, while his son, united in marriage to Lâlan, who was no other than the daughter of a king stolen by the ogre when an infant, dwelt with them.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Sir,—In republishing my Inscription No. $\frac{7}{86}$ (*vide* "Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore," *ante*. Vol. XXIV. page 279), from an impression of Dr. Hultzsch, Dr. Kielhorn observes (*vide* foot-note 3, page 202, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV., Part V.) that "there is no indication that a Chronogram is intended, and, as a matter of fact, the Kollam year 365 would correspond to A. D. 1189-90, while Jupiter's mean place was in the sign Karkaṭaka from the 3rd January to the 29th December A. D. 1184."

Aware of the numberless tricks adopted by native writers, particularly of Malabar, to hide, in some unsuspected word or phrase of their verses, the dates they wish to commemorate, I took the term *Gôḷamba* in the distich in question as indicative of the Kollam era, and *Mârtâṇḍa*, the word immediately preceding, a Chronogram, to signify the exact year in that era. If, however, the date 365 symbolized by that Chronogram does not tally with the position of Jupiter in Karkaṭaka, I think we may seek another clue for the date in the closing words of the verse—*mânya âtma kshamâyâh*, which in the *katapadi* system would mean 1565015. We may take this as indicative of the exact number of days in the Kali year, the corresponding expression for 1st of Dhanus in the current Malabar year 1072 being *Raghuvamsapradîpa* (*vide* Travancore Almanac for 1072). A rough calculation shows that the number of days so indicated in Kali would correspond to December A. D. 1184, when Jupiter was actually in Karkaṭaka. I hope a finer calculation on the basis of this new interpretation will give us the exact day of the dedication of the drum by Âditya Râmâ. Whether this Âditya Râmâ was literally the Umbrella-bearer of Kôda Mârtâṇḍa, and not one who inherited the royal insignia of that "Lord of Koḷamba," is a different question, on the solution of which alone we can decide whether *Âtma Kshemâyâh* means the 'Soul of endurance,' as Dr. Kielhorn renders it, or the 'Soul of the earth,' as I still venture to think.

Passing over the second inscription, No. B of Sarvâṅganâtha, my interpretation of which is confirmed by Dr. Kielhorn's calculations, I may note that the third or the one from *Varkkalar* cannot have anything to do with *Vaikom*, as the deity of that sanctuary is not *Hari* but *Hara*.

I may take this opportunity also to correct an obvious error in the foot-note added by Mr. V. V. to page 157 of the *Indian Antiquary* for June 1896, where the expression *Kânta Drôhin* in Sânkara's verse quoted by me is taken to allude to Sundara. This must be surprising information to all Tamil scholars, who invariably reckon *Iyarpakai Nâyanâr* as the wife-traitor among the Saiva Saints (*vide* his life in the *Periya Purâṇâ*).

V. Sundaram Pillai.

Trivandrum, Travancore, 27th Feb. 1897.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

By G. R. Subramiah Pantulu.

(*Continued from p.* 56.)

XIII.

Dwijakîrtti, king of Choḷamaṇḍala, had three sons. As he was old and no longer capable of guiding the helm of the State, he resolved to give his kingdom over to any of his sons who might be fit to rule.

In order, therefore, to ascertain their respective capabilities, he sent for his eldest son first and asked him what he most desired. He replied that he was most anxious to have around him the best logicians, grammarians, rhetoricians, and other men of science, and to pass his time in the study of the *Râmâyaṇa*, *Mahâbhârata*, and other sacred books. The king thereupon gave him a few villages for his upkeep, and told him to go and do according to his wishes.

He then sent for his second son and asked him what he desired most. He replied, "I am anxious to acquire much wealth, and visit sacred shrines." The king thereupon gave him the money necessary, and sent him on his pilgrimage.

He then sent for the third son and asked him what his desire was. He replied, "to acquire a kingdom, levy a great army, protect the people make the provinces fruitful, and thus acquire a good reputation."

The king was much gratified at these words, and thinking that he was the fittest person to rule the

kingdom, made over charge of the kingdom to him. The son assumed the reigns of government, treated his people with justice and generosity, and consequently his people flourished.

You should therefore enquire into the capabilities of the person, and his mental tendencies, before entrusting him with authority.

XIV.

At Banâras lived a washerman, who had an ass and a dog. One night some burglars made a chink in the wall, and waited till he should go to bed to break in and rob all his property. The dog was then absent from the spot; but the ass, seeing the robbers enter the master's house, divined what would happen, and how the house would be rid of all its valuables in no time, and thought that if the dog were here, he would bark loudly, awake the master, and prevent the household property from being robbed. But he did not know when the dog would come; and thought that everybody ought not to be indifferent to his master's affairs, especially in a time of sore distress. He ought, therefore, to bray and thus awake the master — so he brayed to the top of his voice. The washerman hearing the ass bray, and thinking that he was unnecessarily awakened by it, lost his temper, took a stick, beat it well, lay down, and was enjoying sound sleep once again, when the robbers broke in and began plundering the house. At this juncture the dog returned. The ass, seeing the dog, narrated to him what had happened; how the thieves broke into the house and carried off the greater part of the property; how he had brayed, wishing to prevent the occurrence; how it was misunderstood by their master; what a severe drubbing he had received, and so on. He requested the dog at any rate to bark and let the master know the fact. Thereupon the dog began to bark loudly. The washerman hearing it and thinking that the house was being broken open by robbers, rose immediately and searching into every corner of the house, found that the thieves had carried everything off, and was very much grieved.

Moral: — *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*—Let the shoemaker stick to his last.

XV.

A certain king of the Karnâṭak had a flower-garden, in which he spent most of his leisure hours. He had a minister, whose son was in the habit of going daily to the garden and purloining the flowers. The king, missing a number of them day after day, told the gardeners in charge to be on the alert to apprehend the rogue and bring him before him. They accordingly kept watch, caught the minister's son red-handed, put him into a conveyance and took him to the king's palace. The minister was at the time standing at the gate. Those who were near him told him what had happened, how his son had stolen the flowers, how he was caught by the gardeners in the very act of stealing, how he was being conveyed before the king, and wanted the minister to save his son from the infamy. The minister thereupon loudly answered, "It is of no consequence, if he has a mouth he will live." The son, hearing this, quickly perceived the exact import of his father's words, and immediately ate all the flowers. When they brought him before the king, he asked the boy why he had stolen the flowers. To which the boy said that they brought him there unjustly, for he only went to see the garden, but did not steal anything. As there were no flowers found upon him, the king believed this, and having punished the gardeners sent them away.

Thus, a ready person may always get himself out of a scrape.

XVI.

A merchant of Bellary had a garden at the back of his house, in which were growing all sorts of vegetables. One day, when the door was wide open, an ass belonging to a washerman entered and began to graze. The merchant's wife became infuriated at the sight, took hold of a large stick, and struck the ass with such force that she broke its leg. When its owner heard of this, he came up, abused the merchant's wife, and gave her a kick in the abdomen, which resulted in a miscarriage, as she was pregnant at the time. The merchant thereupon went to the Judge and complained that by this wicked deed, the son that would have been born to him, the son who he trusted would be a support to him in his ripe old age, had perished. He requested therefore that condign punishment might be inflicted on the culprit. The Judge immediately sent for the owner of the ass and asked him why he had done the deed. He stated in his defence that he kicked the merchant's wife in the abdomen, because she had broken the leg of his ass, which carried the clothes he washed. The Judge, reflecting for a short time, decided that the

merchant should carry the washerman's clothes until the leg of the ass be cured, and that the washerman should keep the merchant's wife till he could restore her to her husband in a pregnant condition.

Moral: — What it is to be a fool!

XVII.

In days long gone by, there lived a wealthy merchant at Delhi. One of his servants purloined some of the property in the house and absconded the next day. The merchant thereupon instituted every search for the thief, but to no avail. Not long after, the merchant chanced to go to another city for business purposes. He there saw the servant who had committed the robbery walking in the street, so he seized him and taxed him with having stolen the property and absconding; but the fellow seized the merchant by the waist-cloth and clamorously demanded his property, saying that the merchant was his servant, that he had stolen the goods out of his house, that he had been looking out for him for many a day, and had now found him. He wanted him, therefore, to hand over the property and then go about his business. On this the real and the false merchants, still disputing, went before the Magistrate and represented their grievances. The Magistrate reflected a little, and ordered them both to put their heads through a window, and calling the executioner, said to him, "whoever is the servant, cut off his head." Now it came to pass that the fellow who had committed the robbery being really the servant, and hearing that they were going to cut off his head, withdrew it, while the merchant, on the contrary, never removed his head from the window. On this, the Magistrate discerning that the man, who withdrew his head, was really the servant who had robbed the house of the merchant, punished him severely.

XVIII.

In the Dakhan lived a Brâhmaṇ who had two wives. To the elder of these a son was born. When the son was about ten months old, the old Brâhmaṇ set out with his family on a pilgrimage to Banâras, but he unfortunately died on his way. The two women thereupon went to an adjacent *agrâharam* (the Brâhmaṇs' quarters in a city or village), and remained there, rearing the boy with great affection: so much so that the child knew not which of the two was his real mother. But one day the younger lady quarrelled with the elder, and, declaring that she would no longer remain with her, took the child and set out to go home. The elder thereupon seized the child and demanded of the other why she was taking him away. The younger replied that as she had borne the child she was going away with him. So the two still disputing went to the Judge and told their story. He reflected a little, called his servants and ordered them to divide the child in twain, and to give each a half. The younger lady remained silent, but the elder, being the real mother, was of opinion that so long as the child did but live it was enough; and, not consenting to the Judge's proposal, said to him that the child was not her own, and requested him to give it to the other lady. The Judge, hearing these words, decided that the elder lady was the child's mother, and had the boy given to her.

XIX.

King Jâyachchandra had two favourites, one a Musalmân and the other a Brâhmaṇ, to whom he was constantly giving presents, by means of which they grew rich and lived happily. One day the king asked them by whose favor they enjoyed their happiness. The Musalmân immediately replied that he was indebted for his, solely to the sovereign; but the Brâhmaṇ declared that he derived his from the grace of the Almighty. The King, wishing to put their assertions to the test, filled a pumpkin with pearls, which he delivered to the Musalmân, and at the same time presented the Brâhmaṇ with two *fanáms*. On their way home the former, not knowing the contents of the pumpkin, began to grumble at the king's present, and told the latter that he would sell it to him for his two *fanáms*, to which the Brâhmaṇ consented. When he broke it and found the immense wealth that it contained, he returned with great glee, and related the adventure to the King, whose vanity was completely cured by this occurrence. Unassisted by the hand of Providence human endeavours are fruitless.

XX.

There lived at Rajamundry a Musalmân, whose house was robbed one night. After careful search he traced some of the lost articles to the house of a person, whom he suspected for more reasons than one to be the rogue, and took him therefore before the Judge. The Judge asked the Musalmân if he had any positive proof that the prisoner was the person who had robbed his house. He answered in the negative; whereupon the Judge told him that he must dismiss the case, as he was strictly forbidden by the law to

enquire into cases, where there were no eye-witnesses to the fact. On hearing this the Musalmân removed one of his slippers and began to beat the rogue. The Judge, in a great passion, asked him what the matter was. He told him that it was because he had not communicated to him beforehand his intention of robbing his house, in order that he might have witnesses ready to prove his villainy. The Judge was very much troubled at this reply and remained silent.

XXI.

A crow perched on a banyan tree near the seashore, saw a swan passing by and asked where it was going, to which the latter replied that it was going to the **Mânasasaras.** The crow thereupon was extremely anxious to accompany the swan, and requested the latter to take it along with it. The swan, hearing these words, said, "O crow, where is the Mânasasaras and where are you? How great is the distance between you and the *saras?*" The crow was very much enraged at the reply, and said, "You speak without knowing what you are about. If you examine the real truth, you will find that I can fly quicker than yourself. I will exemplify this at once — do you set out and come with me?" So saying, it soared up the skies and went a short distance along with the swan. Afterwards it flew ten yards in advance, and again coming back to the swan said jocosely, "Why, you said something about flying quicker than I, and yet you don't accompany me; the fact of the matter is that you, without looking into your own powers, had trifled with me." By the time that the crow had gone a little further, it became tired and unable to fly along and was in sore distress. The swan thereupon laughing, placed it on its own wings and prevented it from falling into the waters below, brought it to the shore and left it there.

Thus an impotent fool, who begins by despising the strong and the good, will in the end come to degradation.

XXII.

At **Tirupati** lived a Brâhmaṇ in poor circumstances, who received on a certain day a pot of flour as a present from a certain merchant. He took it, and, being very tired, seated himself on the verandah of a house and soliloquized thus, "If I sell this pot of flour, I shall get half a rupee for it, with which I can purchase a kid. This, in a short time, will produce a flock. I will then sell them, and buy cows, buffaloes, etc., and thus in a few years I shall be the master of three thousand head of cattle. I will then purchase a mansion, which I will furnish elegantly, and marry a beautiful damsel who will crown my happiness by giving birth to a son. My wife will be particularly fond of me, but I shall not allow her too much freedom, and shall sometimes send her away with a kick when she comes to caress me." Thus thinking, he thrust out his leg like one really going to kick, struck the pot and broke it into pieces. The flour got mixed with dirt, and all his ideas of happiness vanished.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT SMALL-POX IN CALCUTTA.

During an out-break of small-pox in Calcutta in February, 1897, it was believed that the Goddess Sîtalâ, the deity presiding over small-pox, was seen at dead of night walking quickly along one of the public thoroughfares. A policeman went boldly up to her and was about to lay hands on her, when he was prevented by some unseen influence, and the irate goddess pronounced sentence of death on him at the same hour on the following night, and then vanished into the air. The policeman was said to have related the story before he expired. In consequence of the tale people flocked to the temple of Sîtalâ at Aḥîrî Ṭôlâ, which the goddess was said to have declared to be her seat, and performed *pûjâ* there.

Subsequently the story underwent further developments, and the goddess was said to have commanded the policeman to tell the panic-stricken people of Calcutta that she was going to leave them soon and betake herself to "western climes.' The public in consequence, in order to propitiate the goddess and encourage her to depart, abandoned their usual food and took to eating only flattened rice and curds. So great was the demand for these things, that some people could not get them, and had to be satisfied with milk and sugar as a minor means of propitiating the goddess.

MISCELLANEOUS TRAVANCORE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE LATE RAO BAHADUR P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S.

Introduction.

WORK implies waste. No mason, however careful, can turn to account every stone quarried out, it may be at great cost, and given him to build with. Some break in dressing, and others are found not to suit. So it is with all arts and industries—literary and scientific labours not excepted. Perhaps, more of the poet's plots break in the course of construction than pots under the potter's wheel; and who can number the laboriously spun-out inductive generalizations that have snapped under the strain of exceptional phenomena? But what is lost for one end is seldom found good for none. The absolutely good-for-nothing is as rare in this imperfect world as the infinitely good-for-all. The chips that fall off from the chisels of the cabinet-maker are just the things for tops and toys to be made out of. Broken-down inductions and imperfect generalizations that the theorizer must perforce reject constitute "the wise saws and modern instances" of the practically shrewd.

Let me hope that the principle will apply to the materials I have gathered, and am still engaged in gathering, with a view to help the future historian of Travancore. From the nature of the case, only a small proportion of the inscriptions in any province of India will be found pregnant with political history. Lucky is the epigraphist who finds even one in a hundred turning out really such. Most of our lithic records are like that fixed proportion of postal covers, which year after year turn up with the "awfully" affectionate address "To my own dear uncle!" None the less unavoidable is the labour spent in discovering, copying, deciphering, and interpreting these evidently indefinite and ill-conceived stone documents. Though rejected as unfit by the makers of dynastic tables, may they not prove good as pegs to hang our ethnic speculations upon, or as sticks to lean on in the quagmires of philological conjectures? At any rate, containing, as they do, solid and substantial facts, they ought to be able to serve us at least as torches[1] in our weary wanderings in the dreary limitless past, exposing and exorcising the endless illusory legends, traditions, and such like *ignes fatui*, which alone now seem to people even the ages but one step removed from the present. But utilitarian considerations apart, it seems to me a pious duty which we owe to our forefathers, to collect and preserve what memorials they have so lovingly left behind. To reject as trash such of them as have come to our notice, on the ground of their not answering any particular requirement of ours, would be adding insult to injury. It would seem as if we heard their last parting words and yet heeded them not!

I propose, therefore, in the following pages to record those inscriptions of Travancore which have come within my notice, but which I did not see my way to utilize in the course of my papers on the "Early Sovereigns of Travancore (*ante*, Vol. XXIV.)." In doing so, I shall first take up those which give distinct dates in a definite era; next, those giving regnal years of the then sovereigns, some of whose dates have now been ascertained, while others yet remain to be found out; and lastly, those whose age seems doomed for ever to remain a matter of mere conjecture. To all of them, I shall try to add notes and comments as I go on rendering them into English.

The three definite eras, made use of in Travancore records, are the Kollam, the Saka, and the Kali, and the origin of all of them seems to be equally enveloped in impenetrable mystery. It is quite natural that, to the limited intellect of man, the origin of many things should be shrouded in eternal darkness, such as the origin of the Universe, or the origin of evil, which is perhaps just the same question on its moral side; but that the origin of so artificial an institution, of so simple a convention, as the institution of an era, an era to reckon time with,

1 A part of the incantations resorted to for frightening the Malabar devils is the waving of small torches called *kōltiri*, made by twisting waste cloth round tiny chips of certain kinds of hard timber.

should admit of speculation is itself nothing short of a marvel — a standing monument of the historical ineptitude of the Indian races. But the era with which we have mostly to do here is the Kollam, and so I offer a few remarks on it before passing on to the inscriptions dated in that era.

The Kollam era.

Though the Kollam era is in everyday use, no one seems to know why it was started, or what *kollam* itself means. The word '**kollam**' has a striking resemblance in sound to the name of several important towns. It is evidently derived from the same root as **Koṛkai,** the oldest known capital of the Pâṇḍyas. It was Dr. Caldwell who first suggested the obvious analysis of Koṛkai into *kol* + *kai*, as well as its identification with the "Kolkhoi" of the Greek writers of the first and the second Christian centuries. I feel unable, however, to accept Dr. Caldwell's interpretation of the root-meaning of Koṛkai. "*Kol* in Tamiḻ," says he, "means 'to slay,' and *kai*, 'hand or arm.' Kolkai, therefore, would seem to mean 'the hand or arm of slaughter,' which is said to be an old poetical name for 'an army, a camp,' the first instrument of Government in a rude age. *Kai* is capable also of meaning 'place,' *e. g.*, Podigai, 'place of concealment,' the name of the mountain from which the river of Koṛkai takes its rise. Compare the name Coleroon, properly Kolliḍam, 'the place of slaughter.'" I am sorry I cannot agree with Dr. Caldwell in any of the derivations here suggested. The word *kol* means many other things in Tamiḻ besides 'to kill,' which last seems to me to be the last of its connotations to be thought of in this connection. In no age, however rude, could a nation have looked upon their capital as a place where people were killed and not protected. No doubt, the expression "*kollum kolaiyum*" is often used, particularly in Malayâḷam, to signify political authority or rather criminal jurisdiction, but the very combination would seem to prove that *kol* is distinct from *kolai* or 'slaughter.' The particle *kai* in Koṛkai is obviously the well-known suffix of verbal nouns as in *śeygai* and *irukkai*, and not an independent word meaning 'hand or arm.' Though the word *kai*[2] meaning 'hand' is used by itself in connection with dispositions of armies, very much as the term "wing" in English, yet neither in poetical nor in popular Tamiḻ does *kolkai* occur in the sense of 'army or camp.' That the verbal suffix *kai* is sometimes found in connection with words which by metonymy indicate localities may be admitted, but by itself it never means 'a place,' as Dr. Caldwell suggests as an alternative interpretation. Nor is he happy in his illustrations. Podigai, a corruption of Pôtikâ, the Sanskritized form of Podiyam, is never found in classical Tamiḻ, or in accredited lexicons like *Divâkaram* and *Nighaṇṭu*. The Tamilians recognize only Podiyam and Podiyil — not Podigai or Pôtikâ — as the name of the famous mountain of their patron saint Agastya.[2a] Nor is it beyond doubt whether Coleroon is Kolliḍam or Koḷḷiḍam. But whatever be its correct form, it is difficult to conceive why so large a river should also have been a place of slaughter in any age, however rude or remote. I feel quite sceptical, therefore, about the slaughter-theory of Dr. Caldwell. All that we can accept then out of these etymological speculations is that **Koṛkai is analysable into kol + kai**; and that is the important point we have here to bear in mind.

If *kol* is the root of Koṛkai, it is even more obviously the root of Kollam — *am* being as good a suffix of verbal nouns as *kai*. Compare, for instance, the word *nôkkam*. It seems to me further that **Kochchi** or Cochin, one of the best of the natural harbours in the world, is also derived from the same root. The equivalent term Balapuri is a ludicrous Sanskṛit translation of the Dravidian name Kochchi, for which the *Kêralamâhâtmyam* is chiefly responsible. Whether Cochin is identical or not with the Colcis Indorum — the Indian Colcis — of the Peutinger Tables, as I surmise it is, we cannot be far wrong in analysing it into *kol* + *chi*, *chi* being another well-known suffix of Tamiḻ words. It seems to me probable that the well-known ports Colombo and Colachel are also derived from the same root, though

[2] *E. g.*, Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai — 'the Right and Left Wings' which have now come to stand as collective names of certain groups of castes.

[2a] [Compare *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 241. — E. H.]

greatly disguised. **Kolambu** and **Kolachchai** are respectively analysable into *kol* + *am* + *pu*, and *kol* + *a* + *chai; am, pu* and *chai* being known suffixes of Tamil̤ words. That Sanskṛit writers habitually translate Kollam into Kôl̤amba may, to some extent, serve to show how Kolambu and Kolachchai may have been corrupted into Kol̤ambu and Kol̤achchai. If we are right so far, the root-meaning of *kol* becomes more or less manifest. All of them — Koṟkai and Colombo; Colachel, Cochin, and Quilon in Travancore; and Quilandy in Malabar — are sea-port towns; and Kolkai, Kollam, and Kolchi (Cochin) are known to have been famous in ancient days for their natural harbours. **May not, then, the root-idea of these words be 'sea-port, harbour,** or emporium of trade'? We find support for our conjecture in the current useof **kolla** in Malayâl̤am — *kolla* means a breach, as of a dam, through which water flows, — and both Quilon and Cochin are remarkable for the inlet or breach in the coast-line through which the sea communicates with the backwaters. That Koṟkai was situated at the mouth of the Tâmraparṇi, and that the town which grew up in its neighbourhood and finally superseded it about the time of Marco Polo[3] was called Kâyal, meaning 'a lagoon,'[4] would show that Koṟkai must have been in its palmy days as much distinguished for an inlet into its backwater as Cochin is to-day. This then strikes me as the most probable connotation of *kol*, and we may accordingly take Kollam (Quilon), Kolkai (Koṟkai), and Kolchi (Cochin), if not Colombo and Colachel as well, as originally meaning towns with natural harbours formed by a breach in the coast-line.

But as it is not safe to be dogmatic in such matters, I would suggest one or two other **possible explanations of the word kollam** before proceeding to consider the era named after it. Comparing such words as *kollai* in Tamil̤, meaning 'an enclosure round a dwelling-place,' *kolli*, which, in Canarese, means 'crooked,' in Malayâl̤am 'crooked and therefore worn out,' as well as 'a crooked corner or valley,' and in Travancore Tamil̤ 'a net made of ropes for enclosing and carrying unhusked cocoanuts,' *kôlal* in Tamil̤ and *kôluga* in Malayâl̤am meaning 'to enclose,' and *kôlam*, 'a figure or form with the outlines meeting one another,' we may easily conclude that one of the root-ideas of *kol* must be 'an enclosure,' and therefore '**a town.**' Indeed, it will be remembered, the English word "town," derived as it is from the Anglo-Saxon root "tun," meaning an enclosure or garden round a dwelling-house, would exactly correspond to the current use of *kollai;* and *kollam, kolchi, kolkai*, may, therefore, be all regarded as meaning nothing else than enclosed towns as opposed to the open country. If neither of the above derivations is found satisfactory for reasons I cannot now divine, there is yet a third which I may, perhaps, be permitted to add. The word *kolu* means in all the Draviḍian languages 'dignity, pomp, or majesty;' and it is easy to shew that the final vowel is no part of the root. The adjective *koṟṟa*,[5] as in *koṟṟakkuḍai* and the substantives *koṟṟavan̤* and *koṟṟam*, meaning respectively 'king' and 'kingship,' are evidently derived from the same root as *kolu*, which can be nothing else than *kol*, the radical in *kollam, kolkai*, and *kolchi*. These towns would then seem to mean places associated with power, pomp, or **royal presence** — a meaning admirably suited to the facts (1) that at least two of them are known to have been real capitals of ancient royal families, and (2) that "other residences of kings were formerly called *kollam*, such as Koḍuṅgalûr, etc.," according to Dr. Gundert. In the face of these and similar other easy interpretations the root *kol* seems capable of, I am not prepared to accept Dr. Caldwell's slaughter-theory. More positively absurd would be any attempt to trace *kollam* to *kôl̤amba*, the meaningless jargon of Sanskṛit writers.

Let us now turn to the era itself. Till recently European scholars would seem to have not known even so much as that it was an era. Mr. Prinsep calls it a cycle — the cycle of

[3] See Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 37.

[4] *Kâyal* is a good Tamil̤ word, though current only in Malabar.

[5] The particle *tu* which changes the *l* of *kol* into *ṟ* is an important and widely-used element in the formation of Tamil̤ words, which it would be foreign to our purpose here to explain or to illustrate.

Paraśurâma, and Dr. Burnell, in correcting this error, falls into another. He rightly says it is no cycle but an era, but adds that "it began in September 824 A. D." and "is only used in the South Tamiḻ country and Travancore."[6] In Travancore and in the Tinnevelly district, where the era is used, the year begins not in September, but in the middle of August, and the province where it begins in September is not Travancore or the South Tamiḻ country, but Malabar, which Dr. Burnell does not include. Why the Malabar year begins a month later in Malabar proper cannot be expected to be easy of explanation when so little is known about the origin of the era itself. The difference in the local use of the year is nevertheless worthy of being borne in mind, at least in connection with the dispute whether the Kollam era is so named after Quilon in Travancore or Quilandy in Malabar proper. Neither of them need claim the honour exclusively, since the era has a different month for its commencement in the two places contending for it.

But whether connected with either or with both, it is of greater importance to know **what event, if any, the era is intended to commemorate.** Dr. Gundert suggests in his excellent lexicon, that it was meant to celebrate the foundation of a Śiva temple; but as no reason is given to support his opinion, we cannot afford to discuss the view. No important Śiva temple of any antiquity is known, however, to exist either at Quilon or at Kollam in Malabar. In the nature of things, we should expect a grander event of greater national importance in justification of the starting of an era than the building of a nameless temple. The only two events of any importance in Malabar which can be assigned to this epoch are (1) the mysterious disappearance of the last of the Perumâḷs, and (2) the death of Śaṁkarâchârya, the most renowned of the Indian scholiasts.

The tradition in Malabar regarding the first is that the last **Chêramân Perumâḷ** embraced Muhammadanism, and left the Indian shores for Mecca, and that it was in consequence of his sudden departure that the Chêra empire, including Malabar, became split up into petty principalities. Following the tradition, Mr. Logan has gone so far as to identify a tomb on the shores of the Persian Gulf as that of the missing Perumâḷ, and, with the help of the epitaph thereon, to fix the date of his death as Kali year 3931 or Kollam year 6. Allowing 6 years as spent in the Perumâḷ's trans-marine peregrinations, we may plausibly take the Kollam era as founded on the day he sailed away from Malabar. But antecedent probability is wholly against this theory. It is not at all likely, in the first place, that any nation would establish an era to celebrate a national disgrace. To every Hindu, even after so much of Muhammadan intercourse, the conversion to Islâm is an abhorrence; and how much should it have been a thousand years ago in the case of so revered a king as the true representative of the old line of Chêramân Perumâḷs? It is surprisingly strange again, in the next place, that all Malabar and Travancore should have united to start an era exactly at the point of time when their integrity, according to the very hypothesis, was irreparably lost. The Chêra empire is said to have fallen to pieces, because of the disappearance of the Perumâḷ; and yet the empire was at one, according to the theory, to start an era which is still in use throughout its original extent! In the third place, if the era were founded to commemorate any single event such as the exit of the last of the Perumâḷs, how could we account for the fact of the era beginning in August in Travancore and a full month later in Malabar proper? Can we suppose, without positively spoiling the beauty and mystery of the story, that the Perumâḷ sailed a month earlier from the port of Quilon in Travancore and then landed in Malabar to quit it finally thirty days later? But lastly, the oral tradition, on which alone the theory is based, is itself contradicted by the only written record we have, which refers to the event. The mysterious disappearance of the Perumâḷ[7] is in fact the last of the legends embodied in

[6] See *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, p. 78.
[7] See *Veḷḷâṇai-sargam, Periya-Purâṇam.*

the *Periya-Purâṇam*, the historical value of which, as we have seen elsewhere, it is impossible to exaggerate. The date of this *Purâṇa* cannot, for reasons explained elsewhere,[8] be later than the twelfth Christian century, or about 350 years after the establishment of the Kollam era. Surely, the version of the story, as found in this written record of the twelfth century, deserves greater credit than an oral tradition which cannot be traced back for more than a couple of centuries. The *Periya-Purâṇam* version then is this:—"While the Śaiva saint Sundarar was at Tiruvañjaikkaḷam, the Chêra capital, celebrating it in certain hymns which still exist, the time came for him to depart the earth. Accordingly, one morning, the angels of Mount Kailâsa waited upon him with a white elephant and a commission to translate him athwart the sky to that rocky abode of gods. Elated beyond measure, the saint tarried not even to utter a parting word to his royal friend, but, ascending the celestial elephant, started forthwith on his travel through the azure blue. The Perumâḷ, coming to know what had taken place, and unable to sustain the separation, mounted his steed and uttered a *mantra* in its ears, which enabled it to ascend into the air and overtake the paradisiacal pachyderm. The ministers and generals of the king, beholding the miraculous scene, shook off their mortal coils with the help of their swords and followed their beloved king. So the aërial procession reached Mount Kailâsa, but the Perumâḷ found admission into the divine presence only after he had composed the poem called *Âdi-Ulâ*, which one Mâśâttaṉ[9] is said in the *Purâṇa* to have communicated to the world here below by reciting it in the town of Tiruppiḍavûr."

Such then is the legend as embodied in the *Periya-Purâṇam*; and all that it enables us to conclude is that a saintly Chêra prince mysteriously disappeared from his capital. There is nothing whatever in this or any other written record of respectable antiquity to lend support to the story of the conversion and the voyage to Mecca; and without such support it is not safe to accept the evidence of the tomb on the shores of the Persian Gulf as relevant to the question of the origin of the Kollam era.

Proceeding then to the next great event about this time with which the Malabar era may possibly be associated, we may at once state that the age of Śaṁkarâchârya is not yet beyond the pale of dispute. It may be even questioned whether he was a native of Malabar. But all the theories yet advanced with any show of justification converge in pointing to the early years of the ninth century as the probable period of the great philosopher. May not then the Kollam era be taken to commemorate some event in connection with the life of Śaṁkara? The only definite date yet assigned to the Âchârya with any degree of probability is that of Mr. K. B. Pathak, according to whom Śaṁkara must have died in 820 A. D.,[9a] *i. e.*, four years before the commencement of the era. The date of his birth, according to the *ślôkas* in a manuscript volume in the possession of one Govinda Bhattar of Belgaum, is Vibhava-varsha, Kali year 3889;[10] and that of his death, full moon in Vaiśâkha, Kali year 3921.[11] Thus, then, it is impossible to connect the establishment of the Kollam era with any event in Śaṁkara's life, he having died four years before the commencement of the era itself.

Indeed, I must confess, I do not feel disappointed at this result. The curious difference we commenced with noting in the reckoning of the year in Malabar and Travancore would shew that the era, whatever its origin, could not have been the consequence of any particular historical event. It would be quite in keeping with the character of the people if it turned out to be the result of some grand astronomical conventions rather than of events in the humbler

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[8] See *ante*, Vol. XXV. p. 149 f.

[9] It is difficult to say who this Mâśâttanâr was, or how he obtained a copy of the poem composed in Kailâsa. May he be the same Śâttaṉ, the corn-merchant, who narrated the story of *Silappadigâram* to its author Iḷangôvadigaḷ?

[9a] [See *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 175. — E. H.]

[10] "निधिनागेभवन्ह्यब्दे विभवे शंकरोदयः ।"

[11] "कल्यब्दे चन्द्रनेत्राङ्कवन्ह्यब्दे वैशाखे पूर्णिमा."

walks of human life. Finding among the celestial phenomena, too, no event of any importance about the year 824 A. D. except the appearance of a comet in China, I can suggest now no other explanation of the era than that it seems to me to be **the modification of another older era current in Upper India under the name of Saptarshi, or Sâstra-saṁvatsara.**[12] The peculiarity of this northern era is that though it is to-day 4972, it is spoken of as 72, so that omitting all hundreds it would be found to be identical with our Malabar year, except for 4 months beginning with Mêsha. The Kaśmîr calendars calculated in this era and other recorded dates in it usually begin with this formula: *Śrî-Saptarshi-chârânumatêna Saṁvat* 4972 *tathâ cha Saṁvat* 72, *i. e.*, 'the year 4972, in agreement with the course of the Saptarshis, and, therefore, the year 72.' It would thus appear that up to the year 99, the Kollam year was just identical with the Saptarshi year. May it not be then that our Kollam year is simply the Saptarshi era with its origin forgotten, and, therefore, counted on into the hundreds? It is by no means extravagant to suppose that the people who lived in the Kollam year 99 went on to name the next year 100, and not the cypher year, in spite of whatever astronomical reminiscences that survived in the minds of the almanac-makers of that age. In fact, nothing could have been more natural, and once the numeration was permitted, the issue of an independent era, exactly of the kind we have, was inevitable. The only fact which would then require explanation is why, when the Saptarshi begins with Mêsha, our Kollam should commence with the month of Siṁha. In all probability the astronomers of the period, who determined upon the adoption of the era, found it necessary so to amend the northern luni-solar year in order to convert it into a purely solar one as the Kollam year professes to be. While agreed as to the necessity of the amendment, the astronomers of Malabar were apparently not at one with their contemporaries in Travancore as to the number of months that had so to be left out; and hence, perhaps, the divergence we have already noticed as to the month with which the new year was to begin — whether it was to be Siṁha or Kanyâ. That the era obtaining in Travancore should thus be assimilated with the one in Kaśmîr, the other extremity in the continent of India, must, at first sight, appear strange; but it is not certainly stranger than the close similarity which Mr. Fergusson notes in the styles of architecture obtaining in Travancore and in Nêpâl. What our only historian of Travancore says with respect to the origin of this era is entirely in consonance with our theory. "In the Kali year 3926 when king Udaya Mârtâṇḍa Varmâ was residing in Kollam (Quilon)," says Mr. Menon, "he convened a council of all the learned men in Kêrala with the object of introducing a new era, and after making some astronomical researches, and calculating the solar movements throughout the twelve signs of the zodiac, and counting scientifically the number of days occupied in this revolution in every month, it was resolved to adopt the new era from the first of Chiṅgam of that year, 15th August 825, as Kollam year one, and to call it the solar year." What need could there have been for all these "astronomical researches," "calculations" and "scientific countings," unless the astronomers of the period, anxious to start a new era, were adapting and amending for their purpose one that was actually current at the time? If those scientific men were really adopting an existing era, none could have suggested itself with greater propriety than the Saptarshi year — the "*Sâstra-saṁvatsara*," the scientific year *par excellence*. As regards the Kali, the Malabar astronomers of 824 A. D. probably found that it was itself in need of even larger alterations than the Saptarshi. The latter is exactly 25 years later than the Kali, and it appears to me extremely likely that these 25 years were left out of the Kali to form the Saptarshi era for some astronomical reasons similar to those which I have ventured here to assign for the omission of the first 4 or 5 months from Mêsha to Siṁha in the conversion of the Saptarshi into the Kollam. But this is a speculative question, and I am afraid it will continue to be a debatable one for many years yet to come.

(*To be continued.*)

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[12] See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 149.

EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SELUNGS OF THE MERGUI ARCHIPELAGO.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p.* 91.)

V.

From Captain E. M. Ryan, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, to Major A. Fytche, Officiating Commissioner, Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, Moulmein — dated the 11th August 1857.

Dr. Helfer has given the following graphical Sketch of the Salones :—

"Spent this day among the Salones. At my first arrival in the night a general terror spread over the defenceless community, they not knowing whether friend or foe was approaching. Suspecting an incursion of Malays from the south, the women and children had fled into the interior, and their best property, sea-slugs, and rice had been buried in all hurry in the jungle. Finding that a white-man was come among them (it was in these parts for the first time), their apprehensions changed into joy, and the whole community came in the morning to where I had landed to welcome me.

"There were about 70 men, women, and children altogether; they had encamped on the sandy sea-beach; each family had erected a little raised shed covered with palm-leaves, where all the members huddled together in the night. There they sat, a dirty, miserable-looking congregation, the women occupied in making mats of a peculiar description from sea-weed (which are sold at Mergui and Moulmein and much sought after), the children screaming apparently out of fear at the strange apparition, dogs, cats, and cocks all joining to make the full chorus. Everything had the appearance of confusion, and even the animals seemed to be aware that my arrival among them was an extraordinary event. Some of these sheds appeared like butchers' stalls. Large pieces of turtle, rendering the atmosphere pestilential, were everywhere drying in the sun. It is their main food. Shell-fish were seen extracted from their shells, and wild roots of a species of *Diascorea*, as well as the fatal *Cycas circinalis*, were prepared for cooking.

"On the beach lay 20 or 30 boats, well built and light, like ant-shells swimming on the surface, the bottom built of a solid trunk, the sides consisting of the slender trunks of the palm strongly united and corked with palm hemp. These boats, not longer than 20 feet, are the true home of the Salones: to it he entrusts his life and property; in it he wanders during his lifetime from island to island; a true ichthyophagist, to whom the Earth has no charm, and whom he neglects so much that he does not even entrust to her a single grain of rice. But even as fishermen these people are to be considered yet in their infancy. They have even no nets, the trident is their only weapon, with which they spear sharks and other fish as well as turtle; all the rest they want is done with the *da* or with the hand; they know no other instrument.

"In their exterior they are well built, apparently healthy, darker than the Burmese; part of them approach the Malay type, part of them the Ethiopian; the curly hair of some of them especially speaks in favour of Negro origin. Might they have had formerly communication with the Andamanese?

"I spent the whole day in conversation with them through the medium of their headman, who understands Burmese; besides him and two others, the rest were unacquainted with it. Some spoke, besides their own idiom, Siamese; some Malay. They behaved with remarkable civility and decorum. They related that their children are exposed to sickness and death from three to six years; those who survive that period are considered safe. I think they die,

to judge from description, in consequence of dysentery, not improbably caused by the indigestible nature of their food, at that tender age. They know no medicines whatever, — a strange exception, — uncultivated Natives being generally in the possession of the greatest number of simples, besides the host of charms and other indifferent substances to which great virtues are attributed. To get physic and charms from the Chinese, they sell their most valuable produces — pearls, amber, etc. The greatest present I could make them, besides some ardent spirits, was medicine. When they saw me drink coffee, and heard that I drank black substance every day, they concluded this to be the greatest medicine of the white-man, and were not satisfied till I gave them a good portion of it. They are addicted to liquors to a frightful degree; intoxication is the greatest enjoyment they know. By all who have to do with them (Chinese and Malays), they are provided with toddy in the first instance, and, during the subsequent state of stupor, robbed of any valuables they possess.

"They are indolent; only young men work, that is, collect what falls under their hands. Surrounded with valuable riches of Nature, they remain miserably poor. The regeneration of this race will possibly never be effected; but the Salones open a fine field to a truly philanthropic missionary. Their ideas of the deity are very imperfect; they believe in superior agencies without any distinct idea. When asked what they thought would become of them after death, they answered that they never thought about it, and added, by way of excuse, 'we are a poor people who know nothing.' They are full of superstition and fear. When a person dies, the person is exposed in the jungle; the whole congregation leave immediately, and do not return till after years, when the bleached bones are collected and burned.

"I accompanied a party of young men on a fishing excursion. They are very dexterous in managing the spear, which was attached to a bamboo 20 feet long; they caught in an hour three large turtles, two sharks, and some other fish."

VI.

From Captain J. F. J. Stevenson, Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, to Captain H. Hopkinson, Officiating Commissioner, Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, Moulmein — dated the 11th May 1858.

I beg to offer you a few remarks upon the peculiar tribe of people called Salones, who live in some of the islands of this Archipelago.

Before doing so, it seems right that I should place before you Lieutenant Burn's, which, doubtless, he wished to embody in his *Revenue Report.*

Lieutenant Burn: — "Another subject I am very anxious to bring to your notice is the fact that there is a tribe of people inhabiting the islands of the Mergui Archipelago, who are untaxed, and I regret to say, to all appearance, totally uncared for in every way. I have endeavoured to ascertain from the Office records the time and cause of this non-taxation, and the only record on the subject that I can find is a copy of a letter from your Office, dated Mergui, the 12th August 1841, from E. A. Blundell, Esq., then the Commissioner of these Provinces. The letter has no number, and is not even attested as a true copy; the original appears to have been lost.

"The people are exceedingly simple and quiet, but very wild and barbarous; they inhabit huts which are made by placing four sticks on the ground and throwing a mat over them. For the most part they cultivate nothing, but live chiefly by fishing.

"They have one peon (a Salone) over them, on a salary of Rs. 10 a month, who is supposed to give an annual account of their numbers. I have since my stay down here visited some of these islands and stayed among the people. I found them apparently in a state of great poverty, but on further enquiry I am led to believe that this is caused in a great measure by their being nearly one and all addicted to an immoderate use of spirits, opium, and *ganja.* This may, and very likely has had, the effect of decreasing their numbers, but I am led to believe if a good man

was appointed over them, and they were to have periodical visits from the officer in charge, which with a steam gunboat would be perfectly practicable at all times and seasons, something might be made out of, and done for, them, as, besides a very extensive trade in salt-fish, they carry on a fair trade in tortoise and other shells, the prices of which are exceedingly remunerative. Their boats, which are very cleverly and curiously constructed, constantly come to Mergui, and sell their cargoes to great advantage; but such is the moral degradation of these simple people and tendency to vice that although after selling their cargo they may have some hundreds of rupees, they seldom go back to their villages with much more than a large supply of spirits and opium, being cheated out of the rest by some of the rascals of the towns, who are constantly on the look-out for them; in fact, they certainly are reduced to a very great state of abjectness, not respecting themselves, and looked down upon by every one of their fellow-men; and I respectfully beg to question whether considering them too low and abject to be taxed is not a fair reason with a savage and simple people like these for them to form so low an opinion of themselves that, without any self-respect, they degenerate into a species little better than those who roam our forests. They are well aware that all their neighbours are taxed, and from conversation I had with one or two who spoke Burmese, I was led to come to the above conclusion, which I now have the honour of submitting to you. On one of the islands near Mergui are a few families of these people who have taken to cultivation. I have not as yet had time to visit them, as they are at some distance out at sea. The taxation I would recommend would be exactly the same as is levied on the other tribes of Burmese and Karens.

"I would, while on this subject, draw your attention to the following extract of a letter from Mr. Kincaid, an American Missionary, who visited these people in 1838, now 20 years ago.[1] He says:—'They (the Salones) are very poor too, having no houses, no gardens, no cultivated fields, nor any domestic animals but dogs. I never saw such abject poverty, such an entire destitution of all the comforts of life.' Thus wrote one who had seen and visited them 20 years ago, and so one would write of them to this day. Since 1838 some attempt was made by Major Broadfoot, Commissioner, by means of Mr. Brayton, an American Missionary, to teach them to read and write and convert them to Christianity. Mr. Brayton, I believe, baptised forty-six, and also established a school among them in 1846, but, owing to his going away, the school was abandoned, and, from what I can learn, nothing has since been done for them."

From the little that I know of these people, I am very much inclined to think that Lieutenant Burn's proposition will bear examination. I am aware that the people have a good market for the products he enumerates.

You are aware that it is a tedious and even difficult task to go about their islands with merely an ordinary canoe, such as we have at our disposal here. A small steamer I have long thought absolutely necessary to enable this district officer to supervise his officials properly, and generally administrate affairs with any approach to efficient management.

I took the liberty of submitting this proposition upwards of two years ago, on my first appointment here. It has been strongly supported by my successors, and received the notice of Government. Lieutenant Burn, who had the opportunity of seeing this district throughout two working seasons, has, you will observe, referred to it in his remarks on the Salone Islands.

VII.

From H. O. Menzies, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, to the Commissioner, Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, Moulmein — dated the 20th June 1860.

In the preparation of the annual revenue and statistical returns, which it was my duty to submit to you at the close of the official year 1859-60, I was struck by the inadequacy of the data at my disposal on which I had, in the case of the Salones, to found these returns.

[1] The passage referred to by Lieutenant Burn is to be found in Mason's *Tenasserim.*

You are aware that one of the Salones is in the pay of Government, receiving monthly Rs. 10. I presume that this individual receives this pay more with the view of indirectly bringing him into communication with the authorities here, than as a remuneration for the performance of any specific duties: certain it is at all events that he has hitherto done nothing to entitle him to remuneration.

You will have remarked that the information yearly supplied to your Office having reference to the Salones may be said to be stereotyped, as the returns do not vary.

Enquiring into the causes of this, I ascertained that the practice had been to draw the Salone Thoogyee's pay monthly, and to hand it over to the jemadar of the general guard, who was supposed to pay it to that individual whenever he presented himself at Mergui to receive it. As this practice evidently failed to meet the requirements of the case, I immediately directed its discontinuance, and forbade the issue of any pay to the Salone Thoogyee, unless he presented himself at my office to receive the money.

Consequent on this order the Salone Thoogyee presented himself before me yesterday, and I took the opportunity afforded by his presence to elicit from him as much information as I could regarding the peculiar race of beings over whom he is supposed by his position to exercise control.

So far as I can learn from office records but little is known regarding the Salones, and as it is highly improbable that I shall have the opportunity of otherwise placing on record the information I have become possessed of, which may at some time prove useful, I have thought it best to embody the result of my enquiries in the shape of a letter to you.

The Salone Thoogyee informs me that his people are at present located on four islands of the Mergui Archipelago, named by him Zadet, Sumpee, Buttuy, and Doung. The first corresponds with St. Mathew's Island; the third with Peak or Sir B. Owen's; the fourth (I think), Lord W. Bentinck's; and the second, Sullivan's or Sumpee Island of our charts.

He estimates the number inhabiting these islands as follows:—On Zadet Island about 40, on Sumpee about 55, on Buttuy about 59, and on Doung Island about 46 families, giving about six souls as composing a family. This last estimate is evidently too high, but, remembering the number of children I saw with the families located in Paway Island, in March last, I think we shall be justified in assuming five as a fair average number of young and old in a family. The Thoogyee himself has six children, hence perhaps his fixing a high average.

The Thoogyee's estimate would, if adopted, give a total of 1,200 souls, and, subject to my correction, 1,000 souls, — a far higher number than you will find entered in the returns.

The Thoogyee, Oo Pay by name, was, I learn, first invested with such official authority as his office may be supposed to result in, by Major Birdmore, and he appeared before me looking very unhappy under the penance of continually adjusting a peon's belt with a brass-plate which was placed across his shoulders by that officer.

Oo Pay possesses such acquaintance with the Malay and Burmese languages as enables him to converse with difficulty in both.

It appears that each island colony has its headman. Their names are — in Sumpee, Pu Kam; in Buttuy, Lo Wuy; in Zadet, Chee Doot. Of Lo Wuy my informant gave me the worst possible character: perhaps jealousy may have occasioned this, as the number of families under the jurisdiction of Lo Wuy on Sumpee exceeds that on Doung, Oo Pay's particular charge. Lo Wuy is, Oo Pay informed me, much addicted to intemperance; he described him, exhibiting the most expressive countenance at the time, as a "perfect devil."

I was under the impression that the Salones were decreasing in number yearly, but Oo Pay contradicted this. From his statements it would appear that both cholera and small-pox have this year prevailed among the tribe. He estimated the deaths from cholera at 14, and

from small-pox about 40. Non-adults were most obnoxious to the latter disease. These figures refer to the Doung population, which would probably suffer most, as most exposed to the risk of infection or contagion from their greater intercourse with, and proximity to, our coast villages or Mergui itself, where the diseases have had, so to speak, their head-quarters during the past year.

I questioned Oo Pay closely as to the treatment pursued with sufferers from sickness. The Salones depend for recovery solely on supernatural aid. Three men in the tribe are supposed at present to have the power of invoking the aid of the evil-spirit. They perform a sort of "devil dance" round the sufferer; the spirit, if they are successful, is understood to draw out the disease through the arm of the patient; and Oo Pay knows old people who have witnessed the appearence of the evil one embodied in the shape of a bit of broken glass, but has not himself been so fortunate as ever to have had an interview. Possessed of the disease from which the patient has by him been relieved, the devil in his turn possesses himself of the person of the individual who was successful in obtaining the happy result. He is invariably a thirsty devil, and Oo Pay has seen a whole jar of *shamshoo* drunk off by the possessed man. He took the trouble to explain that though the man actually drank *aqua vitæ*, it was not for his own, but for the enjoyment of the spirit in him. It is to be supposed that the evil-spirit vanishes with the fumes of the imbibed liquor, but Oo Pay was not clear on this point, and was evidently disinclined to go deeply into the subject. When the sick man recovers, the "medicine-man" receives remuneration: should his intervention be unsuccessful, none.

I learnt from the Salones I came across on Paway Island that both sick and dead were customarily deserted, the dead being placed on a small and covered raised *pandal*, when they were left to decay, the spot of, so to call it, interment being left unvisited till sufficient time had elapsed to ensure the disappearance of the remains. As regards the mortally sick, I was told they were made as comfortable as possible, and left to Nature, being supplied with food and a boat; that sometimes they recovered, and the boat enabled them to rejoin their friends. Oo Pay states that this latter practice is not universal. I rather from his manner, and the positive statements of the Paway people, doubt him; he admitted that though his own Doung people did not subscribe the custom, yet the Sumpee people did.

Questioned regarding the domestic relations existing among the Salones, Oo Pay assured me that polygamy did not exist. The marriage ceremony, as described by him, is simple. The man, in the presence of the elders, presents a piece of white cloth to the parents of the bride, and to herself some tobacco, *pân* leaves, and other such trifles; an admiring circle sit round and "talk and laugh," and the couple are henceforth man and wife. If the bridegroom is not a sufficiently wealthy man to possess a boat of his own, the couple, till in a position to maintain a separate establishment, reside with the parents of the bride. It is not usual or necessary for the parents of the bridegroom to make any presents to anybody on the marriage.

Oo Pay displayed considerable astuteness, combating my efforts to elicit from him the mode in which the offenders were punished, telling me that any one who stole or did other wrong would in due course be brought before me by him. He, however, said that before the Salones came under British sway, in cases of homicide, the life of the man-slayer was held forfeited, and taken by the friends of the slain. I rather opine that in this respect what was, still is. I know of no case on record in which Oo Pay has summoned offenders in any way to Mergui.

Money appears to be easily earned by the Salones, but to be invariably spent on comestibles or converted into a supply of the articles they use but cannot manufacture at the place and time of receipt. Mats are the circulating medium among themselves. A boat can be purchased for 60 mats, a fishing spear for four, and so on. The mats in question are neat, and such as may occasionally be seen in hot Indian stations, used as a covering for couches or

beds, being cooler than anything else. The Salones, who generally fall into bad hands when they visit our villages and conclude most of their bargains in the arrack-shops, get an average price of four annas per mat at Mergui. The mats are in demand. I paid a Rupee for one the other day. They are chiefly made by women, and a woman does not occupy more than a day in completing a mat. As I have elsewhere mentioned to you, one of the most valuable of the articles in which the Salones trade is a sort of flexible and waterproof covering for boats, manufactured from the leaves of a plant which are stitched together with bamboo-splinters. These are made in a very short time, and sell here for eight annas a piece. The leaf is not, I believe, obtainable on the mainland, hence the high price realized for these simple, but most useful, articles of traffic. The Salones also bring to market sea-slugs, sea-snails, *bêche-de-mer*, wax, fish, and mother-o'-pearl.

Oo Pay informs me that though he has, as it were, divided the Salones into four settlements, yet that they constantly leave one of these to join another, and that these recognize him as having supreme authority. I am afraid he is sufficiently civilized to be aware that truth is not always consonant with the furtherance of his personal interest, and that he connects assumption of supreme authority with retention of his monthly stipend. I should doubt his having much influence over Lo Wuy, whom he so heartily abuses, or the immediate following of that individual: similarly with the other headmen and those who acknowledge their rule. He states the headmen he names (see *suprâ*) are all aged, about his own age, which I should say was between 50 and 60. These men, I believe, occasionally visit Mergui, and they should be encouraged on such occasions to present themselves, as from them much information might from time to time be obtained regarding the Salones.

I have told Oo Pay that I shall expect him to be able to speak with some greater certainty than he now can regarding the number of the Salones, etc., when he visits Mergui after the termination of the south-west monsoon and has had an opportunity of seeing the Southward islands. His knowledge of numeration being limited, the population return is to consist of a bundle of sticks with notches on them, showing boats (their houses), men, women, and children of both sexes. He seems willing, and with encouragement might be made more useful than he has hitherto proved. He estimates the number of boats in the possession of the Salones at present at 140. This scarcely corresponds with the estimated aggregate of souls, but it is possible that they manage to pack into them when moving from island to island.

I may mention here, as you may possibly never have seen a Salone boat, that it differs much in construction from, and as regards sea-worthiness and elegance of shape is far superior to, the ordinary Burmese boat. The bottom of the boat is solid wood scooped out and opened; rising to the total height of the boat at each extremity, but almost flattened in the centre; *yingan* sticks, thick in the centre, and tapering to each extremity, though round, are bent into the rounded form of a boat's side and neatly placed one above the other. The ends being smaller than the centre, they are easily compressed into the required space at stem and stern, so as not to interfere with the general symmetrical appearance of the boat. The interstices are caulked with dammer. The objection to this boat is that the *yingan* portion of them requires annual renewal and the process is not easy. To the sufficient beam given to these boats, as compared with those in use with Burmans, may be attributed their possession of greater buoyancy and safety in a rough sea. At the stem and stern, a semi-circle is scooped out; this gives to the boat an odd look, but the object is patent; were it not for the step which is then formed, the younger children would be unable without aid to get into or out of the boats. Siamese sometimes build similarly with *yingan*, but the crescent-shaped bow and stern is never adopted by them, and invariably distinguishes the Salones' boats from all others.

The Salones possess a host of most mangy, ill-fed dogs. They seldom lose an opportunity of adding to the number. These dogs are employed in hunting wild pigs, with which some of

the islands in the Archipelago abound. As the common village dog is seldom an adept at, or inclined to receive instruction in, hunting, when he first gets into the hands of the Salones, he is subjected to very severe training. Fresh from the streets of Mergui, or other coast town or village, he is deposited by his new master on the first convenient uninhabited island presenting itself. He either dies of starvation, if too indolent to hunt for his subsistence, or soon learns to catch his prey. In a couple of months he is sought for, and if found alive is reclaimed and taken home. The dogs seem, with the exception of being badly fed, to be kindly treated after their initiation into Salonese life, and I was amused at Paway by seeing them following their masters into the water, when they approached wading to my boat. On my landing every woman might be seen holding a child or two under one arm and a dog under the other, the precaution being adopted in the case of the latter to prevent any noisy demonstrations or misbehaviour.

Oo Pay states that he is not aware of any specific violence towards the Salones on the part of the Malays, and ignored all dread of them. His statements are at variance with those of the Salones I have previously had intercourse with, and if the Malays are really innocuous, it is difficult to explain the cause of the consternation which is apparent among the Salones when they first find a strange boat in their neighbourhood. At Paway the whole settlement took to the jungles as soon as it was evident that my boat was coming to theirs, but when we were sufficiently close to enable them to discover who we were, dogs, women, and children again emerged from the jungle ; questioning them as to the cause of their hasty concealment of themselves, they told me that they had mistaken us for Malays, by whom they had only ten days previous been plundered.

The costume of the Salones scarcely supports the maxim that "simplicity adorns." That of the males is the familiar dress of the Madras catamaran men ; that of the females is scarcely more elaborate or decent ; a strip of dirty cloth wound once round the waist and between the legs completes it. Oo Pay had evidently, when coming to me, either bought or borrowed a set of clothes which fitted him ill and made him very uncomfortable, and his *putsoe* gave him as much trouble as did his belt of office.

That the Salones do not progress in civilization I think I may presume, for if they have done so, they must have commenced from a lower degree in the scale of humanity than is compatible with their supposed ameliorated condition after 30 odd years of occasional intercourse with ourselves and those subject to our influence, as they are still low in the list of uncivilized savages.

It seems rather a reproach to us that such a nation should exist under our rule uncared for and unnoticed, but at the same time it is not easy to suggest what efforts to improve them would prove most effectual. There have been no failures or successes to aid us in forming an opinion on this head that I know of.

I think that one step towards reform would be to prevent their falling into the hands of Chinese sharpers, when they visit Mergui, by forbidding the sale to them of opium or *shamshoo*. At present with them a trading excursion here ends in a debauch, and they squander in an hour the fruits of days of toil, besides steeping themselves in degradation. If it is worth while to keep Oo Pay in pay, the plan might be adopted of also nominating the other headmen Government servants, giving them lower rates of pay, three or four Rupees a month, anything sufficient to induce them to come to Mergui to receive their pay, and the difference in pay would elevate Oo Pay in their eyes and increase his influence. He is, as far as can be learnt, of steadier habits than the generality of his tribe.

Deprived of the opportunity of spending his earnings in drink, the Salone might learn in time the value of money by finding himself the possessor of articles he would consider as luxuries. As his household goods increased in quantity and value, it might occur to him that

a house was a more desirable abode than a boat, and gradually their location might assume a greater degree of permanence, dependent, of course, on the degree of protection we afford them from Malay dacoities.

At present, Oo Pay may rule in Doung, but I doubt altogether his having the slightest influence elsewhere for good or evil. I do not think that it is generally known how frequently the Salones visit our villages. I daresay I have seen this year from the window of my house, by two and three at a time, a hundred Salone boats on the beach of Mergui. Such frequent communication with Mergui would, one would think, make them acquainted in some degree with our modes of government, and familarize them with the dreaded word "taxation." As I have elsewhere stated, I consider these people by no means poor; and though tax them as you may, their revenue contributions could never amount to much, yet I would tax them on the principle that tax-paying would inculcate on them the necessity of looking beyond the morrow, and habits of frugality are a capital foundation for improvement. The tax or tribute exacted I would receive in kind, so many mats per male per annum, and make Oo Pay responsible for collection. The whole tribe should be annually collected on some certain fixed island to receive a visit from the Deputy Commissioner, pay their tax, and state their grievances, if any, the revenue collected being spent on articles suited to their use which might at these annual gatherings be distributed as presents. This would probably prove inducement sufficient to ensure attendance, and if they learn that we do not, with the rest of the neighbouring world, look down on them as wholly beneath our notice, we shall soon find them making efforts to render themselves more presentable and deserving of our favour.

I fear that I have been led to write at too great length on this subject; but it is one I take a considerable interest in, and I can offer no other apology for the lengthiness of my letter.

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from* Vol. XXVI. p. 104.)

Tattooing. — Hindus believe that **tattoo marks scare or house spirits.** In the Karnâṭak most Hindu women tattoo on their bodies the figures of the *padma* or lotus, the *śaṅkh* or conch-shell, and the *chakra* or discus, the chief weapons of Vishṇu. **Of the origin of tattooing,** the Brâhmaṇ story is that Lakshmî, the wife of Vishṇu, told her husband that whenever he left her alone she became frightened. Vishṇu took his weapons and pressed them on Lakshmî's body, saying that the marks of his weapons would guard her against evil. Following this example, Hindus tattoo their bodies that no evil may befall them.[42]

The Ahmadnagar Kaikâḍîs tattoo basil leaves, lotus flowers, and the names of the gods Śrî-Râm, Jai-Râm, and Jai-Jai-Râm, on their hands and feet.[43] The Mâdhava Brâhmaṇ women of Dhârwâṛ tattoo a small dot on the right cheek and chin and a small crescent with two dots just above the root of the nose. Some women tattoo their hands.[44] Among the Liṅgâyat Baṇjigîs of Dhârwâṛ women tattoo their brows and cheeks, and their chins, hands, and feet. The print on the brow is a black dot or a crescent with a black dot inside. The marks on the chin and cheeks are simple dots; those on the arms are single or double snakes.[45] In Belgaum, the tattoo marks made by the women of the Marâṭhâ Killikctars are lines, ovals and circles, the names of gods, and the figures of the *tulsî* bush and the frankincense tree.[46]

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42 Information from Mr. Inâmdâr.

43 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII. p. 104.

44 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 65.

45 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 122.

46 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 186.

In South India, almost all young girls have their arms marked with flowers.[47] The Juangs of East Bengal wear three strokes on the brow over the nose and three on the temple,[48] apparently **the forerunners of sect-marks and made with the object of frightening spirits.** The Karens of East Bengal wear three red lines radiating from the seat of their breeches. The lines were formerly marked on the skin.[49] In Gujarât, in Western India, carriage bullocks (1820) are tattooed[50] with tigers and flowers. Tattooing is common among the Burmese tribes along the east frontier of Bengal.[51] The Burmans tattoo their bodies with the figures of lions, tigers, elephants, rats, and birds. Some of these marks are special charms against evil spirits and diseases.[52] All Burman boys get their thighs tattooed.[53] By some Burmans tattooing is resorted to as a medicine.[54] Chin women tattoo their faces to prevent their being carried off by Burmans.[55] Friar Oderic in A. D. 1321 found a singular generation in Sumâtra who branded their faces with a little hot iron in some twelve places.[56]

The Andamanese tattoo their heads and paint them with clay.[57] The custom of tattooing is carried to great perfection among the Motu women, whose bodies are covered with tattoo marks resembling fine lace garments.[58] The Motus tattoo an olive leaf in the clavicular region of their bodies.[59] In the Melville Islands, the people gracefully tattoo their bodies like the lace on a hussar's jacket.[60] The Samoan youths are elaborately tattooed.[61] The Papuans of New Guinea make scars on their shoulders, breasts, and thighs.[62] The skin is cut with a sharp instrument, and white clay or some other earth is rubbed in the wound.[63] The Papuans of North Guinea tattoo crossed swords and daggers on their bodies.[64] West Australians almost invariably tattoo their shoulders, backs, and breasts.[65] Hay describes in North-West Africa a tall and aged Musalmân dame with round her neck the tattooed representation of a chain with a cross hanging to it.[66]

In North Africa, the chins of high-class Musalmân girls are adorned by figures burnt into the skin with gunpowder.[67] In modern Egypt, both men and women tatoo parts of the body.[68] The people of Mecca tattoo their boys', and, in some cases, their girls', faces by drawing three cuts down each cheek and two cuts across each temple.[69] In Central South America, the big robber race of Guaycourons tattoo the face, paint the body, bore the lips, and shave the heads except a top-knot.[70] The people of the South Sea Island of Tanna make tattoo-marks in the shape of fish and of leaves.[71] Among the Samoans girls are tattooed when they come of age.[72] In the Fiji Islands, women only are tattooed.[73] In Micronesia, east of the Philippines, tattooing is general. No untattooed girl can be married. The gods will not accept an untattooed man as a sacrifice.[74] In Australia and over all Oceania, tattooing is religious.[75]

The following instances show **the antiquity of tattooing.** The ancient Ethiopians painted the images of their ancestors on their bodies[76] (apparently with the object of housing the ancestral spirits and making them guardians). Among the Thracians (B. C. 450) to be tattooed was a mark of noble birth.[77] The archaic Greeks tattooed their face, arms, and breasts.[78] The

[47] Dubois, Vol. I. p. 483. [48] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 157. [49] *Op. cit.* p. 118.
[50] Moore's *Oriental Fragments*, p. 516. [51] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 114.
[52] Fytche's *Burmah*, Vol. II. p. 61. [53] Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 46.
[54] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 53. [55] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 165.
[56] Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. 86. [57] *Jour. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 472.
[58] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 481. [59] *Op. cit.* Vol. VII. p. 481.
[60] Earl's *Papuans*, p. 199. [61] Pritchard's *Polynesian Remains*, p. 145.
[62] Earl's *Papuans*, p. 71. [63] *Op. cit.* p. 71.
[64] *Op. cit.* p. 72. [65] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. V. p. 317.
[66] Hay's *Western Barbary*, p. 44. [67] Denham and Clapperton's *Africa*, Vol. I. p. 42.
[68] *Egypt* in *Ency.* Brit. Ed. IX. p. 723. [69] Burkhardt's *Arabia*, Vol. I. p. 334.
[70] Reville's *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. I. p. 388. [71] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 132.
[72] Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, 3, Table XII.
[73] Reville's *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 132. [74] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 132.
[75] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 147. [76] Leckie's *History of Rationalism*, Introd., p. xxi.
[77] Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. III. p. 218. [78] *Imperial Dict.*, s. v., Woad.

ancient Britons tattooed their bodies with woad or wad prepared from the *isatis tinctoria* plant.[79] The fondness for tattoo marks among most European nations seems to be mainly due to the dislike of giving up what was once believed to be lucky.

These examples suggest that, like other forms of ornament, **the root-object of tattooing is to secure luck** by the two familiar methods of scaring unsquarable spirits and housing squarable spirits as guardians. That in origin tattooing is religious or lucky, and **not simply ornamental,** is supported by Reville's remarks on the Polynesian tattoo.[80] The Polynesian tattoo marks are made by inserting, with the help of a sharp-toothed comb, dust of the *aleuritus triloba* nut. The dust is inserted under the skin by a priest, and, while the marking is in progress, the priest and his family sing songs in praise of tattooing. Lizards, sharks, and birds are common tattoo marks, but the luckiest shape is that of the person's guardian badge or *tiki.* Again, Reville writes: "The tattoo mark is a divine badge or livery. While he is being marked, the victim is *taboo* or sacred, because during the marking his guardian touches and seals him. Slaves were not tattooed, women were a little, and among freemen the higher in rank were the most marked." Contrary to the general rule, the highest in rank were unadorned by tattoo-marks, because, says Reville, they were already part of the divine tribe. The sense seems to be that as the object of marking ancestral and other guardian shapes was to enable the guardian to pass into the person tattooed, any person in whom the guardian already dwelt required no tattoo-mark or other fresh guardian entrance. This view is supported by the practice in Tonga Island,[81] where the high priest (in whom the guardian dwells) is the only person who is not tattooed. That the tattoo-mark is a guardian entrance is in agreement with the general English belief that **moles and other natural skin marks are lucky.** Further, that the basis of the luck in skin spots is that they are spirit entrances is shown by the practice of the seventeenth century English witch-finders, who drove pins into moles and other natural marks to discover the place through which her familiar passed in and out of the witch's body. A similar belief seems to be the basis of the Jewish prohibition against offering in sacrifice any animal which has on its body any mark of the nature of a spot or blemish. In another passage[82] Reville says: "The object for which the Polynesian is tattooed is the same as the object for which the Hottentot performs his religious dances, namely, to make him unite with the deity." That is, in simpler phrase, to give the guardian a door of entrance either into the dancer or into the person who is tattooed. Once more Reville says:[83] "The tattoo-mark is to the Polynesian what the shaven circle on the crown of his head is to the Catholic priest." This seems correct, as the original object of priestly tonsure is to allow the guardian to pass through the suture in the priest's skull, a way by which the guardian has previously entered through the virtue of the laying on of hands in consecration. It may be objected that certain tattoo-marks, and also the belief that the tattoo-mark is lucky because it scares evil influences, belong to a stage of thought when the mark was held to be a scare and not an entrance. This difference of view may at first seem to amount to a contradiction. Still, as has been more than once noticed, the difference between scaring evil influences and housing good influences disappears when it is remembered that by housing it the angry element in most spirits is appeased and the spirit becomes friendly, according to the law, the guardian is the squared fiend. Reville[84] notices that the Palans of West New Guinea wanted to tattoo the English, while the Rataks in the extreme East would not tattoo the English. The explanation apparently is that the Rataks, like the Tahitans and the Mexicans, held there was a squarable element in the strangers, and that, therefore, the guardian might pass into and dwell in them. On the other hand, the Rataks, like the Chinese, saw nothing but the unsquarable or devil

[79] Perrot and Chipiez's *Art in Primitive Greece*, Vol. II. pp. 184-5.

[80] Reville's *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisès*, Vol. II. pp. 68, 70, 71. Compare Codrington's *Among the Melanesians*, pp. 232, 234, 240.

[81] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 79.

[82] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 72.

[83] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 72.

[84] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 132.

element in the strangers, and refused to tattoo them, lest, through the marks, the guardian might pass in and suffer or be enraged.

That **the general object of tattooing is to house ancestral spirits** finds support in the similar African practice of adorning by scars. Denham[85] noticed that among the Tibboos of North Africa most men had scars which denoted rank and were considered an ornament. One chief had a scar under each eye, and a half-moon star on his brow. The sense of these ornamental scars seems to be to provide an entrance into the warrior for the ancestral spirits who gather before an affray and who enspirit or hearten their descendants. The belief that a wound is an entrance or passage is probably connected with the wide-spread blood-sucking or vampire beliefs. It is preserved by Shakespeare, who twice[86] makes Marc Antony describe Cæsar's wounds as dumb mouths opening their ruby lips.

Threads. — Among Hindus the belief is strong that spirits fear the Brâhmaṇ sacred thread. In the Kônkan, when a Brâhmaṇ boy sees the spirit Hadal, he shews her his sacred thread, and the spirit flees.[87] Brâhmaṇ boys are believed to be specially liable to spirit-attacks before they are girt with the sacred thread. Among all high class Hindus, when the bride and bridegroom are married, they are made to sit facing one another, and are encircled with sacred threads. At the wedding of a Dekhan Râmôśi a Brâhmaṇ passes a thread four times round the neck and shoulder and four times round the waist of the bride and bridegroom.[88] The Agarvâl Vânîs of Poona wear either a sacred thread or a necklace of *tulsî* beads.[89] The Ahmadnagar Mhârs pass a yellow thread seven times round the necks of the bride and bridegroom,[90] and on the fifth day after a birth they lay before a silver image of Satvâî a coil of thread, food, and flowers.[91] Many classes of Hindus in Bîjâpur, at the turmeric rubbing before a wedding, make the bride and bridegroom sit in a square called *surgî*, at each corner of which is a water-pot round whose necks a thread is several times passed.[92] The Lôhârs of Belgaum put on a sacred thread two days before marriage.[93] The Sâgar Gavandîs of Shôlâpur, on the naming day, tie a thread round the child's wrists.[94] The Bavkulê Vânîs of Kânara put on a sacred thread on the wedding day.[95] The head of the Kondu Vandlus, a wild tribe in the Northern Sirkars, wears the sacred thread.[96] Gujarât Jains do not wear the sacred thread, but in worshipping their idols they wear across their shoulders a silken tape, a piece of cloth, or a golden chain hung in the way a Brâhmaṇ wears his sacred thread.[97] In Southern India, sacred threads are at all times worn by Brâhmaṇs, Jains, and Kshatrîs, and by Vaiśyâs and Pâñchâls on their wedding day.[98] Hindus when girt with the sacred thread are called *dvijâs* or twice born.[99] All Hindus at the time of performing funeral ceremonies shift the sacred thread on to the right shoulder.[100] The Pârsîs wear a sacred thread called *kasti*.

Umbrellas. — The umbrella is considered by Hindus to be holy or rather to be a guardian.[1] So the umbrella held over the bridegroom's mother in a Chitpâvan wedding is called *abdâgir pâlchhâtra* or the guardian umbrella.[2] Poona Marâṭhâs on the eve of the Dasahra (September-October) festival worship an umbrella, repeating the prayer: — "O thou who art the shade of prosperity guard our king."[3] The Dhruva Prabhus of Poona, before a thread-girding, set up a pole and tie an umbrella to its top, and also a handful of dry grass and a couple of cocoanuts.[4] Similarly, at their marriage and thread ceremonies, the Pâñchakalśîs

85 Denham and Clapperton's *Africa*, Vol. I. p. 171.
86 *Julius Cæsar*, Act iii., Scene i., and Act iii., Scene ii.
87 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
88 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 419.
89 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 262.
90 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 177.
91 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 177.
92 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 95.
93 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 142.
94 *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 100.
95 *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 174.
96 *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Sc.* Vol. IX. p. 18.
97 Information from Mr. Bhimbhâi.
98 Dubois, Vol. I. p. 230.
99 Moore's *Oriental Fragments*, p. 512.
100 Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 164.
1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 137.
2 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 137.
3 *Trans. Lit. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 88.
4 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 187.

and Sonârs of Bombay set up over the top of a pole an open umbrella and two cocoanuts.[5] In most Hindu marriage processions an open umbrella is held over the bridegroom when he is escorted to the bride's house.[6] Among the Shôlâpur Kômtîs, when a married girl comes of age, she and her husband are taken to the temple of a village god with two umbrellas held over them.[7] At the weddings of the Belgaum Kurubars or shepherds, the boy and girl stand under an umbrella and grains of rice are thrown over them.[8] The tomb of Asad Khân in Belgaum is surrounded by umbrellas and ostrich eggs.[9] In the Bombay Presidency and in Southern India, many Hindu temples have silk umbrellas which on high days are carried over the idols when they are taken out.[10] The Kôlhâpur title Chhatrapati, or Lord of Umbrellas, is highly valued by the Marâṭhâs, who hold that it belongs only to the descendants of the great Sivâjî.[11] The standard of the kings of Calicut was an umbrella.[12] An umbrella was held over the king in Egypt, Assyria and Persia.[13] The Assyrian umbrella was fringed with tassels and its top adorned with flowers. A long streamer of silk fell on one side.[14] A white umbrella was held over the king of Ceylon at his coronation.[15] The king of Burmah carried a white umbrella as a sign of royalty.[16] In China, the umbrella is a token of rank. State umbrellas of the first and second order are adorned with the figure of a gourd.[17] In Africa, umbrellas are used only by men of rank.[18] The king of Dahomey is accompanied by four white umbrellas, besides parasols which are waved like fans.[19] Gilt umbrellas formed part of the show of Roman Catholic dignitaries.[20] Pope Alexander the III. allowed the Doge of Venice to have a lighted taper, a sword, and an umbrella borne before him.[21]

The following account of the **religious element in umbrellas** is taken from the *Saturday Review :* — Umbrellas, like lawyers and doctors, are an unfailing source of merriment to the good people who would fain be considered wits, but have neither the natural gift nor the retentive memory which is necessary to support the character. The word "gamp" is sufficient to demand a smile, and the insinuation that umbrellas are the creation of the devil to tempt otherwise honest men, and are as much a legitimate prey to the human race as mice are to cats, or flies to lizards, is an unfailing draw, whether in a comic paper or an after-dinner speech. Old **Jonas Hanway** little knew, when he **brought his umbrella home with him from Persia,** and braved the jeers of robust people who rather liked being wetted, what a benefactor he was to the English nation. If every laugh, even when it is but mechanical, draws a nail out of one's coffin, what a clog on the Birmingham nail trade the old traveller has proved! The custom of carrying umbrellas which he introduced, must have done even more good than Magdalene Hospital, of which he was the founder. Umbrellas have come to be put to a variety of purposes now that it is not considered effeminate to use them. They are handy at the cattle show for prodding fat beasts; old ladies signal omnibusses with them; less amiable people find them admirable receptacles for stolen goods; gentlemen with moustaches lay claim to military rank on the strength of carrying them tucked under the left arm; "mashers" do not disdain them if they are rolled up tight and not brought into use and bulginess; some people even employ them for protection against the sun. None of these uses, however, represent the true purpose of the umbrella. It came from the East, and the purposes it is intended to serve are truly oriental. Negro kings do, it is true, masquerade with umbrellas and strut about with much dignity under gaudy expanses of dyed cotton. But negro kings are known to have heterodox notions as to the uses of a good many things belonging to ancient or modern

[5] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[6] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[7] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XX. p. 70.
[8] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 153.
[9] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 532.
[10] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[11] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[12] Badger's *Varthema*, p. 150.
[13] Jones' *Crowns*, p. 434.
[14] Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 241.
[15] Jones' *Crowns and Coronations*, p. 442.
[16] *Op. cit.* p. 434.
[17] Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 375.
[18] Burton's *Visit to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 43.
[19] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 315.
[20] Yule's *Cathay*, p. 81.
[21] Jones' *Crowns*, p. 412.

civilization. They use the tricolour of France for purposes of clothing, and the more advanced of them are said to supply the place of handkerchiefs with such flags. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that they debase the use of umbrellas. The limited number of the specimens available prevents them from becoming objects of prey; but otherwise than as guards for a procession they are not held in any great estimation, and the true spiritual purpose of the umbrella is as entirely lost sight of in Africa as it is in Europe.

The umbrella is properly a remnant of solar worship; and it is only the degeneracy of later times, and especially the levelling and democratic spirit of Europe, which has debased it to the paltry uses of keeping oneself dry, and, with a few ancient persons, not on that account to be accused of sun-worship or Sabæan heresies, of warding off the fierce rays of the sun. The robust people of old times did not want to be protected from sun or rain. They were too hardy, and too much inclined to do nothing, unless they could not avoid it, to care for the elements. If there was a very heavy tropical shower, they simply got under shelter. If the sun was too hot for work, they were glad of the excuse for being lazy. In any case their occupations were such as precluded the use of the umbrella as a mere effeminate means of protection. Even now-a-days the agriculturist does not hoist an umbrella when he ploughs his fields or hoes his turnips: and the nautical man, unless he be the captain of a Thames penny steamboat, does not fear rheumatism so much as to unfurl a gingham. The primitive fisherman rather liked being wet than otherwise when he hauled in his nets. The rice cultivator absolutely revels in slush. Umbrellas are not, therefore, necessarily a sign of the degeneracy of the human race, though superficial observers might think them so. The Siamese work, the *Thia Chang*, gives us the correct notion of their proper origin:—"The expression, San Kouang (the three brilliant things)," says the learned author, "designates the sun, the moon, and the stars. These illuminate the world by the command of the Lord of the heavens, and disseminate their beneficent rays into all parts of the universe. To point the finger suddenly at them is a grave breach of respect, and merits grievous punishment." Here, then, we have the true first notion of the purpose of the umbrella. Weak human nature is unable so to govern its actions as to be uniformly mindful of the celestial powers. In the common affairs of life men are constantly pointing in all directions, and might inadvertently stare rudely at the moon, or the stars, or even at the sun, though there is not so much danger of that. In order to protect themselves against such thoughtfulness, and, moreover, to avoid the danger of unseemly actions and possibly disrespectful gestures in full view of the God of Day, the umbrella was invented. Consequently, when the article first came into use, it was most generally used in fine weather when the sun was high in the heavens, and thus was most liable to be offended. In rainy weather the danger was not so serious, for the great luminary covered up his face in clouds as with a veil, and it was not so necessary to guard against being rude to him. As a natural consequence, whenever it rained, the primeval sun-shade inventors put down their umbrellas and were happy. In latter days, sceptical people, who did not scruple to speak disrespectfully of the sun, let alone the stars, found the parasol — in the etymological sense — convenient for keeping off the rain; and, when the pious-minded were lowering their umbrellas, these heretical weaklings unfurled theirs to shelter their sorry bodies. Hence the modern desecration of the ancient implement of worship.

There are abundant proofs of **the original religious signification of the umbrella**, which, but for modern prejudices, would long since have established the sanctity of the article, had it not been for the levity which has been so long suffered to direct its jokes at the venerable survival. The mistletoe sinks to the level of "kiss-in-the-ring," the Pyramids serve as a means of support to rascally Arabs, the Derby horse drags a "growler," the Druidical stone is a convenience for uneasy cattle, and the pious sun-shade becomes an unwarrantably loaned umbrella. Is it not sculptured on the ruins of Nineveh and on the monuments of Egypt, where every detail of the carving shews that it is bright sunny weather, and that there is not a hint of a shower? In the fifth incarnation of Vishṇu the Preserver, that chief of the Hindu Trinity

goes down into the infernal regions with an umbrella in his hand. In the Ṛig-Veda the god is represented as being the sun himself. We have here, therefore, a direct injunction from the very source of the worship. Nor are we without classical allusions to the proper use of the umbrella. In the Skirophoria, the feast of Athene Skiras, white umbrellas were borne by the priestesses from the Acropolis to the Phalerus, irrespectively of the state of the weather. Umbrellas were usual at the feast of Bacchus, where no doubt the votaries often got into a state which it was desirable to conceal. Aristophanes tells us that Prometheus had an umbrella held over him that he might not be seen by Jupiter, which gives us the original notion without any disguise whatever. The probability that harm will happen if the celestial luminaries are irritated by objectionable movements or demonstrations, is also borne out by the old traditions of all parts of the world. The Ojibways warn their children not to point with their fingers at the moon, on the ground that if they do, she will infallibly lose her temper and bite the rude digits off. It is a well-known fact that the moon is carnivorous. The Greenlanders say, when she is not seen, that she is out hunting seals. When she has been hunting long enough, she fattens into the full moon. The stories of German folklore tell us that the finger pointed at a star will certainly rot away, because the angels kill it. If the moon and the stars are so touchy, it is evident that the interposition of an umbrella between mortals and the sun is a still more imperative protective measure.

The umbrella having such a distinguished origin, it is not to be wondered at that in the East it is one of the chief royal insignia and is guarded from being put to too common uses by severe sumptuary laws. In Africa, it is not at all uncommon to find a tribe in possession of one umbrella only, and that umbrella, the distinguishing marks of the king — his entire regalia, in fact. But in India, and especially Indo-China, where Sabaism is not yet altogether dead, the umbrella is a very important State appurtenance ; and the King of Burmah, as every one knows, is not only Lord of the White Umbrella, but of all the umbrella-bearing chiefs. There is a very formidable etiquette of umbrellas. None but the King and the White Elephant may have white ones. The king has eight of them, duly carried round about him, all at once seven feet or more across, and elevated on twelve-feet poles. Englishmen who have unwarily expanded shades with white covers have expiated the heinousness of their offence by penance in the stocks, with nothing to shelter them from the avenging rays of the sun, kindled to unwonted anger by the bad language the victims make use of on the occasion. Next in estimation to the white umbrellas are yellow specimens, seldom conferred on any except queens and princesses who are in especial favour. Golden umbrellas fall to the lot of princes of the blood-royal — when there are any — eminent statesmen, generals, tributary chieftains, and distinguished provincial governors. Then come in their gradations red, green, and brown silk-covered umbrellas, with deep fringes, or without them, and all of the most portentous width and elevation. All officials attached to the Court are allowed to signalize their distinction by varnishing their umbrellas black inside. The sun has thus the greater difficulty in detecting their trickeries and peculations. However much they may reverence the "three brilliant things," none of the umbrella-bearing chiefs are allowed to conceal their doings from these luminaries when they are within the palace precincts. If they offend against the sun and the moon, they offend equally against the king, and that potentate relieves the celestial bodies of the trouble of punishing them. The most distinguished may, indeed, carry their sun-shades as far as the palace-steps, but there the signs of dignity must be left along with their owners' shoes. The common rabble are even more exposed to the dangers of outraging the sun's sensibilities. Their umbrellas — poor things at any rate, and of Western dimensions, so that a good substantial sin under cover of them is an impossibility — ought not to be used near the palace stockade at all, and must certainly be lowered when they pass any of the gates. This is, without doubt, rather a hardship ; but there is no denying that the Arbiter of Existence is more immediately dangerous than the moon and the stars, or ever than the sun, and the "three brilliant things" are therefore

systematically flouted in the neighbourhood of the Golden Palace. It is, indeed, greatly to be feared that, though umbrellas are still emblems of rank and dignity, their primordial religious sanctity has been forgotten even in the East. Certain it is that there is no one now alive who is sufficiently scrupulous in the use of his umbrella to be able to intercede with the celestial powers and work miracles by the aid of his parasol. Even the pagoda-umbrella, spire-like things with successive fringed circles one above the other, and undeniably sacred, are not put in their proper place, but stand beside the images, instead of over them, though certainly it is not to be supposed that a sedate and holy image would under ordinary circumstances point or even stare rudely at anybody, far less the sun. Yet with all their fallings away from the original purpose of the umbrella, it must be conceded that Easterns use it far more against the sun than against the rain. Even we English preserve the tradition in the name umbrella, and have not fallen into the shameless French and German heresies of calling the article *parapluie* and *Regenschirm*. We may abstract other people's umbrellas from the rack with as little compunction as if they had not a bit of sanctity about them, but we do not increase the heinousness of the sacrilege by classing the reverend sun-shade with a paltry mackintosh.

(*To be continued.*)

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 8. — Jambhu Râjâ.

ONCE upon a time in a certain country there lived a king. One day, while taking his siesta after the discharge of the affairs of State, he dreamt that a horse came into the *gujrî*,[1] and that he would purchase it. With a view to testing the truthfulness of the dream, the king entered the market-place that evening, and found a beautiful, spirited horse standing there. He asked the owner whether he would part with the animal, and, receiving a negative reply, he left the place for his home.

The horse now took to refusing his food, and on seeing this, the owner thought within himself: — "Several kings have asked me to part with this animal, and I would not; yet for all that he never refused his food before.[2] I am sore afraid that I may lose the horse, so I had better part with him to the first buyer." A few days after this the owner of the horse, who was a merchant, was requested to be present in connection with some commercial transactions in the same market-place where the king had asked whether the animal was for sale.

The king again dreamt that the horse had come, and that he should buy him at any cost. Accordingly, on his way home, he went to the *gujrî* and found the animal. Giving the merchant the two *lâkhs* of rupees which he demanded for the animal, he got possession of him.

Still the horse would not touch his fodder, even when it was carried by the king himself or his queen in turns. It was only when the king's daughter took it and placed it before the animal that he would eat it. Struck with the affinity[3] which existed between the princess and the horse the king cast dice, and found out that the beautiful young lady was destined to become the bride of the animal. In due course, therefore, the father married his daughter to the horse and gave them apartments near the palace.

Now the horse was no other than Jambhu Râjâ changed into this form. At night he used to divest himself of his horse-covering and pass his time in the company of his wife without her knowledge! But this state of things could not last long, for she began to feel suspicious

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[1] Market place.

[2] It is said that, when a person casts his eye on a thing and asks it, we should part with it at once, or it will be lost or injury will be done to the same. [Evil Eye. — ED.]

[3] Because of relationship in the previous birth. Hindus are firm believers in the law of metempsychosis.

that her husband was not really a horse, so one night she pretended to be asleep, and saw her husband take off his horse-covering. She became possessed of it with great skill, set it on fire, and broke the spell to the immense joy of her parents.

In due course Jambhu Râjâ had a palace constructed close to the royal residence of his father-in-law. There, in the midst of pleasure and comfort he lived, loving and loved by his wife, and performing deeds of kindness to mankind. In his absence his two sisters sent by their mother came to the palace disguised, the one as a needle-seller and the other as a bangle-seller. In the midst of their duty they asked the Râṇî her husband's name, though they knew that she was their brother's wife. As she did not know it, she promised to tell them on another occasion. After the lapse of two or three days they came again. In the course of their conversation, naturally and without arousing any suspicion, they asked the Râṇî her husband's name. On this she frankly admitted that she had entirely forgotten to ask about it. Thereupon the sisters gave her a needle telling her to stick it in her towel, so that when she wiped her face in the morning, it would come in contact with the needle, and she would be reminded at once. It need hardly be said that the needle pricked the Râṇî's face next morning, whereupon she ran to her husband and asked him his name.

"You will repent of it," said the husband.

"No," replied the wife.

"Do you really ask my name?" again said the husband.

"Yes," returned the wife.

On hearing this the Râjâ ran to the brink of the river close by. Hardly had he uttered his name,[4] "Jambhu Râjâ," than he disappeared into the waters below. In due course he returned to his parents' home, but complained of heat like burning fire[5] throughout his body. Hundreds of water-carriers were employed to pour water over him, but nothing could cool him nor alleviate his acute suffering.

Now, after the Râjâ disappeared, the Râṇî raved like a mad woman for a time. Then she became a *gosâîn*, and started in search of her husband. Perilous and long was the journey she had imposed on herself; and though her courage sank within her at times, and her tender feet, unaccustomed to walking, became swollen, she walked on until she reached the confines of the kingdom of her husband's parents.

Here, on the branches of a tree, a pair of chakwâ chakwî birds were holding a close conversation.

"Our Râjâ's son, Jambhu Râjâ, is suffering greatly from heat in his body," said the male bird.

"Yes, dear," said the female bird, "but there is no cause for anxiety. If any one were to collect our dung, and reduce it to powder, and apply it to his body, he would be cured instantaneously."

Saying thus the birds flew away up into the high heavens. Our heroine, who was conversant with the language of birds, gratefully gave heed to the speech. Collecting some of the dung she reached the capital sooner than she would otherwise have done, weary and footsore as she was. The people that first met her gaze were a group of water-carriers whom she interrogated thus:—

"Sisters! sisters. Whither are you going with these pots full of water?"

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[4] Compare the legend of King Śântanu.

[5] It is said that there are fires under the sea, Vadavanâlâ, a mythological person, being in charge of them.

"Ah! don't you know? Are you new to the country?" said they. "Our old Râjâ's son, Jambhu Râjâ, is suffering from a malady. We are carrying water to pour over him in order to cool his body."

"Just so, sister; I am new to the country, having only just entered your Râjâ's capital. Look at my haggard appearance and the dust on my feet. In the course of the day, after I have found a lodging and taken my meals and a little rest, I shall also follow you, carrying a pot of water, if you see no objection."

Thus saying, Jambhu Râjâ's wife **dropped her ring**, into one of the water-pots without their knowledge. It fell over the Râjâ when the contents of the *gaṛhâ* were emptied over him, and prepared him for his wife's arrival.

A few hours after, the Râṇî, disguised as a *panniârâ* (water-carrier), came in the company of the water-carriers. She formally poured the contents of her pot over her husband, so as not to arouse suspicion. Making herself known, she applied the dung of the *chakwâ chakwî* birds to his entire body, and the burning pain left him entirely. The Râjâ, sending for his mother, told her of his recovery, and desired that the water-carrier, who was the cause of this, should remain with him.

Now, the Râjâ's **mother was a bad woman**, and she knew who the water-carrier was. Once she had asked her to plaster with cow-dung their dwelling-place which, by the force of her magic, she had made to bristle with sharp needles at every conceivable point. The Râjâ divining this, wished for their disappearance, and no harm had befallen his wife.

Again the bad woman had wished for scorpions and centipedes in the house, and it was so; but Jambhu Râjâ made them disappear before his wife plastered it. Thus his wife was saved from harm for the second time.

Still the woman was bent upon treating her daughter-in-law cruelly or doing away with her. She gave her a dirty *sâṛî*, well steeped in oil, and told her to wash it quite clean, or she would punish her very severely. Coming to know of this the Râjâ asked the cranes (*baglâs*) to clean the cloth, and thus averted the punishment, which would otherwise have been inevitably inflicted on the ill-used young woman.

Chagrined at being thus frustrated in her attempts, the cruel persecutor gave to her *panniârâ* daughter-in-law three *khaṇḍîs* of grain to winnow. Again the Râjâ came to the rescue and asked all the ants to clean them without losing one ear. They did so accordingly, but the Raja's mother found one corn missing. Thereupon he said: "Come all ye ants and tell me who stole the corn," and a small timid ant threw out of her tiny mouth the missing thing. Then the woman inferred that her son had all along been protecting his wife from harm and persecution, and now took the extreme step of sending the Râṇî to his betrothed wife's home with the following letter to the girl's mother: —

"Your daughter's enemy (because of the would-be position of co-wife) is coming; poison or kill her at once."

She came back, however, none the worse, but safe and sound, to the great vexation and astonishment of the mother-in-law. How could she come otherwise, for the words of the note the Râjâ substituted were as follows: —

"My adopted daughter is coming, treat her very kindly."

Now Jambhu Râjâ's mother wanted to celebrate his marriage with the betrothed of her selection, though she knew full well that he had married the disguised *panniârâ* and loved her extremely. Indeed, the ceremonies began, and the marriage procession (*barât*) started. In the procession the wife was converted into a torch-bearer and a torch was put into her hand. All of a sudden she caught fire, at which she cried out: — "Husband, husband, my cloth is on fire."

"Not only your cloth, but my body and mind," replied the husband.

Saying thus, and taking his wife, the Râjâ translated himself through the mid-air to his former palace.[6]

No. 9. — The Disguised Royal Thief.[1]

In a certain country there once lived a king. He had a dutiful son who, on rising from his bed in the morning, used to prostrate himself at his father's feet. The father used to confer a blessing: — "May you prosper, and your prosperity be more than mine, yea, double." In like manner the son prostrated himself at the feet of his mother, who used to bless him: — "May your intelligence be more than that of thieves."

Now the prince thought of the strangeness of the mother's constant blessing, and made up his mind to test the intelligence of thieves. So one dark night, setting aside his princely robes and completely disguising himself, he left his home, and had not wandered long in the streets before a thief accosted him: — "Who are you?"

The prince, who had expected this, in order to establish a friendship, replied: — "Do you not know that I am a brother of the profession?"

"Well, come on," said the thief.

They had proceeded but a few paces, when another thief came, and after a while they were joined by a third.

As they were all walking in company, the first thief asked the second what qualifications he possessed. "Brother," replied he, "I understand the language of beasts. I can tell you the precise meaning of their cries. Will you kindly tell me yours?"

"Yes," said he. "If I see a man once in the night, I can recognize him even after twelve years."

When the third was questioned as to his merits, he answered: — "Brothers, I can tell you what is hidden in the palace, nay, in the bowels of the earth — gold, silver, copper, or whatever it may be."

The disguised prince was in trouble while this discussion was going on, not knowing what he should say in his turn; but a thought struck him in the nick of time. When at last the question was put to him, he said that he could save his brother-thieves from the gallows, if matters come to such a crisis.

The thieves that night had resolved to plunder the Râjâ's palace. So the thief who could tell of hidden wealth was consulted, and they started. On the way a dog barked, and they at once all asked the comrade who was conversant with the language of beasts: — "Brother, why does the dog bark?" "It tells us," said he, "that the owner is with us, and that we should be on our guard." "How could the owner be with us, you fool?" angrily retorted they, and proceeding on their course they approached the palace.

Now the prince was sorry that he should be associated with thieves in plundering his own palace. He did not relish the idea, much less the fact. Nor did the mere thought of losing the vast wealth accumulated for seven generations please him. He, therefore, deserted the thieves, and hastily reaching the palace informed the guards there of their intentions and of their probable arrival within a very short time. The result was that the thieves were caught in the very act of laying their hands on the accumulated treasure.

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[6] [This folktale is the most extraordinary conglomerate of stock Indian incidents that I have yet seen. — ED.]

[1] Narrated by Mr. Tikaram of the Sitabaldi Buti Dispensary, Nagpur.

The day had dawned. The king was informed of the robbery, and in due course he had the thieves brought before the tribunal. He enquired into the grave charges against them, and finding them guilty, he ordered them to be taken instantly to death.

Now the thief, who said that he could recognize a man after the lapse of twelve years, went to the prince who was sitting to the right of his royal father, and, taking him by the hand, he exclaimed that he was one of them. Greatly surprised, the king asked for an explanation, and the son, taking him aside, rehearsed from the beginning, how his mother's blessing had led him to test the intelligence of thieves. He had indeed been surprised — one thief interpreting the barking of a dog, another telling of a state of the palace coffers, and the third recognizing a face seen only in the dark. He also told, how he had promised them to save their lives. "The time has now come," said the prince in conclusion, "for me to fulfil the promise, but the power lies with you, sire; so I beg of you to kindly grant the thieves their lives." The king from the kindliness of the heart complied with the request of his ever dutiful son.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLK-LORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(*Continued from p.* 112.)

XXIII.

King Jâyasratha of Pâñchâla had a son who was gifted with much sense from infancy. One day, beholding the king, he asked him what the sure road to reputation was. The king replied:—"When you rule the kingdom, without oppressing the people, you must find out who are rich and who are poor, and protect the latter by giving them food and clothing from time to time. Thus will you obtain an extended reputation. But, however much you may bestow on the rich, no fame will accrue to you. To give you an example, if rain falls while the crops are withering for want of water, the cloud will obtain fame, but however much it rains in the ocean, no reputation can result to the cloud." Thus speaking and considering how clever the boy was, the king made over half his kingdom to him. The youth assumed the sceptre, confirmed the leases that had been given to the people, and finding out the poor caused food and clothing to be given to them, and cherished them much. He thus obtained great celebrity.

XXIV.

At Channapattanam lived an Englishman, who, as he knew no other language than English, kept an interpreter thoroughly conversant with the vernaculars of the country. One day some conjurors came to the gentleman, and, having fixed their bamboo, danced and displayed several feats of agility before him. The gentleman was highly gratified, and sending for his interpreter, told him to give them ten pagodas. The latter took them home, gave them one pagoda, and told them to go about their business. As they thought this a poor recompense for their trouble, and suspected that the interpreter had deceived them, they turned to the gentleman, and showing him the pagoda, informed him that his interpreter had given them only this much. As the gentleman was ignorant of their language, he sent for the interpreter and asked him what they were saying. He told him that among the ten pagodas he had given them, they said that that pagoda was a bad one and wanted a better one in exchange for it. The gentleman thereupon became very much enraged and ordered them to be well thrashed and sent away.

They who are ignorant of the vernaculars of the place they inhabit, and believe what others tell them, must necessarily be guilty of injustice.

XXV.

A Brâhmaṇ well versed in every branch of science, was journeying with his disciples on a pilgrimage to Banâras, and about sun-set one evening, met a young Brâhmaṇ boy, who was feeding a herd of cattle near a wood, of whom he asked the distance to the adjacent village, where he proposed to halt for the night. The boy responded:—"Just look at me, at the cattle I am feeding, the forest, and the sun, and your question will be answered; for if the village was not very near, would such a young boy as I am be feeding so many cattle near a forest at this time of the day?" From this sensible response, the Brâhmaṇ formed a high opinion of the boy's abilities, and, following him home, told his father that the lad was too clever to be employed in feeding cows, and requested that he might be allowed to take him with his other disciples to Banâras, where he would educate him.

The father gladly agreed to the proposal, and the lad afterwards turned out a very brilliant character.

XXVI.

As a boy was sitting on the brink of a well crying bitterly, a thief came there, and, seeing him, asked him why he was crying. He answered that as he was playing, he looked into that well, when the pearl necklace that was on his neck slipped off and fell into the water. If he should go home without the necklace, his parents would thrash him, and on that account he was crying. The thief, thinking he would be able to steal it, said to him: — "My lad, be not afraid, I will go down to the well and get the pearl necklace; do you take care of my clothes." Having left his clothes on the bank, he descended into the well, naked. As soon as he had got to the bottom, the boy took his clothes and ran away with them. The thief, having searched for a long time and not finding the necklace, came up again; but not seeing the boy anywhere, he exclaimed: — "Even I, who am a rogue, have been deceived by a boy."

Moral: — However clever a person thinks himself, he may be outwitted by others.

XXVII.

There was a tiger in a certain wood who used to kill and devour all the beasts that inhabited it. One day he caught a wild buffalo, and while eating it, one of its bones stuck in his jaws. Being unable to extract the bone, blood and pus collected there and caused the tiger a good deal of pain. The tiger laid himself down under a tree, and in great pain opened his mouth, and exclaimed thus: — "How shall I extract this? How shall I live? What shall I do?" In his distress he saw a crow upon the tree, and said to him: — "O crow, you see the pain I am suffering from; if you will but extract the bone and restore me to life, I will give you as much as you want from the food I procure every day." The crow was moved by this supplication, and, taking compassion on him, entered his mouth, from which he took out the bone, and asked the tiger for the flesh he had promised. The tiger replied: — "When you entered my mouth, I did not crush you under my jaws, but allowed you to come out uninjured. Ungrateful for this, do you ask me for flesh? Look to your business."

Thus people in prosperity often forget the friends who have served them in adversity.

XXVIII.

There lived at **Dhârapura** a Brâhmaṇ, who went one day into the forest to gather some fruit and flowers. At this juncture, a tiger came there, and the Brâhmaṇ, becoming afraid, tried to make his escape. The tiger, however, pursued and overtook him. In this sad predicament, the Brâhmaṇ begged him to spare his life for three days, that he might return home, settle his affairs, and take leave of his family. The tiger asked him what was to be done in the event of his not returning. He replied, there was no fear, for he would take his oath to return. The tiger having consented, he returned home disconsolate, and after employing the three days in settling his affairs and taking leave of his family, he arrived at the prescribed time, at the place where he had appointed to meet the tiger, who was so pleased at his veracity that he allowed him to depart uninjured.

Thus a person who keeps up to his word is always respected.

XXIX.

In **Jayasthala** on the banks of the Kâveri, there lived a Brâhmaṇ, **Durgatha** by name. As he was in very indigent circumstances, he used to go a-begging to four different villages, come home at about two or three o'clock every day, and cook his own meal and eat. Things went on thus for some time, and when on a certain day the poor Brâhmaṇ was plodding his weary way homeward, it came to pass that **Îsvara** and his wife were sauntering in the heavens. **Pârbatî**, the wife, unable to endure the sight of this poverty-stricken Brâhmaṇ, took compassion on him, and requested her husband to bless him with riches. Whereupon Îsvara replied and said that Brahmâ had not written on his face that he must enjoy wealth, and that he must therefore live and die a beggar. Pârbatî thereupon said: — "Let me see how this Brâhmaṇ cannot become wealthy when we will it," and threw a heap of one thousand gold *mohars* on his way. The Brâhmaṇ came to within ten yards of the heap, when suddenly the thought struck him to see if he could walk like a blind man. He accordingly shut his eyes and passed off the heap of *mohars* on the way.

Moral: — **The law of karma (fate) is inevitable.**

XXX.

There was a Brâhmaṇ, **Vasanthayâjî** by name, at **Srîrâmapura**, on the banks of the **Tâmraparṇi**. He conceived the idea of performing a *yajna* (sacrifice), and wanted four or five of the best goats for the purpose. He went, therefore, to a neighbouring village, purchased the goats, tied a rope round their necks, and was wending his way home, when four Sûdras wanted to appropriate the

goats to themselves. One of them, therefore, came and stood before the Brâhmaṇ and said, "Why are you carrying a number of mad dogs?" The Brâhmaṇ merely thought him a fool who confounded goats with mad dogs. He went on a little further, when another of the Śûdras put him the same question, and wanted him to take care, lest the mad dogs should bite him. The Brâhmaṇ, on hearing these words, entertained a slight doubt in his mind. While pursuing his track a little further, a third of the Śûdras came close by the goats, grew exceedingly angry, and began to rebuke the Brâhmaṇ for letting loose a number of mad dogs on the way-farers. The Brâhmaṇ, on hearing this, became certain that they must be mad dogs and tried to unloose them, when the last of the Śûdras came up and wanted him to tie them up to a tree adjacent, as, by letting them loose, they would fall upon people and bite them. The Brâhmaṇ thereupon tied them to a tree and ran away. The Śûdras then untied them and took them home.

Moral: — An intelligent person can be duped by a number of men maintaining the same foolish opinion.

XXXI.

In the village of **Yachavâra** there lived a Śûdra named **Isukathakkidigâdu** (*lit.*, the holder of a quantity of sand). One day he wanted to go to another village and started with a *sêr* of sand tied to the hem of his garment. At **Mâchavara**, an adjacent village, lived another Śûdra, **Pedathakkidigâdu** (*lit.*, the holder of a quantity of cowdung), who also wanted to go to another village, and started with a viss of cowdung tied to the hem of his garment. They met each other accidentally in the evening, went to the same village, and seated themselves on the *pial* of a rest-house. Isukathakkidi saw the bundle of Pedathakiddi, took it to be a quantity of food, and resolved to reserve it for his own use, and so asked him what it was. Whereupon Pedathakiddi, who entertained the same desires about the bundle of Isukathakkidi, told him that it contained a quantity of food, and asked Isukathakkidi what the contents of his bundle were. To which he replied: —"I have rice with me, but I regret I have not, like you, brought other food with me. I feel exceedingly hungry, but what can I do?" Pêdathakkiddigâdu, hearing the pitiful words of his friend, said:—"Do not feel sorry. Let us exchange our bundles. I do not feel hungry just now." They mutually consented to the proposal, exchanged their bundles, and each fearing the other went to a place afar off in different directions, untied their bundles and were extremely amazed.

Moral: — Entertain not thoughts of deceiving others, lest they deceive you.

XXXII.

At **Gannavâra** lived a very poor Brâhmaṇ, **Dîvasarma**, who eked out a livelihood as a beggar. One day, when he chanced to go to the adjacent wood for fuel for his sacrifice, he saw a huge tiger under a spreading banyan tree. Shaking with fear, he bethought him how best he could go home. There were a few lambs near the tiger at the time, who saw the shivering Brâhmaṇ and that he had come in innocence of his danger; so they wished to devise means for saving him. The lambs therefore approached the tiger and said:—"O King Tiger, your charity knows no bounds. Your fame extends over the four corners of the world. A Brâhmaṇ has been here for a very long time, eagerly longing to see you." The tiger thereupon was overjoyed and told the lambs to fetch the Brâhmaṇ to his presence. Then the lambs went to the Brâhmaṇ, told him not to be afraid, and took him along with them to the tiger. Whereupon the tiger was exceedingly pleased with the Brâhmaṇ, and presented him with some of the ornaments of those whom he had slain on previous occasions. The Brâhmaṇ thereupon was filled with joy, took the jewels home, sold some of them and lived comfortably out of the proceeds of the sale.

Some time after, a neighbouring Brâhmaṇ, feeling jealous of the former's situation, thought he could also make a fortune by going to the forest, and on going there saw the tiger surrounded by a number of foxes and dogs. These animals, thinking they might share the spoil, reported the coming of the Brâhmaṇ to the tiger, and had him slain.

Moral:—People will assuredly come to grief if they approach a king when he is surrounded by evil councillors.

XXXIII.

In **Bengal** (?) there was a king who built a huge fort and lived in it with a very large retinue, and was invincible so long as he remained in the fort.

Now, a tributary king (*polygar*) conceived the idea of somehow drawing the king out of his fortress, confining him in prison, and occupying his vast dominions. With this object, he went to the king one day and informed him that on the morrow his son's marriage was to be celebrated,

and requested the king to be present on the auspicious occasion. The king consented, but his minister heard the news, approached him, and said:—"You have entertained, I hear, thoughts of going to the Polygar's house. He is a man full of tricks and has large forces. I am sure he will do you some mischief, once you are away from the fort. Do not go to the Polygar."

To which the king replied:—"What care we how full of tricks he is? He has been so long faithful to us, and, judging him from his antecedents, he will not, we think, do us any harm. Had he entertained such thoughts, why did he not invade our dominions while we remained in the fortress?"

The minister replied:—"As you are invincible, so long as you remain in the fort, he dare not do you any harm. He therefore seeks your friendship. But should you once go out of the fort, you are helpless. He will not suffer the auspicious moment to pass away. He will show you then his spite. To give you an example, the lotus, so long as it remains in water, spreads forth its petals despite the heat of the sun, the sun all the while aiding it. But once it comes out of its proper element (water), the same sun makes it wither away. It is the same with the Polygar and yourself."

The king was exceedingly pleased with these words and refrained from going to the Polygar.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS — OBSTRUCTION BY THE BRIDEGROOM'S SISTER.

WHEN a Hindû Panjâbî brings home his bride, it is the custom for the sister to stand in the doorway and to prevent the bridegroom and his bride from entering the house until they pay her something. What is the meaning of this custom? The sister can have no claim to the house, for she is among the Hindûs *parâyâ dhan* (a stranger's property), because she on her marriage leaves her parent's family and enters into *another's* family.

GURDYAL SINGH in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

SPIRITS MUST NOT TOUCH THE GROUND.

THE above is a common belief among the people; and you will sometimes see two bricks stuck up on end, or even two tent-pegs driven into the ground in front of a shrine to a *bhût* (ghost) or *saiyad* (*shahîd*), the malignant spirit of one who has met a violent death, for the spirits to rest on. This is probably why the vessel of water kept full for the use of the spirit for some time after death is put up in a tree; why the bones (*phûl*) after cremation must never touch the ground, but always be hung up in a tree on their way to the Ganges; why a Hindû on a pilgrimage must sleep on the ground, and not on a bedstead; and why there are so many spots guarded by demons where it is safe to sleep on the ground only.

DENZIL IBBETSON in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

OPPROBRIOUS NAMES.

ONE favourite device for averting the jealousy of the godlings is to give a child a name which conveys a contemptuous meaning: thus, if a parent has lost one child by small-pox, he will probably give the next child one or other of the following depreciatory names:—

(1) *Mârû*, bad. (2) Rulliâ or Rûldû, explained to mean *jis kâ patâ nahîn hai* (*i. e.*, a person who can't be found, or who has wandered: in the south-west of the Panjâb, at any rate, *rullan* means 'wander'). (3) *Kûrâ*, like the sweepings of a village. (4) *Chûhrâ*, scavenger. (5) *Chhittar*, an old shoe. (6) *Chhajû*, as worthless as a *chhâj*, or winnowing basket. (7) *Ghasîtû*, trailed along the route. (8) *Nathû*, having a *nath* (nose-ring) in his nose. The last requires some explanation. If a man has lost several male children, the nose of the next born is pierced, and a nose-ring inserted in order that he may be mistaken for a girl, and so passed over by the evil spirits.

A son is also clothed very shabbily if several of his elder brothers have died, no doubt because it is hoped that he will thus escape the notice of the godlings.

Musalmâns also shave the child's head, leaving only a single lock on one side, called "*pîr kî sukh*," or propitiation of the patron saint; sometimes, too, they bore the child's ear, inserting a *kaurî* (shell) as an ear-ring. A full list of depreciatory names would be interesting.[1]

J. M. DOUIE, in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] [The above note is still of interest, but the whole subject has since been somewhat elaborately discussed in my *Proper Names of Panjabis*. Of the above names, the first Mârû may mean 'beloved': but it is usually spelt and pronounced Mârû, when it becomes opprobrious. — ED.]

MISCELLANEOUS TRAVANCORE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE LATE RAO BAHADUR P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S.

(*Continued from p.* 118.)

The Inscriptions.

PROCEEDING then to the inscriptions, I propose to record them in the order of their dates. As the collection is still continued, we shall have to insert later on in the series such of them as may be hereafter found to come between, according to their dates.

I.

Puravari Inscription, 335 M. E.

The earliest of the inscriptions with me which is yet to be published is one dated 335 in the Malabar era. It is found on the northern side of a *maṇḍapam* in front of the old temple at Puravari-Chaturvêdimaṅgalam already referred to in another paper.[13] It runs thus:

No. 1/41.[14] Tamil.[15] / Tamil.

Text.[16]

1 [17] [Svasti Srî Kollam-tôṉ]ṟi 335 m=âṇḍinṉ=edirâm=âṇḍu Iḍapa-nayiṟu Kôṭṭâṟ=âṉa mummuḍi-chôḷana-

2 llûr **Kuṟuṅkuḍi Tiru-maṟu-mârpaṉêṉ Puravari Viṉṉagar=Âḷvârkku** nittal nimantam=âchandira-târañ-chelvatâka nâm viṭṭa nilam=âvidu Ivvûr eṉ nilam Uttama-râman-kalukku teṟku **kallaṟai-**

3 **kku** mêkku **(vaḍakku-êṟi-kkalukku)** . . . **Vitai-arivâḷukku**

4 ki(ḷakku) nâṉk=ellai naḍu[vil nilam mukkâṇi-]

5 yum Uttama-râman-kâlukku vaḍakku **A(ru)vitaikku** mêkku **châṭṭu-mukkattukku** kiḷakku neḍun-

6 tu(ṟu)valukku teṟku Innaṉk=ellaiyil naḍuvil tavaṟai nilam kaniyum âka nilam oru-mâvum mêṟpaḍi-yûril **Saṅkara viḍaṅgaṉ** Ivv=Âḷvâṟku tiru-vamudukku âchandira-târañ-chel-

7 vatâka viṭṭa nilam Ivvûṟ oru-pûvil chêruda vayaṟ-ka-

8 lukku vaḍakku kiḷakku **Pû-muṟaikku** (teṟkum) **Nâñchi-nâṭṭu-kuṇḍu-(ni-)**

9 **lam** × × Nâñchîsvaram=uḍaiyâr dêva-dâṉam **Pirâvaṟaikku** mêṟkum Inâṉk=el-

10 lai naḍuvu nilam arai-mâvarai-kkâṇiyum Iru-pûvil nilam Âṟṟukku mêkku **Aṉavarataṉ-vayaṟkalukku** teṟku **kuṇḍaṟaikku** kiḷakku **Veppaṟaikku** vaḍakku Innâṉk=ellai naḍuvu kiḍanda nilaṅ-

11 kâṇi-yaraikkâṇiyum âka nilam oru mâvum Ivv=iru-

12 vô(mu)m Innila[m] Iraṇḍu [mâvum kai-k] koṇḍu Itu chem-

13 pilum veṭṭi-kkoḷkaveṉṟu Tiru-ppaḍiyilê nîr-vârttu-kkuḍuttôm Ivv=Âḷvâr

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[13] See *Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore, ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 257.

[14] The number above the line gives the serial number of this new series and the one below the number in my register.

[15] The word above the line indicates the characters and the one below the language of the inscription.

[16] The stones bearing this inscription having been disturbed, the text has been reconstructed by bringing together bits of sentences engraved on stones now standing apart from one another.

[17] Square brackets indicate words supplied and the small ones those indistinct and doubtful.

14 kaṇmikaḷukku kuṟuṅkuḍi Tiru-maṟu-mârpaṉum Saṅkara-viḍaṅgaṉum Ivv=iruvô[m] Ivai kuṟuṅkuḍi Tiru-maṟu-mârpaṉ eḻuttu Saṅkara viḍaṅgaṉ Vijai-yûran=avaikku sî-râma-

15 n Tirukkai-eḻuttu Ippaḍi aṟivêṉ viḍaṅgaṉ sa-

16 ṅkaraṉ eḻuttu Ippa[di].

Translation.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite to the year 335 after the appearance of Kollam, I, **Tirumaṟumârpaṉ** of **Kuṟuṅkuḍi** (living) in **Kôṭṭâr** *alias* **Mummuḍi-Chôḻanallûr,** make a gift of the following land, to support, as long as the moon and the stars last, the daily oblations to the god **Viṇṇagar Âḻvâr of Puravari,** *viz.*, my land named * * * , measuring *mukkâṇi,* situated in this village, and within these four boundaries, *viz.*, to the south of the **Uttamarâman** channel, to the west of **Kalaṟai,** to the north of **Vaḍakku Êṟikkâl,** and to the east of **Vitaiyarivâḷ;** and also my land called Tavaṟai, measuring *kâṇi,* situated in this village and within these four boundaries, *viz.*, to the north of the Uttamarâman channel, to the west of **Aruvidai,** to the east of **Châṭṭumukkam,** and to the south of **Neḍunturuval:** the total making one *mâ* of land; and I, **Saṅkara-Viḍaṅgaṉ** of the same place, make a gift of the following lands to furnish rice to this Âḻvâr, as long as the moon and the stars last, *viz.*, the land (measuring) *araimâvaraikkâṇi* among the one crop lands of this village situated within these 4 boundaries, *viz.*, to the north and east of the Sêrnta Vayaṟkal (= Field-Stone), to the south of **Pûmuṟai,** to the west of **Nâñchinâṭṭu Kuṇḍunilam** and **Pirâvaṟai** belonging to the temple of Nâñchîśvaramuḍaiyâr, and also the land (measuring) *kâṇiyaraikkâṇi* among the double-crop lands situated within the following four boundaries, *viz.*, to the west of the river, to the south of **Anavaratan Vayaṟkal,** to the east of **Kuṇḍaṟai,** and to the north of **Veppaṟai,** making a total of one *mâ;* both of us solemnize the gift by pouring water at the holy steps and wish this gift to be entered in copper-plate. Thus do we, Tirumaṟumârpaṉ of Kuṟuṅkuḍi and Śaṅkara-Viḍaṅgaṉ, make this gift to the servants of this Âḻvâr. — Witness whereof our hands: Tirumaṟumârpaṉ of Kuṟuṅkuḍi (signature), Śaṅkara-Viḍaṅgaṉ (signature), **Srî-Râmaṉ** on behalf of Vijaiyûran Sabhâ (holy signature). Thus do I know, Viḍaṅgaṉ Śaṅkaraṉ."

Unbounded must have been the self-complaisance of the two good men of those days, Tirumaṟumârpaṉ and Śaṅkara-Viḍaṅgaṉ, as they wended their way back from the temple after having thus satisfied themselves of the security and permanence of their charitable endowment for all time to come. For, little could they have then dreamt that the very stones bearing the inscription would come to be pulled asunder and displaced so completely in a subsequent structure as to tax our ingenuity and patience in the attempt to piece together and find out the meaning of their lithic document. The stones as they are now found forming the basement of the *maṇḍapam* give but a chaos of words that do not at all run into one another; and it is by suitable transpositions of their sections that we have been able to extract any sense out of them. As for the endowment itself, let us hope that the publication of this document will produce no needless qualms of conscience in those who now enjoy the property, no doubt on good authority and long possession. As regards the donors, both appear to have been men of **Kuṟuṅkuḍi** or **Tirukkuṟuṅkuḍi** in the **Tinnevelly District,** but long settled in **Kôṭṭâr.** Neither of their names, Tirumaṟumârpaṉ (meaning one with the goddess of fortune in his breast) and Viḍaṅgaṉ (meaning the unwrought), is now in current use. That one of the witnesses to the deed bears the name of the second donor inverted, Viḍaṅgaṉ Śaṅkaraṉ, would prove that the second donor at least was not without issue, and that in all probability the two donors were brothers, so that the signature of the son of the second was taken as sufficient evidence of the consent of the family to their free gift. Nothing else can we now know about these generous Vaishṇavas of that day. Nor do we know anything of that Śrî-Râmaṉ whose holy signature on behalf of the village association was held sufficient to indicate his

acceptance of the gift on the part of the temple authorities. In all probability, he was the Brâhman manager of the shrine or the head of the temple servants. Neither of Vijaiyûr nor of the Nâñchîśvaramuḍaiyâr temple mentioned in the document have I succeeded in gathering any information.

It is remarkable that the system of land measurement followed is the one that since the days of Râjarâja seems to have been in use in the Tanjore District. It is in itself a wonderful system. It divides a *vêli* equal to $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres[18] into a series of primary fractions $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{20}$, $\frac{1}{80}$, and $\frac{1}{320}$, then into a further series of secondary fractions being $\frac{1}{320}$ of the above series, and again into a tertiary series of $\frac{1}{320}$ of the second, and so on, so that a *kîḻ kîḻ mundiri* of a *vêli* would cover nothing more than an infinitesimal portion of space measuring but $\frac{81}{102400}$ of a square inch. That the lands in Nâñchinâḍ must have been surveyed for revenue purposes in this fine system of measurement sometime before 335 M. E., the date of our present inscription, is proved by the description of the extent of the land endowment in terms of that system. The four pieces said to have been granted measured one *mâ* which in current measurement would make $\frac{13}{40}$ of an acre or $32\frac{1}{2}$ cents or $2\frac{1}{2}$ *paṟas* of land. It will be curious to know when and by whom this Tanjore method of Revenue Survey was introduced and carried out in South Travancore. It seems to me probable that it must have been due to some of the successors of Râjarâja, who conquered and ruled over South Travancore and Tinnevelly in the previous century. No trace of this system is discoverable in places nearer Trevandram, nor does it now obtain currency either in the Madura or in the Tinnevelly Districts, proving thereby (1) that even in the palmiest days of the greatest modern Chôḻa power, places about Trevandram or north Vêṇâḍ were not subject to foreign sway, and (2) that the Chôḻa power did not last long enough in places to the south of Madura to enable their system of land measurement to take root in the country.

On the use of the curious word *edir* (opposite) in the expression "the year opposite the year 335 after the appearance of Kollam," about which there has been an apparently endless controversy, we shall comment on a future occasion, as in this case there is not the confusing double year notation which has given rise to it. "After the appearance of Kollam" does not necessarily mean after the foundation of a town called Kollam — appearance being scarcely an apt word to designate the construction of a city. It may mean here nothing more than "after the reckoning by Kollam years came into use." We may, perhaps, note in passing that the king of Travancore about the date of this inscription was Vîra-Ravivarman whose name we meet with in the following year in an inscription[19] on the walls of this very temple.

II.

Kôṭṭâr Inscription, 392 M. E.

The next record in the order of date is one engraved on the southern wall of a *maṇḍapam* in front of the Chôḻapuram temple in Kôṭṭâr. We have already referred to this shrine founded

[18] A good deal of confusion seems to prevail with regard to the unit of measurement in the Tanjore system. Both Winslow and Dr. Hultzsch (see foot-note No. 4, page 92, Vol. I. of *South-Indian Inscriptions*) say that a *vêli* is equal to 5 *kâṇi*. But the former estimates a *vêli* as being about 5 acres, while according to the table given by the latter it ought to be $6\frac{74}{121}$. Here *kâṇi*, of course, cannot mean the usual fraction of $\frac{1}{80}$. Evidently, the *kâṇi* which Dr. Hultzsch gives as equal to 100 *kuḻi* must have been differently estimated in Śaka 1296, as an inscription of that date, No. 72, Vol. I., gives 32 *kâṇis* as making 4,000 *kuḻis*, *i. e.*, 125 and not 100 *kuḻis* per *kâṇi*. This fact as well as the diverse extent that a *kuḻi* may cover according to Winslow, from 1 square foot to a square of 12 feet, would point to the desirablility of sticking to the fractional system in preference to the more modern but less uniform measurements in *kâṇi* and *kuḻi*.

[19] See *Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore*, *ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 257.

in honour of that great and victorious Chôḷa king Râjêndra *alias* Kulôttuṅga, the hero of the *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi.*[20] It runs thus:—

No. $\frac{2}{3}$. Tamil / Tamil.

Text.

1 Svasti Srî Kolla[m] 392 m=âṇḍu Kali-yuga-varsham nâlâyirattu-munnûṟṟu orupattêḻâm=âṇḍi-

2 ṉṉ=edirâm=[â]ṇḍu viruchchika-nayiṟṟu Nâñchi-nâṭṭu Tiru-kkôṭṭâṟâṉa Mummuḍi Chôḻanallûr=uḍaiyâr-Râ-

3 jêndra-Chôḻîśwa[ra]mmuḍaiya mahâ-dêvaṟku **kôṭṭâṟâṉa Chôḷa-Kêraḷapurattu-khuḷattûr Kêsavaṉ=araisu** vai-

4 tta Tiru-nand[â]-viḷakku Oṉṟu Ivviḷakk=oṉṟukkum Ivaṉ tanta achchu eṭṭu Ivv=achch=eṭṭum

5 Ik-kô[vi]r-[Siva] Brâhmaṇarôm kaikkoṇḍu poliyûṭṭâka muṭṭâmaṟ-chandrâtittavaṟ cheḻuttuvôm

Translation.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the year 392 opposite the Kaliyuga year 4317, the Sun being in Vriśchika (Scorpio), (the following agreement is made): — **Kêśavaṉ Arasu of Kuḷattûr in Kôṭṭâr** *alias* **Chôḷa-Kêraḷapuram** arranges for a perpetual lamp to be lit in honour of the Mahâdêva of the temple of Rajêndrachôḻîśvaram *alias* the lord of Mummuḍi-Chôḻanallûr, otherwise known as holy Kôṭṭâr in Nâñchinâḍu, and pays for the upkeep of this one lamp eight *achçhu;* and we the Siva-Brâhmans of this temple, accepting this sum of eight *achchu* given by this man, promise, out of the interest accruing therefrom, to keep up the light without default as long as the sun and the moon exist."

But the sun and the moon of the Siva-Brâhmans have long been set, and no unwelcome ray of light now disturbs the serpents inside. As regards the donor, what sin he was thus seeking to purge himself of or perchance what blessing to purchase with his eight *achchu* — an heir of his body or success in his trade? — it is impossible now to find out. That he was no king, though he bore the name Arasu, is clear from the way in which he is spoken of by the Siva-Brâhmans. Ministers of religion generally know how to behave well and will never call a king "this man," particularly when he pays them *achçhu* or coins of value. Whatever an *achchu* was worth it will be seen that eight of them were enough to yield such interest as to keep up a perpetual light. The word used for "interest" is *poliyûṭṭu* (feeding by multiplication), and there can be no doubt that it is from this root that the Malayâḷam word *paliśai* is derived — the transition being marked by *poliśai,* which occasionally turns up in old inscriptions.

But the most curious feature of this document is the multiplicity of names used for **Kôṭṭâr.** This old name seems to have successfully withstood all the Chôḷa efforts to supersede it with their own denominations. It seems to have been one of the peculiar ways of the Chôḷas of the Parântaka dynasty to commemorate their conquests by altering the names of villages, towns, and provinces so as to flatter their own vanity; and the consequence was that Chôḷa geography came to suffer as much from the plague of homonyms as the kings themselves. In all probability Kôṭṭâr was called Mummuḍi-Chôḻanallûr — the good town of the thrice-crowned Chôḷa — in honour of its first Chôḷa conqueror—Râjarâja—one of whose *birudas* was Mummuḍi. On its re-conquest by Râjêndra, it became the seat of a shrine called after that famous emperor, and was accordingly known as Râjêndrachôḻîśvaram or simply Chôḻîśvaram or Chôḷapuram. The term Chôḷa-Kêraḷapuram, which at the date of this inscription seems to have been the official designation for Kôṭṭâr, would seem to suggest that some amicable arrangement subsisted

[20] *Ante,* Vol. XXIV. p. 254.

about that time by which the Kêraḷa or Vêṇâḍ prince enjoyed its possession under the suzerainty of the Chôḷas — a conclusion we have elsewhere[21] pointed out as also otherwise probable.

Before passing on to the next inscription with me, I would request my readers to bear in mind the use of the perplexing word *edir*, or "opposite," in the phrase recording the date of this deed. Here it unquestionably means "equal to" — "the Kollam year 392 equal or corresponding to the Kali year 4317." It may be also well to note in passing that this is a fine specimen of the Chôḷa style of inscriptions, where the Tamil-Grantha characters are freely intermixed with the Tamiḻ ones. The king of Travancore about the date of this inscription was **Srî-Vîra-Râman Kêraḷavarman** whom our Kaḍinaṅkuḷam record[22] shews as having been on the throne just three years previously.

III.

Kôṭṭâr Inscription, 396 M. E.

The next inscription I propose to present is one dated 4 years later, and inscribed on the same wall of the same shrine Râjêndra-Chôḷîśvaram. It runs thus: —

No. $\frac{3}{4}$. $\frac{\text{Tamil}}{\text{Tamil}}$.

Text.

1 Svasti Srî Kollam-tôṉṟi 396 m=âṇḍu mituṉa-ñâyiṟṟu Nâñchinâṭṭu-Tirukkôṭṭâṟ=âṉa mummudi-Chôḷanallû[r] Uḍaiyâr

2 Irâsêndira-Chôḷîswaram Udaiya Mahâdêvar Srî-Koyiliṟ **Âḷûr=âna vikrama Chôḷapâṇḍiyapurattu mâlaṉ Paratan** mâtâ Eḻundaruḷu-

3 vitta Kuṉṟam=eṟinda Piḷḷaiyaṟku Ivaṉ amurtupaḍikku tanta achchu 15 Ivv=achchu patiṉaiñchum Ikkôyiliṟ siva Bra-

4 hmaṉarôṉ-kaikkoṇḍu poliyûṭṭâka kai-kkoṇḍu nittal nâḻuri arisi-yuṅ-kaṟiyamurtum palakai-talaiyi-

5 1 aḷandu êṟaṭṭu amurtu Cheyvippôm=âkavum Ippaḍi muṭṭâtêy[23] nittal niman tam=âka Chandrâtittavaṟ Cheluttuvôm=âka.

Translation.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the year 396 after the appearance of Kollam when the sun was in Gemini (the following arrangement was made):— **Mâlaṉ Parataṉ of Âḷûr** *alias* **Vikrama-Chôḷapâṇḍiyapuram** having given 15 *achchu* for providing daily oblations to the image of Kuṉṟam Eṟinda Piḷḷaiyâr, set up by his mother in the holy temple of Mahâdêva of Râjêndrachôḷîś-varam *alias* the lord of Mummuḍichôḷanallûr, otherwise known as **holy Kôṭṭâr** in Nâñchinâḍu, we the Siva-Brâhmans of this temple, accepting this sum of 15 *achchu* given by this man, shall, out of the interest accruing therefrom, measure out every day on the temple plank[24] a *nâḻi* and a half of rice and the required vegetables, and, duly cooking[25] the same, shall offer them as oblation. Thus do we promise to discharge this our daily duty without failure as long as the moon and the sun endure."

Here then we have an illustration of the manner in which idols multiply in temples. The good mother of Mâlaṉ Parataṉ, anxious to secure special merit in the eyes of her favourite

[21] *Ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 254.
[22] *Ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 308.
[23] The y or iv at the end of this word is an obvious error.
[24] This is probably the plank placed on the door-way of the temple.
[25] This expression might mean "after submitting the amount to be checked."

deity, set up an image of Kunram Erinda Pillaiyâr or 'the young divinity who pierced the hill,' meaning of course **Subrahmanya** with reference to his destruction of the mountain of Krauñcha; and the temple authorities always encouraged the creation of such sub-shrines as it invariably tended to increase the temple endowments and to enlarge the establishment under their control. In this case, the pious son invested 15 *achchu* for the support of his mother's favourite deity, and since the interest thereon was enough to fetch every day one *nâḻi* and a half of rice and vegetables, the amount could not but be regarded as considerable. Even at 12 per cent. 15 *achchu* could not have yielded as interest more than 1·8 *achchu* per year, which, putting aside the vegetables, was found enough to purchase 549 *nâḻis* of rice or over 26 *paṟas* of paddy, assuming the *nâḻi* of 396 M. E. to have corresponded to a *nâḻi* of our own times. The *achchu* here referred to therefore must have been a gold coin certainly worth more than 10 of our modern depreciated rupees. Unlike the two previous donors, Paratan appears to have been a native of **South Travancore** itself, as **Âḷûr,** his native village, is a well-known locality in the **Erneil Tâluka**, or, as it was then called, **Raṇasiṅganallûr.** The term **Vikramachôḻapâṇḍiyapuram** used as a synonym of Âḷûr is of course another illustration of the persistent Chôḷa policy of creating a geographical nomenclature to suit their own vanity. The language of this and the previous inscription being in excellent Tamiḻ, we have to suppose either that there were about this time learned men attached to the temple to draft out such documents, or that the great Chôḷa conquest of Nâñchinâḍ tended to the spread of general knowledge and learning. It is likely that this endowment was made like the previous one in the reign of **Srî-Vîra-Râmaṉ Kôraḷavarman** of the Kaḍinaṅguḷam inscription.[26]

ON THE DATES OF THE SAKA ERA IN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C. I. E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(*Concluded from Vol. XXV. p. 294.*)

Locality of the Era.

THE earliest genuine inscription, the date of which is explicitly referred to the Saka era, is the Bâdâmi cave inscription of S. 500, of the time of the Western Chalukya Maṅgalîśvara and his elder brother Kîrtivarman I., No. 13 of my chronological list;[1] and the list contains altogether 15 dates of the **Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi,** the latest of which is No. 39 of S. 679, of the reign of Kîrtivarman II. We next have 30 dates[2] of the **Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ** and the Gujarât branches of the Râshṭrakûṭa family, the first of which is No. 37 of S. 675, of the time of Dantidurga, and the last No. 89 of S. 904, which records the day on which Indra IV. died. Following upon the inscriptions of the Râshṭrakûṭas, the inscriptions of the **Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇa** furnish 41 dates[3] of the list, from No. 88 of S. 902, of the time of Taila II., to No. 198 of S. 1106, of the time of Sômêśvara IV.[4] Contemporaneous with some of these dates, we also have 9 dates of the **Kaḷachuryas of Kalyâṇa,** the earliest of which is No. 175 of S. 1079, of the time of Bijjaṇa-Tribhuvanamalla, and the

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26 The unfortunate death of this valued Native contributor has brought this paper to an untimely end.

1 Among the dates Nos. 1-12 there are three (of Ś. 169, 272 (?), and 388) from spurious Western Gaṅga, and three (of Ś. 400, 415, and 417) from spurious Gurjara inscriptions. The earliest date of the list from a genuine Western Gaṅga inscription is No. 62 of Ś. 809.

2 The chronological list actually gives 35 dates, but three of them (Nos. 54, 55 and 61) are reckoned here as belonging to the Śilâras, and one (No. 79) to the Western Gaṅgas, while one (No. 60) is not authentic.

3 The number would have been much larger if the Western Châlukyas had dated all their inscriptions in years of the Saka era. But Vikramâditya VI. mostly used an era of his own, the so-called *Châlukya-Vikrama-varsha* or *Châlukya-Vikrama-kâla*, or, in other words, had his inscriptions dated in regnal years; and this practice of quoting regnal (and Jovian) years only has been largely followed by his successors (as well as by the Kaḷachuryas).

4 A later date for this king is furnished by the inscription quoted under No. 137, which, as I now learn, is one of Sômêśvara IV., dated in Ś. 1111 (not 1011).

latest No. 197 of S. 1105, of the time of Siṅghaṇa.[5] The next dynasty to be mentioned is that of the **Hoysaḷas of Dôrasamudra** of which the list gives no less than 31 dates, from No. 139 of S. 1025, of the time of Ballâḷa I., to No. 274 of S. 1208, of the time of Narasiṁha III.[6] And another family which is well represented in the list is that of the Yâdavas; for we first have 5 dates of the **Yâdavas of the Sêuṇa country**, the earliest of which is No. 95 of S. 922, of the time of Bhillama II., and the latest No. 166 of S. 1063 (for 1064), of the time of the *Mahâsâmanta* Sêuṇadêva, and afterwards 32 dates of the **Yâdavas of Dêvagiri**, from No. 207 of S. 1113, of the time of Bhillama, to No. 277 of S. 1227, of the time of Râmachandra.

The history of the dynasties, hitherto mentioned, has been told from their inscriptions by Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency.* Proceeding to the great feudatory families, treated of in the same work, we first have 21 dates of the **Silâras (or Silâras, or Silâhâras).** Eleven of them are from inscrip tions of the Silâras of the Northern Koṅkaṇ,[7] from No. 54 of S. 765 (?), of the time of Pullaśakti, to No. 201 of S. 1109, of the time of Aparâditya; one, No. 98 of S. 930, is from an inscription of Raṭṭarâja, a Silâra of the Southern Koṅkaṇ; and 9 dates are from inscriptions of the Silâhâras of the Deccan, from No. 120 of S. 980, of the time of Mârasiṁha, to No. 210 of S. 1114, of the time of Bhôja II. Of the **Raṭṭas** of Saundatti there are 7 dates, from No. 88 of S. 902, of the time of Sântivarman,[8] to No. 233 of S. 1151 current, of the time of Lakshmidêva II. Of the **Sindas** we have the three dates[9] No. 91 of S. 911 (for 912), of the time of Pulikâla, No. 110 of S. 955, of the time of Nâgâditya, and No. 180 of S. 1084 (for 1085), of the time of Châvunda II.; of the **Kâdambas** of Hângal the two dates No. 124 of S. 990, which is of the time of Kîrtivarman II., and No. 137 of S. 1111 (not 1011), of the time of Kâmadêva; and of the Kâdambas of Goa[10] the one date No. 176 of S. 1080, of the time of Permâḍi-Sivachitta. Lastly, of the **Guttas** of Guttal the list contains 8 dates, from No. 194 of S. 1103, which is a date of Jôyidêva I., to No. 256 of S. 1185 current, of the time of Gutta III.

To the times, covered by the dates which are enumerated in the preceding, also belong a number of other dates from the south and the eastern coast of India. Thus the list contains 10 dates of the **Western Gaṅgas** or **Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavâḍi,** the earliest genuine date of which is No. 62 of S. 809, of the time of Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi, and the latest No. 87 of S. 899, of the time of Satyavâkya-Koṅgiṇivarma-Râchamalla-Permanaḍi. Of Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅgadêva, one of the **Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara,**[11] the list gives four dates, from No. 133 of S. 999 to No. 160 of S. 1057. We also have four dates of the **Eastern Chalukyas,**[12] from No. 78 of S. 867, of the time of Amma II., to No. 159 of S. 1056 (for 1055 current ?), of the time of Kulôttuṅga Chôḍadêva II.; three dates of the **Kâkatîya** dynasty of Worangal, *viz.*, No. 179 of S. 1084, of the time of Rudradêva, and Nos. 234 and 247 of S. 1153 and S. 1172 current, of the time of Gaṇapati; and three dates, Nos. 241, 242 and 244 of S. 1160, 1161, and 1165, of a king Râjarâjadêva, who may belong to the **Chôḷa** dynasty.[13]

[5] The list contains two later dates which profess to be taken from Kaḷachurya inscriptions, No. 200 of Ś. 1108, and No. 204 of Ś. 1110 current; but these dates belong to a time when the rule of the Kaḷachuryas apparently had come to an end.

[6] A later date of the same king, No. 278 of Ś. 1228 (?), is quite incorrect; but dates of the Hoysaḷa dynasty which are later than Ś. 1208 are furnished by the inscriptions published in *Ep. Carn.* Part I.

[7] To these also belongs the date No. 56 of Mâmvâṇidêvarâja, the year of which Dr. Fleet now takes to be Ś. 982 (not 782).

[8] An earlier date, No. 60 of Ś. 797, of the time of Pṛithvîrâma, is by Dr. Fleet regarded as plainly not authentic, so far, at least, as Pṛithvîrâma is concerned.

[9] The two dates Nos. 80 and 81, of Ś. 872 current and 872 expired, which profess to be of the time of the Sinda Permâḍi I., are by Dr. Fleet considered quite impossible dates.

[10] Of the Kâdambas of Goa we possess 5 dates in which the era of the Kaliyuga is used (from K. 4270 to K. 4348).

[11] Earlier Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara use an era of their own.

[12] Some of the Eastern Chalukya inscriptions are dated in regnal years, but the majority of them give no years at all.

[13] Some Śaka dates of Chôḷa kings I have given in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 68 ff.

Of the first half of the 13th century of the 'Saka era we have remarkably few dates. After the middle of the 13th century a large number of dates is furnished by the inscriptions of the kings of **Vijayanagara.** Of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara we have 32 dates, from No. 282 of 'S. 1261 (for 1262), of the time of Harihara I., to No. 321 of 'S. 1392, of the time of Virûpâksha I. Of the second dynasty there are 28 dates, from No. 323 of 'S. 1430 (for 1431), of the time of Kṛishṇarâya, to No. 356 of 'S. 1488, of the time of Sadâśivarâya.[14] And of the third dynasty (of Karṇâṭa) we have 9 dates, the first of which is No. 359 of 'S. 1497, of the time of 'Srîraṅgarâya I., and the last No. 371 of 'S. 1566, of the time of 'Srîraṅgarâya II. The other dates of the same or later times, which it is unnecessary to enumerate in detail, are mostly from records of the **Nâyakas of Vêlûr,** of the kings of **Maisûr** and **Coorg,** and of the **Sêtupatis of Râmnâḍ.**

The dates mentioned in the above comprise about four-fifths of the whole list. All these and about 60 other dates from inscriptions of subordinate chiefs and from private records are from that part of India which, speaking generally, would be **south of a straight line, drawn from the mouth of the Narbadâ on the west to the mouth of the Mahânadî on the east,**[15] excepting perhaps the extreme south of the peninsula. In that part of India, therefore, the 'Saka era is shewn by the dates collected to have been principally used, and there we find the earliest dates which are distinctly referred to it. But we have a few dates to prove that, from comparatively early times, the era occasionally was used, sometimes by the side of local eras, also in other and widely distant parts of India. Thus the date of the second *Praśasti* of Baijnâth, No. 45, of apparently 'S. 726, is from the extreme north of India, where, to judge from the date of the first *Praśasti* of Baijnâth, people ordinarily used the Saptarshi era. The Dêôgaḍh inscription of Bhôjadêva of Kanauj[16] in the body of the inscription is fully dated according to the Vikrama era, but at the end the expired years (784) of the 'Saka era also are given. The date No. 68 of 'S. 836 is from Eastern Kâṭhiâvâḍ; the date No. 161 of 'S. 1059 from the Gayâ district of Bengal, and the date No. 227 of 'S. 1141 from the Tipperah district of the same province. In the *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 45, Dr. Hultzsch has published a copper-plate inscription from Assam, dated in 'S. 1107; and in the *Journal, Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. P. I. p. 322, there is a copper-plate inscription from Chittagong, with the date *'Sak-âbdâḥ* 1165. Finally, the chronological list also gives some dates from **Cambodia,** the earliest of which is No. 18 of 'S. 546 (from an inscription which also contains the date No. 14 of 'S. 526), and five dates from **Java,** the earliest of which is No. 35 of 'S. 654, and the latest No. 290 of 'S. 1295.

Nomenclature of the Era.

What strikes one at once in looking over the dates of the lists, and what distinguishes these dates in a remarkable manner from those of the other principal eras,[17] is this that, with

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[14] The year of the date No. 358, which is given as 1492 or 1482, probably is really 1485.

[15] *Ante,* Vol. XX. p. 404, I have stated that, speaking generally, down to about A. D. 1300, the use of the Vikrama era was confined to that portion of India which would be included by straight lines drawn from the mouth of the Narbadâ to Gayâ, from Gayâ to Delhi, and from Delhi to the Runn of Cutch, and by the line of coast from the Runn of Cutch back to the mouth of the Narbadâ. Towards the west, therefore, the Vikrama era would appear to have been used north of the Narbadâ and the 'Saka era south of that river. More towards the east the parts of India in which the two eras are principally used are separated by the tract of country in which during the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. we find the Kalachuri-Chêdi era employed.

[16] See *ante,* Vol. XIX. p. 28, No. 30.

[17] Of 328 Vikrama dates of inscriptions, known to me, only 72 are explicitly referred to the Mâlava-Vikrama era. Of 74 Gupta-Valabhî dates, at the utmost 7 or 8 are (by the expressions *Gupt-ânvayânâṁ nṛipa-sattamânâṁ râjyê kulasy=âbhivivarddhamânê, Gupta-prakâlê gaṇanâṁ vidhâya, Guptânâṁ kâla* . . . , *Gupta-nṛipa-râjya-bhuktau* and *G[au]ptê ?*) more or less distinctly referred to the Gupta era, and only 5 of the latest dates contain the technical phrases *Valabhî-saṁvat* and *Valabhî-saṁ.* Of 41 dates which, some of them with more or less probability, have been referred to the Kalachuri-Chêdi era, only four dates (of the years 893, 896, 898 and 910) contain the phrase *Kalachuri-saṁvatsarê,* two dates (of the years 919 and 933) have *Chêdi-saṁvat,* and in one date (of the year 902), which is in verse, the era is denoted by the expression *Chêdi-dishta.* In the 20 dates which — here, also, with more or less probability — have been assigned to the Harsha era, the name of this era is nowhere alluded to.

insignificant exceptions, all are explicitly referred to the era to which they belong. Of the 400 dates of my chronological list only five do not contain the word *Śaka* or its derivative *Śâka*. And even as regards these five dates, the absence of the word *Śaka* from the two dates No. 23 of Ś. 589 and No. 299 of Ś. 1317, which are in verse, may be said to be due to the exigencies of the metre;[18] the date No. 7 of the year 388 is altogether carelessly worded and is, moreover, from a spurious record; the reading of the date No. 54, '*samva* [765],' is somewhat doubtful; and in the date No. 199, which I have given as '*saṁvatu* 1107,' the word *saṁvatu* is preceded in the original by one or two effaced *aksharas* which might well be taken to represent the word *Śaka*.[19]

Now, among the various expressions, employed by the writers to indicate what era they are following,[20] there are five which are principally used. They are *Śaka* (or *Śakanṛipa*)-*kâla*,[21] *Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu*, *Śakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara*, the simple *Śaka-varsha*, and the phrase *Śâlivâhana-śaka* or some modification of it.

Śaka-kâla,[22] 'the time (or era) of the Śaka (or Śakas, or Śaka king or kings),' occurs first in the Western Chalukya date No. 16 of Ś. 532, where it stands in the Nominative case and is followed by the Nominative *pañcha varsha-śatâni dvâtriṅ(triṁ)śâni*. We also have *Śaka-kâḷaṁ*, without a word for 'year,' in No. 117 of Ś. 973; *Śakakâla-saṁvatsara* in No. 33 of Ś. 631 and No. 37 of Ś. 673 (here with *vyatîta*); *Śakakâla-gat-âbdâḥ* in No. 45 of Ś. 726 (?); *Śaka-kâḷaṅgaḷ=varshaṁ* in No. 71 of Ś. 840; *Śakanṛipa-kâlê* (*saṁpragatê*), without a word for 'year,' in No. 65 of Ś. 824; *Śakanṛipa-kâlasya*, without a word for 'year,' in No. 220 of Ś. 1131; and *Śakanṛipa-kâlâd=ârabhya* (*varshêshu . . . nivṛittêshu*) in Nos. 206 and 210 of Ś. 1112 and 1114. Besides we find, in dates which are in verse, *yâtê kâlê Śakânâm*, without a word for 'year,' in the date No. 24 of Ś. 589, from Cambodia; *Śaka-kâḷêshv=atîtêshu*, without a word for 'year,' in No. 60 of Ś. 797; *Śaka-kâlâd=gat-âbdânâm* in No. 77 of Ś. 867; *Śakâvanipâla-kâḷamaṁ*, without a word for 'year,' in No. 89 of Ś. 904; *Śaka-kâlasya bhûpatau*, without a word for 'year' in No. 125 of Ś. 991; *Śakabhûpâla-kâlasya* (with *varsha*) in No. 172 of Ś. 1075; and *Śaka-nṛipasya kâlê* (*varshêshu vṛittêshu*) in No. 279 of Ś. 1235.

Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu, 'when . . . years of the Śaka (or Śakas, or Śaka years) had passed,' or 'after the expiration of . . . Śaka years,' occurs first and is chiefly used in the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. The earliest genuine date of the list[23] which contains this phrase is No. 26 of Ś. 611, and the latest No. 171 of Ś. 1073. Instead of *atîtêshu* we occasionally, in altogether five dates, have *samatîtêshu*, *vyatîtêshu*, *atikrântêshu* and *gatêshu*; and three inscriptions from Java have the compound *Śakavarsh-âtîta*. Before Ś. 1000 the expressions grouped under this head occur in 16 dates, and after Ś. 1000 in 6 dates the years of three of which (No. 168 of Ś. 1065, No. 171 of Ś. 1073, and No. 267 of Ś. 1199) have been shewn to be really current years.

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[18] A third similar date is that of the Trivandrum inscription of Sarvâṅganâtha, of the [Śaka] year 1296, which also is in verse; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 203. That in the inscriptions from Cambodia there are several dates (in verse) which contain neither a reference to the era employed in them nor even a word for 'year,' has been stated *ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 181, note 1.

[19] The date No. 199 is from an inscription of the Śîlâra Aparâditya, and another inscription of the same Aparâditya (date No. 201) undoubtedly has the phrase *Śaka-saṁvatu*. That the word *saṁvat*, without *Śaka*, is used to denote years of the Śaka era, when a date, after having been given in words, is repeated in figures, will be shewn below.

[20] My remarks here throughout refer to those dates only of which I have been able to ascertain the exact wording, about 300 dates of my chronological list, commencing with the earliest genuine date No. 13 of Ś. 500.— With what follows, compare Dr. Fleet's valuable paper 'On the Nomenclature of the principal Hindu eras,' *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 207 ff.

[21] In a few dates *avanipâla*, *bhûpâla* and *bhûpati* are substituted for *nṛipa*, especially in verse.

[22] Compare the corresponding expressions *Mâlava-kâla* and *Gupta-prakâla* (equivalent to *Gupta-kâla*) in dates of the Vikrama and Gupta eras. In some dates *Śaka-kâla* must be translated by 'year (or years) of the Śaka era.'

[23] A Western Chalukya date of Ś. 608, not included in the chronological list, which also contains the phrase *Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu*, is given *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 112.

Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara,[24] 'years passed since the time (or of the era) of the Saka king (or kings),' we meet first in the date No. 38 of S. 679, which is from an inscription of one of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Gujarât, and of the 46 dates which contain the phrase half the number are from inscriptions of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty. Three other dates, instead of *kâl-âtîta*, have *kâl-âkrânta*; one has *atîta-kâla*, and two omit the word *saṁvatsara*; two have *Sakabhûpâl-âkrânta-saṁvatsara*, one has *Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîtair=varsha-śataiḥ*, and one *Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîtê śakê*.[25] The latest of the dates which contain any of these expressions is No. 221 of S. 1135, and of a total of 56 dates 45 are earlier and 11 later than S. 1000. The years of two of these dates (No. 107 of S. 948 and No. 140 of S. 1032) have ben shewn to be current years.

Saka-varsha[26] (without *atîta*), 'the year of the Saka (or Sakas)' or 'Saka year' occurs first in the date No. 72 of S. 851, from a Râshṭrakûṭa inscription. It is mostly used in inscriptions the language of which is Kanarese, where we have *Saka-varsha* (or *-varisha*, or *-varusha*), *Saka varshaṁ* (or *-varushaṁ*), *Saka-varshada*, *Srîmat-Sakavarsha*, *Srî-Sakavarusha*, *Srî-vijayâbhyudaya-Sakavarsha*, etc. In Sanskṛit inscriptions, where the expression is used comparatively rarely, we have *Saka-varsha-*, *Saka-varshê* and *Srî-Sakavarshê*, and also *Saka-varshê vartamânê* or *pravartamânê* (in No. 250 of S. 1175 *expired* and No. 296 of S. 1307 *expired*), and *Saka-varshâd=ârabhya*[27] (in No. 240 of S. 1160 current). Counting those dates of the list of which I know the exact wording, I find that the phrase occurs 47 times between S. 1000 and S. 1200, 17 times before S. 1000, and 18 times after S. 1200.

Disregarding as suspicious the two dates Nos. 187 and 193 of S. 1095 and S. 1103, we find the name **Sâlivâhana,** for which in verse we also have **Sâlivâha,** for the first time in the date No. 265 of S. 1194, from an inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Râmachandra, and have it also in the date No. 269 of S. 1200, from an inscription at Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa, and in the date No. 275 of S. 1212, which is from another inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Râmachandra. After that we meet it again in the date No. 283 of S. 1276, from an inscription of Bukkarâya I. of Vijayanagara, and from that time it occurs frequently, especially in the inscriptions of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara, but also in those of other rulers of Southern India. In prose, the phrases made use of are *Sâlivâhana-śaka* (also with *srî-* or *śrî-jayâbhyudaya-nṛipa-* prefixed to it), *Sâlivâhana-śakavarsha* (also with *śrî-*, or *śrî-jayâbhyudaya-*, or *śrî-vijayâbhyudaya-*), and *Sâlivâhana-śak-âbdâḥ* (in No. 394 of S. 1731); in verse we have *Sak-âbdê Sâlivâhasya* (in No. 293 of S. 1301, etc.), *śrî-Sâlivâhê gatê śâkê* (in No. 302 of S. 1321), and *Sâlivâhana-nirṇîta-śaka-varsha* (in No. 340 of S. 1460).[28] This last expression shews that the sense, which the phrases *Sâlivâhana-śaka* and *Sâlivâhana-śakavarsha* came to convey to a Hindu, was that of 'the year of the era of (or established by) Sâlivâhana,' but it may be doubted whether this meaning was distinctly present to the minds of those who first used the phrases. I rather believe that the name of Sâlivâhana, as that of a personage famous in Southern India, was prefixed to the ordinary *Sakê* and *Saka-varshê*, 'in the Saka year,' simply in imitation of the name of Vikramâditya in the Vikrama dates, and feel sure that the addition of the name to the current phrases

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[24] I give this separately, because it is a more technical and standing phrase than the expressions enumerated under *Saka-kâla*. In dates of the Vikrama era we have a corresponding phrase (*Vikramârkanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara*) first in a Kachchhapaghâta inscription of V. 1161; *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 202.

[25] No. 197 of S. 1105, where the word *śakê* clearly is used in the sense of 'year'; see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 24.

[26] We have no corresponding technical phrase *Vikrama-varsha*; but from about the beginning of the 13th century of the Vikrama era we frequently in Vikrama dates find *saṁvat* . . . *varshê*, or *saṁ* . . . *varshê*, with the figures for the years between *saṁvat* or *saṁ* and *varshê*, and here the terms *saṁvat* and *saṁ* undoubtedly are meant to refer the dates to the Vikrama era, as distinguished from the Saka era.

[27] Here *Saka-varsha* can only mean 'the commencement of the Saka era.'

[28] In an inscription of S. 1568 (for 1569) in *Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 66, No. 103, we also have *Sâlivâhan-âbdê śakê*, and in dates of manuscripts *varshê Sâlivâhana-janmataḥ*. According to *Bhâvnagar Inscr.* p. 155, an Udaypur inscription of V. 1770 = S. 1635 has *Saka-vaṁśasya Sâlivâhana-bhûpatêḥ*, but this can hardly be correct. That the phrase *Sâlivâhana-śaka*, in quite modern times, is not confined to the south of India, is shewn by some dates given in my note on the Saptarshi era, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 152.

was especially suggested by the dates of the Chaulukyas of Aṇhilvâḍ,[29] with whom we know the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri, in whose dates we first find the name Sâlivâhana, to have been in close contact.

In addition to these standing phrases, which are used in about 200 out of 300 dates, we have a variety of other expressions which are employed more rarely. Those of them that occur chiefly in prose may be grouped under the heads of *Saka-nṛipati* (or *Sakanṛipa*)-*saṁvatsara*, the simple *Sakê*, and *Saka-saṁvat*.

Sakanṛipati-saṁvatsara, 'years of the Saka king (or kings),' we have in the Western Chalukya date No. 17 of S. 534, *Sakanṛipati-saṁvatsara-śatêshu . . . atîtêshu ;* and *Saka-nṛipa-saṁvatsara* in No. 49 of S. 735 and No. 90 of S. 904, *Sakanṛipa-saṁvatsarêshu . . . vyatîtêshu* or *gatêshu*, and in No. 214 of S. 1117, where (against the rules of grammar) the text has *Sakanṛipa-saṁvatsaram=ârabhya.*[30] Instead of *saṁvatsara* the (poetical) word *abda* is used in No. 227 of S. 1141, where we have *Saka-nṛipatêr=atîtâ abdâḥ* (as well as in the spurious Western Chalukya date No. 10 of S. 411, which has *Sakanṛip-âbdêshu . . . vyatîtêshu*).

Sakê we find first, in verse, in the date No. 25 of S. 598[31] from Cambodia, and afterwards in the prose dates No. 190 of S. 1096, No. 263 of S. 1193, and No. 372 of S. 1570 ; and, with *gatê*, in No. 298 of S. 1313. Instead of it, we have *Saka* in Nos. 237 and 238 of S. 1157 and 1158, and (in a compound and in verse) in No. 317 of S. 1355; and *Saku* in No. 243 of S. 1162, No. 253 of S. 1182, No. 254 of S. 1183, No. 276 of S. 1222, and No. 277 of S. 1227 (here written *Sâku*). Since, with the exception of No. 238, *śrî-Saka* 1158 *varshê*, and No. 253, *śrî-Saku* 1182 *varshê*, none of these dates contains any separate word for 'year,' *Sakê*, as well as *Saka* and *Saku*, can only be translated by 'in the Saka year.'

Saka-saṁvat, 'in the Saka year,' occurs rarely, and is apparently foreign to the south of India.[32] We find it in the dates Nos. 67 and 68 of S. 832 and 836, which are both from Gujarât; in No. 56 of S. 982 (not 782), from an inscription of the Sîlâras of the Northern Koṅkaṇ; and in Nos. 126 and 166 of S. 991 and 1063 (for 1064), two dates of the Yâdavas of Sêuṇadêśa. It is also used, when the date is repeated in figures, in the date No. 174 of S. 1078 of the Sîlâra Mallikârjuna. Instead of it, we have *Saka-saṁvatu* in the date No. 201 of S. 1109 of the Sîlâra Aparâditya, and perhaps also in the date of the same king No. 199 of S. 1107. The fuller expression *Saka-saṁvatsara* would seem to occur only in the date No. 246 of S. 1171 of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Kṛishṇa.

The expressions which remain occur almost exclusively in verse. The most common of them, in the order in which they appear first, are *Sak-âbdê*, *Sâkê*, *Sâk-âbdê*, and *Saka-vatsarê*.

Sak-âbdê, 'in the year of the Saka (or Sakas),' we find, everywhere in verse, in the dates No. 19 of S. 548 from Cambodia, No. 152 of S. 1045, No. 161 of S. 1059, No. 399 of S. 1315, and No. 300 of S. 1317. In verse we also have *Sakasy=âbdê* in No. 310 of S. 1346, *Sakâbda-bhâji samayê* in No. 280 of S. 1236, and *Sak-âbdêshu gatêshu* in No. 376 of S. 1601; and in prose, *Sak-âbdêshv=atîtêshu* in No. 245 of S. 1171, and *Sa(śa)kam=â(a)bda* in No. 97 of S. 928.

Sâkê, 'in the Saka year,' occurs, in verse, in the dates No. 20 of S. 550 from Cambodia, No. 116 of S. 972, No. 156 of S. 1050, No. 192 of S. 1099, No. 234 of S. 1153, No. 294 of S. 1301, No. 306 of S. 1332, No. 319 of S. 1377, No. 333 of S. 1450, and No. 341 of S. 1461; and, in prose, in No. 219 of S. 1128 (for 1129), and No. 236 of S. 1156. With the exception of the date No. 306 which has *varshê*, none of these dates contains a separate word for 'year.'

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29 See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 405.

30 The meaning is the same as that of *Saka-varshâd=ârabhya*, given above.

31 This date shews that *Sakê* is by no means a late expression; the same applies to the term *Sâkê* which will be given below.

32 The corresponding phrase *Vikrama-saṁvat* occurs in nine Chaulukya inscriptions. — European scholars now generally speak of the Saka years as *Saka-saṁvat*, a practice which I have followed myself; but there can be no doubt that *Saka-varshê* would be a more suitable expression.

Sâk-âbdê, 'in the Saka year,' we have, in verse, in No. 133 of S. 999, No. 134 of S. 1001, No. 247 of S. 1172, No. 286 of S. 1278, and No. 292 of S. 1300; and, in prose, in No. 135 of S. 1003. In verse we also find *Sâkê=bdê* in No. 313 of S. 1348, *Sâkê=bdakê* in No. 301 of S. 1320, and *Sâk-âbdânâm* in No. 159 of S. 1056; and in prose, *Sâk-âbdêshu* in No. 160 of S. 1057.

Saka-vatsarê, 'in the year of the Saka (or Sakas), occurs, everywhere in verse,[33] in No. 353 of S. 1478, No. 361 of S. 1506, No. 364 of S. 1523, No. 400 of S. 1556, No. 368 of S. 1558, and No. 371 of S. 1566; and *Saka-vatsarêshu*, in verse, in No. 104 of S. 944, and in prose, in No. 146 of S. 1040.

Besides we find, in dates which are in verse, *Sakêndra-varshê*, 'in the year of the Saka king (or kings),' in No. 18 of S. 526 and 546 from Cambodia; *samâsu samatîtâsu Sakânâm=api bhûbhujâm*, 'when . . . years of the Saka kings had passed,' in No. 21 of S. 556; *Sakapati-samay-âbdê*, 'in the year of the time (or era) of the Saka king (or kings),' in No. 22 of S. 586 from Cambodia; *Sâkêndrê=tigatê . . . vatsarê*, 'when the year . . . of the Saka king (or kings) had passed,' in No. 35 of S. 654 from Java; *-abdê Saka-samayê*, 'in the year . . . in the time (or era) of the Saka (or Sakas),' in No. 78 of S. 867; *varshâṇâṁ Saka-prithivîpatêḥ*, 'years of the Saka king,' in No. 228 of S. 1144; *-saran-mitê Saka-nripê*, 'when (the time from) the Saka king was measured by . . . years,' in No. 281 of S. 1236; and, in a compound and without a word for 'year,' *śrî-Sakabhûpati-* in No. 316 of S. 1353. And finally we have in prose, in the earliest genuine date of the list, No. 13 of S. 500, *Sakanripati-râjyâbhishêka-saṁvatsarêshv=atikrântêshu*, 'when . . . years had passed since the coronation of the Saka king.'

Where, after having been given in words, a date (or the number of years of a date) is repeated in figures, these figures are preceded by *saṁvat* in eight dates, the earliest of which is No. 37 of S. 675 and the latest No. 138 of S. 1016, and three of which are from inscriptions of the Silâras of the Northern Koṅkaṇ. Other terms, used in the same way, are *saṁ* in the date No. 38 of S. 679, *saṁvatsarâḥ* in No. 95 of S. 922, *saṁvatsarâṇâṁ* in No. 73 of S. 855, *saṁvatsaraśaḥ* in No. 55 of S. 775 (for 773), *saṁvatsara-śatâni*[34] (followed by 735) in No. 50 of S. 735, *Saku* in No. 136 of S. 1008, *Sâka* in No. 161 of S. 1059, *Saka-saṁvat* in No. 174 of S. 1078 (from a Silâra inscription), and *Saka-varsha* in No. 316 of S. 1353. In No. 61 of S. 799 and nine other dates the figures are not preceded by any word for 'year,' and in the dates Nos. 264 and 267 of S. 1194 and 1199 the numeral figures precede the numerical words by which the year of the date is expressed.

From the above we see that, ever since the earliest date of S. 500, the era with which we are dealing has been uniformly described as that of the Saka or Sakas, or, what really is the same,[35] of the Saka king or kings, but that none of the phrases enumerated contains any suggestion as to who those Sakas were, or what particular Saka king or kings those, who first used

[33] The corresponding phrase *Vikrama-vatsarê*, also, is only used in verse.

[34] With this *saṁvatsara-śatâni*, in which the word *śata* of course is superfluous, we may compare the expression *saṁvatsara-śataṅgaḷ* in dates which are in Kanarese, *e. g.* in No. 74 of S. 856. Compare also, in Vikrama dates, *saṁvatsara-sa(śa)ta nava-sa(śa)ta* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 173, ll. 2 and 4, and p. 174, ll. 8 and 11, and the similarly redundant use of the word *sahasra* in '*saṁvatsara-sahasra* 1049,' *ibid.* p. 81, l. 26. See, moreover, the date of the Nausârî plates of the Chalukya Pulakêśirâja, '*saṁvatsar a-śata* 400 90' (*Vienna Or. Congress, Arian Section* p. 234, l. 48), with which we may compare the date of an unpublished inscription at Jôdhpur, which ha *saṁvachchhara-śatêshu*, followed by a numerical symbol for one of the hundreds (perhaps 300). In my opinion, we have an abbreviation of this *saṁvatsara-śata* in the *samvat śa* of the Kôṭâ inscription of the *Sâmanta* Dêvadatta (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 45), the date of which I would read '*samvat śa* 847 *Mâgha-śudi* 6.'

[35] The years of the Mâlava-Vikrama era are described both as years 'according to the reckoning of the Mâlavas' and as years 'of the Mâlava lords'; see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 404. — Some stress has been laid on the fact that in the date of S. 500 the *coronation* of the Saka king is spoken of, but I fail to see the particular value of, this expression. As the regnal years of a king were his *râjyâbhishêka-saṁvatsara* (as they are called *e. g.* in the date No. 17 of S. 534), it was only natural to describe 'the years of the Saka king' as *his râjyâbhishêka-saṁvatsara.*

terms like Śakanṛipa, were thinking of. It is true that in a considerable number of dates the earlier phrases by which the years of the era were denoted are preceded by the proper name 'Śâlivâhana'; this name, however, occurring, as it does, in late dates only, would not be expected to reveal the true origin of the era, and its connection with the era has been justly considered to be quite inappropriate.[36]

Under these circumstances, I can only draw attention to another peculiar feature in the wording of the given dates, by which, taken as a whole, they are clearly distinguished from the dates of other eras, and which may, at least, enable us to connect them with some of those earlier dates of inscriptions, the exact relation of which to the well-known eras is open to discussion. I refer to **the frequency with which, in the given Śaka dates, the term 'year' is rendered by the word** *varsha.*

Down to Ś. 1200 we have about 150 genuine dates, in prose, and here we find the word for 'year' to be *varsha* in about 90 dates, and *saṁvatsara* in 60 dates.[37] On the other hand, in the case of the Vikrama era the word *varsha,* down to V. 1200, appears in three dates only out of 123, and two at least[38] of those three dates are in verse; of 71 Gupta-Valabhî dates, down to the Gupta-Valabhî year 900, only four contain the word *varsha,* and all four are in verse; [39] and in the dates of the Kalachuri-Chêdi and Harsha eras *varsha* does not occur at all. The regular, technical word for 'year' in the dates of these four eras is *saṁvatsara* or some abbreviation of it, and the great preponderance of the word *varsha* in the technical language of the Śaka dates must, no doubt, be regarded as a distinguishing feature of the Śaka era.

Now an even more pronounced difference in the use of the words *saṁvatsara* and *varsha* (or their Prâkṛit equivalents) is noticeable in the earlier dates known to us. In the dates of the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vâsudêva the word for 'year' everywhere is *saṁvatsara, savatsara,* or *saṁ;* and in those of the Śâtavâhanas or Andhrabhṛityas we have *saṁvachhara, savachhara,* or *sava* throughout.[40] But no such word appears in the inscriptions of **the Western Kshatrapas.** In an inscription of the son-in-law of Nahapâna, (*Archæol. Surv. of West. India,* Vol. IV. p. 102, No. 9) we have *vasê 40 2* and *vasê 40 1* in one of a minister of his (*ibid.* p. 103, No. 11), *vasê 40 6;* in the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradâman (*ante,* Vol. VII. p. 259), *varshê dvisaptatitamê;* in the Guṇḍâ inscription of his son Rudrasiṁha (*Bhâvnagar Inscr.* p. 22), *varshê triuttara-śatê;* in the Jasdhan (Gaḍha) inscription of his son Rudrasêna (*ibid.*), *varshê 100 20 7;* and in the Mulavâsara inscription of another Rudrasêna (*ibid.* p. 23), *varshê 200 50(?) 2.* In the dates of the Western Kshatrapas, therefore, and in them only, the word for 'year' everywhere is *varsha* (or its Prâkṛit equivalent), and this circumstance seems to me to connect these dates in an unmistakeable manner with the dates which are distinctly referred to the Śaka era, in which the word *varsha* decidedly predominates. In fact, the way in which *varsha* is used both in the dates of the Western Kshatrapas and in the Śaka dates universally so called, tends, in my opinion, to support the views of those scholars who have assigned the former to the Śaka era, on historical grounds; and leads me to consider **my list of dates as a continuation of the series of dates, from the year 41 to the year 310, which are furnished by the inscriptions and coins of the Western Kshatrapas.** — This is all the information which I can derive from the Śaka dates themselves.

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36 It will be sufficient to refer the reader to Dr Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan,* 2nd ed. p. 37.

37 Above it has been already shewn that, among the usual technical phrases, *Śaka-varshêshv-atîtêshu* precedes the phrase *Śakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara.*

38 I am doubtful about the date of the Bijayagaḍh pillar inscription of Vishṇuvardhana of the year 428, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 253; the two other dates are those of the Dhôlpur inscription of Chaṇḍamahâsêna of the year 898 (*Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 39), and the Ghaṭayâla inscription of the Pratihâra Kakkuka of the year 918 (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 516).

39 The dates of the years 103, 138, 141 and 165, *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 258, 61, 67 and 89.

40 Another difference between these dates and those of the Western Kshatrapas is this that the former (with the exception of one date which quotes a Macedonian month) are all season-dates, whereas the latter all quote the ordinary lunar months.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

PREFACE.

I HAVE kept by me for years the notes from which the articles on "Currency and Coinage among the Burmese" have been compiled in the hope of being able to complete them for publication; but I have found, as so many others have found before me, that advancement in the public service involves an ever-increasing official demand upon one's time, and I fear it is hopeless for me to even utilise the contents of the library I have specially purchased for the purpose of gathering together all the available information on the subject. But as my notes contain much that is, so far as I am able to ascertain, new to students and therefore worth publishing, I have determined to print the articles resulting from them for what they may be worth, incomplete as they are.

My notes cover the following points, which I propose now to take up in separate chapters. I will first discuss currency amongst the peasantry, including that of chipped bullion, with its effects on the people and their methods of valuation. These will be followed by some remarks on the age of bullion currency in Burma, on the terms used for "coin," and on barter and exchange. In the Second Chapter I propose to remark on the bullion weights of the Far East, and in the Third to describe what I have called "lump currency," *i. e.*, the use of the metals in mere lumps — silver, gold, lead, tin, and spelter —, and stamped lumps and irregular tokens. This will lead in the Fourth Chapter to a consideration of the coin of the realm introduced by Kings Bôdòp'ayâ, Mindôn, and Thîbò, with remarks on the Mandalay Mint and the effigies on the coins. In the Fifth Chapter, I will discuss "coin" as distinguished from "coin of the realm," — a very interesting point in Burma, as it involves a study of the tokens and spelter money used by the people, and of the curious *taungbànnî* currency of Upper Burma. And, lastly, I will discuss in the Sixth Chapter the not unimportant points for numismatists of forgeries, "pagoda medals," jettons, and charms.

CHAPTER I.

DISSERTATION.

1.

Preliminary Remarks.[1]

I found, soon after my arrival in **Upper Burma** in 1887, that great interest attached to the coinage and currency of the country, as **no coinage, properly so called, had existed before 1861.**[2] I was therefore living among a people of considerable civilisation, who had but recently been introduced to the use of coins, who must consequently be familiar with methods of barter in bullion and of trade without coinage, and amongst whom must be many relics of pre-coinage days. My official duties were many and engrossing, and I had very little leisure to devote to coin collecting, or to the study of local customs; but I was so fortunate as to gather **specimens of currency sufficient in number and complete enough to illustrate what may be called the whole evolution of coinage.** These are now in the British Museum, to the authorities of which I am indebted for the careful production of the fine plates

[1] Three letters published in the *Academy* for 1890, pp. 322 f., 345 ff., 426 f., give a preliminary account of the subject now discussed.

[2] See Yule, *Ava*, pp. 258, 344; Crawfurd, *Ava*, p. 433; Symes, *Ava*, p. 326; Sangermano, p. 166; Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 30; *Toung Pao*, Vol. II. p. 41; Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.* Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 1; Hunter, *Pegu*, p. 85; Alexander, *Travels*, p. 21. Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 74, writing in 1835, notices that coin was only beginning to be generally introduced into Tenasserim. See also Vol. II. p. 269 ff. "At Rangoon the Madras rupee circulates generally for a tickal; and along the rivers up to Prome, it is known, and will be received. But at the Capital and throughout the interior it is weighed, and deemed inferior silver. In Arracan and the Tenasserim Provinces, pice and pie now circulate as in Bengal, and money is scarcely ever weighed."

that accompany these pages. The value of the collection seems to me to lie in the fact that, so far as I know, it enables us to study, from specimens as to whose date there can be no sort of doubt, for the first time, the currency of a nation immediately before and immediately after the introduction of a system of regular coinage.

Admirably as Evans, in his *Coins of the Ancient Britons* nearly forty years ago, as Keary, in his *Morphology of Coins* in 1886, as Prof. Ridgeway, in his *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, and as Terrien de la Couperie, in his *Catalogue of Chinese Coins in the British Museum*, and others, have illustrated by induction how currency must have preceded and led to coinage, no writer has, I believe, previously had the advantage of studying on the spot the whole proceedings of a people in the act of passing from one stage to the other. And I cannot but hope that the facts I am about to state in the following pages will lead to a better understanding of the true place in evolution of the many curious forms of currency which obtain in the Far East and elsewhere than would be otherwise possible. That future enquirers will not be obliged to grope quite so much in the dark as had those of a former generation, I may quote the following, for the period, acute observation of Mr. W. B. Dickenson, when exhibiting a Siamese tickal[3] to the Numismatic Society on the 23rd March, 1848: — "The examination of the coin offered for inspection may not be without some little interest to the members of the Numismatic Society, and may tend to cast a possible light on the form of bullion money: an invention, which perhaps was not a sudden and complete change from weighed bullion to regular coin, but was preceded by steps which gradually led to coinage: steps of which no record has descended to us." It is just these very steps that I have had the good fortune to note and record as they were taken before my own eyes, as it were.[4] No one can, however, be more fully aware than myself of the dangers that beset the path of the pioneer in such an enquiry as the present, and I cannot pretend to have done more than record the facts that have passed under my observation as they appeared to be correct to me, and must leave it to others who may come after me to sift the evidence now brought forward and the statements now made. I have also gathered, *quantum valeat*, what information I could relating to this subject from books about Further India and the neighbourhood, but this is necessarily incomplete, as in the East one has to trust to one's private library entirely for such information.

The Burmese coinage was introduced by King Mindôn about 1861, although some of his coins, after a fashion I have already noticed in this *Journal*[5] as being common in India, — bear date 1852, which was the year of his accession. Previous to this the only "coins" of Burma — excluding, of course, the Arakan and the so-called Pegu series of Phayre[6] — that I have heard of, are the mysterious "fish coin" of 1781, and the coins or tokens brought to Ava from Calcutta by Cox in 1796.[7] Sir Arthur Phayre had seen one of the former, and took it to be a token to be buried in the foundation chamber of a pagoda; but I have three more, found in Mandalay, which makes me think they are real coins of King Bôdôp'ayâ.[8] The latter were avowedly sacred tokens.[9] The inference, therefore, is that any Burman, resident in

3 The bullet money of Ridgeway, p. 29. See also Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 141; *J. A. S. B., Proc.*, for 1887, p. 149 f.

4 *Silver Coinage of Siam*, p. 47. Coinage was not introduced into Siam until 1824, according to Sarat Chandra Das, *J. A. S. B., Proc.*, for 1887, p. 148 ff.

5 *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 278 n.

6 *International Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. III. Pt. I.

7 A memorandum of 1664 on the Trade of India has, however, a curious and no doubt erroneous reference to coined money in Pegu: — "Many sorts of clothing are sent into Pegu, a Port in yt. Bay, which returnes Rubies and readie money, the coine or currant money of the place." Anderson, *Siam*, p. 95. See also p. 144, where it is stated that Burneby in 1678 hoped to give the authorities at Bantam an account "of the coynes currt. in yt. country" (Siam).

8 *Int. Num. Or.* Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 33.

9 *Int. Num. Or.* Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 35.

Upper Burma, who is, say, over fifty years of age, must have in his or her (for the women are the principal hucksters)[10] youth habitually dealt in an uncoined currency.

This uncoined currency my specimens prove to have been : —

(1) lumps of metal whose fineness could only be known by actual rough assay or by appearance;

(2) lumps of metal whose fineness, but not weight, was attested by a stamp or mark;

(3) irregular tokens.

Assay[11] was, and is still, carried on by recognised jewellers and assay-masters in the usual Indian style with wax and touchstone, and by comparing the touch with that of pieces of recognised or ascertained standard. Value is estimated by reference to silver standards, *i. e.*, a piece of gold or copper is said to weigh so many rupees and annas (strictly, tickals[12] and *mûs*, or tenths of a tickal), and its value is found by simple multiplication, with a deduction for alloy, or by division, as the case may be.

However, for ordinary business purposes the main test for fineness was appearance, for it is not so difficult to tell fineness by the appearance of unworn lumps of metal as it would seem to be primâ facie. A reference to Plate I. and to the descriptions of the figures in the letter-press explaining the Plate will prove this ocularly to the reader. The reason is as follows[13] :—

There are several methods of extracting silver from the ore, and each method leaves its own mark on the products; and I have found that after a while I could detect the quality of certain classes of silver myself without a reference to assay. Long practice makes dealers adepts in judging silver, worn and unworn, at sight; and I found that most of the old "bazaar" women could do so at once with fair accuracy. I have often tried their powers by saying that a worn lump of silver I have exhibited to them was of a certain class, and have been corrected at once by being told that it was of the class to which I had previously ascertained it to belong by assay. But, owing to the introduction, first of King Mindôn's coins, and now of the British, this kind of practical knowledge is rapidly disappearing, and the younger women and girls, who have begun to trade since the general introduction of coinage, are no better judges of silver than European women are. They are not even so good as Indian women, as they never wear

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10 *Cf.* Raffles, *Java*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I. p. 394, on Javan women as hucksters.

11 Pegolotti's Chapter XXXV. is on assays of gold and silver, and should be well worth while to study, if made accessible. See Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. II. p. 307. Compare the origin of Roman Coinage, Poole, *Coins and Medals*, p. 43 f.

12 Huc's "ounces" used in Tibet (Nat. Ill. Library Ed., Vol. I. pp. 144, 146) were I presume the tael or quadruple tickal. With Huc's statements can be compared the statement of a writer in *Toung Pao*, Vol. II. p. 168, in an article entitled, *Sur les moyens et les voies de communication des Provinces de la Chine avoisinant le Tongking.* He gives throughout prices in "*livres*," and then adds a note : — "The *livre* is of 13 ounces and the ounce is 37 gr. 24 centigr. The *livre* of silver was worth at the commencement of 1891, 1,650 *sapèques*." In Pegolotti's time (early 14th century A. D.) gold was bought by the *saggio* (1/6 ounce) in silver. Yule, *Cathay*, Vol. II p. 297. So de Morga (Hakluyt Society's Ed. pp. 340, 341) says that in the Philippines in his time (1598-1609) the Chinese paid "in silver and reals, for they do not like gold," and that the Japanese were paid "chiefly in reals, though they are not so set upon them as the Chinese, as they have silver in Japan." See also *Two Years in Ava*, p. 231; Anderson, *Siam*, pp. 64, 127. Maxwell, *Journey on foot to the Patani Frontier*, p. 48, however notes that in the neighbourhood of the Belong Gold Mines silver was scarce and that gold was the currency in 1875. Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 3, explains the change of meaning in the denominations *kyàt*, (tickal) *mû* and *pè* briefly and effectually thus :— "The names of monetary units hold their ground long after they themselves have ceased to be in actual use, as we observe in such common expressions "bet a guinea" or worth a "groat," although these coins are no longer in circulation, and so the French *sou* has survived for a century in popular parlance and the *Thaler* has lived into the new German monetary system."

13 Prinsep, who assayed the Ava bullion sent over to India after the First Burmese War as indemnity, says, *Useful Tables*, p. 30, "The figures given by the action of the fire upon a thick brown coating of glaze (of the oxides of lead and antimony) answer in some degree the purpose of a die impression." Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 269, says practically the same thing.

silver jewellery, and hence have no need of the metal, except for currency. **The art of testing weight by handling is still, however, common among the young and old of both sexes.**

Mandalay jewellers are of course good judges of silver, but they are also capital judges of the probable amount of silver in a lump of lead. Here is a case in point. In February, 1889, there occurred, in the poor Eastern portion of the town, one of those devastating fires so common there. It destroyed over 700 houses, and I have known worse fires both before and since in that luckless place. Being at that time officially responsible for the welfare of the burnt area, I procured, on this particular occasion, by subscription and otherwise, a sum of money sufficient to start the poorest of the sufferers in life again. Among the recipients of a dole was an old working jeweller, who had been completely ruined. He spent the small capital supplied him in a speculation in lead. This was against all rules in those times of trouble (lead being valuable for bullets), but I permitted him to do it, to see what would happen. He proceeded to extract the silver that was in it and made a profit on the transaction that was almost what he told me beforehand he expected to get. The lead was subsequently properly disposed of.

Lumps of metal stamped to shew fineness, but not weight, were in more or less common use. They were all, so far as I know, of foreign origin — either Chinese, Siamese, or Shân, being in fact sycee silver, tickals, or *tànȣông* silver, which are not properly Burmese currency, and are only considered in detail later on, owing to the light their use throws on the present subject.

2.

Peasant Currency.

The irregular tokens above spoken of were lumps of metal made into certain forms and used as coins, though never intended for that purpose. Anything answers for currency to the petty dealer in an Upper Burma bazaar, provided she knows that it is of true metal and has a value by weight.[14] I have had a copper button and a copper seal (Burmese) tendered to me in all good faith in payment of petty bazaar fees by Burmese women. The same observation is true, too, of most country places in India, as is proved by the existence of the **Metal Tokens Act** (Indian Act I. of 1889) of the Indian Legislature, the preamble of which is as follows: — " Whereas it is expedient to prohibit the making or the possession for issue, or the issue, by private persons of pieces of metal for use as money." The Act then goes on to say (Section 3): — " No piece of copper or bronze or of any other metal or mixed metal, which, whether stamped or unstamped, is intended to be used as money, shall be made except by the authority of the Governor-General in Council." We thus see, despite the many centuries that have passed since the introduction of " coin of the realm " into India, that the use as currency of any lump of metal of recognised quality is still so common as to repuire a special Act in our own days to repress it. Nothing seems to be able to overcome in fact the popularity of the Mansûrî, Chachṛaulî, Gôrakhpûrî, Pâṇḍû, and Ḍabal[15] *paisas, chalans, et hoc genus omne*, in the conservative Indian village.[16]

I found a number of English early Nineteenth Century jettons, or **brass card-counters**, current at Paṭiâlâ, Ambâlâ, Hardwâr, and elsewhere in 1890. They have turned up, too, in Rangoon, and have the appearance of farthings, but with such nonsense on them as " the Prince of Wales's model half sov.," (*sic*), etc. They pass for what they are intrinsically worth, just as do the metal tokens prohibited by the Act above-mentioned.

14 Of the habits of the Chinese in this respect Terrien de la Couperie writes:—" A fiduciary coinage has never been willingly accepted in China, and the coins, whatever mark they bore, were never taken for more than their intrinsic value without great objection." *Old Numerals and the Swampan in China*, p. 14.

15 This is the English word " double." The " double pice " or half-anna piece is, however, a recognised legal coin under that name. See also Secs. 8, 9 and 14 of the Indian Coinage Act (XXII. of 1870).

16 For a collection of names of pice, see Tennant's *Catalogue of Coins in the Cabinet of Her Majesty's Mint*, Calcutta, 1883, p. 81 ff. Compare the old Portuguese *arco*, Pyrard de Laval, Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. II. p. 68.

The copper seal above spoken of is an ordinary Burmese seal, badly cut, with the word *myins:àn* on it and so must have belonged to one of the cavalry regiments. It, as well as the copper button, was looked on as currency, because it was of true copper and weighed roughly a pice.

Besides the above, a third specimen of token currency, in the shape of a British quarter-anna of 1887 with the obverse filed smooth, was tendered as a pice in payment of a ferry fee. Here there may have been swindling on the part of the person who filed down the coin, but the *bona fides* of the old woman who tendered it was never questioned. In her eyes it was currency because it was copper and weighed half a pice or thereabouts.

The Tônkhal and Lahapâ Nâgas of the Maṇipûr Territories act much in the same spirit, when they buy their brides for " Maṇipûrî *sêl* about the value of ten rupees." The *sêl* is a small rude coin of bell-metal of very low value, and is the only currency recognised in those parts.[17]

In the same neighbourhood we have a curious instance of **the British rupee being a token pure and simple** in Woodthorpe's *Lushai Expedition*, 1871-1872, p. 182, where he says :— "A cooly, having no use for his money and being no doubt utterly tired of his monotonous Commissariat fare, gave one rupee for a fowl, which thenceforth was established by the Lushais as the standard price,[18] though of the actual value of the rupee they were entirely ignorant, appreciating more highly a few copper coins (but ? *sêl*). A few sepoys, who had a supply of the latter, took advantage of it to buy back, at about a sixth of their value, the rupees which the Lushais had previously received from the officers."

John Crisp in his " Account of the Inhabitants of the Poggy, or Nassau Islands, lying off Sumatra,"[19] confirms the proposition that, **where coin is not the usual currency, any kind of coin will answer the purpose of currency for what it may be intrinsically worth.** He says, writing in 1792, that the Nassau Islanders' " knowledge of metals is entirely derived from their communication with the inhabitants of Sumatra. They are still strangers to use of coin of any kind, and a metal coat-button would be of equal value in their esteem with a piece of gold or silver coin, either of which would be immediately be hung about the neck as an ornament." Their currency was a "sort of iron hatchet or hand-bill," a statement in itself interesting enough.[20]

Strettell (*Ficus Elastica*, p. 139) in 1876 found that the Kachins valued Burmese rupees only for their intrinsic worth in silver, and British rupees for making necklaces. Even when they took rupees in payment, they would only value them at a weight in lump-silver worth ten annas (p. 185).

This notion was common in Lower Burma as late as 1825, for Alexander, *Travels*, p. 27, mentions that in the neighbourhood of Rangoon he found Spanish dollars used as a neck ornament by village children and pleased them greatly by adding "rupee-pieces."

To carry this class of evidence down to 1893, I may note that in his *Report on the Administration of the Northern Shân States* for 1892-3, Mr. Scott tells us, p. 30, that "in the East of Hsi-Paw (Thibaw) an impression has fastened on the people that the rupee of the East India Company's date with the impressions of George IV., William IV., and the rupee in which Her Majesty's head appears without the crown, are not valid tender and are worth no more than fourteen annas."

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[17] See Brown's *Stastistical Account of the Native State of Manipur*, pp. 40, 89. When this writer says (p. 31), that the Kansai Nâgas sell slaves for money, paying Rs. 50, *toks* 70, for them, he no doubt meant payment in *sêl*.

[18] I fear that so far the story must be apocryphal.

[19] *As. Res.* Vol. VI. pp. 71-91, and *Miscell. Papers on Indo-China*, Vol. I. p. 71.

[20] See *post*, Section on Barter and Non-metallic Currencies.

"I have posted up notices in the Bazaar," says Mr. Scott, "and have ordered all the Sawbwâs to notify throughout their States that these rupees are as valid and current as the most recently minted coin, but without any effect whatever. Threats to punish them for refusing legal tender are equally futile. They submit with an air of martyrdom. The eccentricities with regard to coined money are in fact endless. On the Chinese border two-anna pieces are all the rage.[21] A man might scoff at the idea of selling a pony for Rs. 150, but if you offered him 300 two-anna bits,[22] the odds are that he would accept without further chaffering. In the Wâ States, on the contrary, they look on silver money of any kind with comparative non-chalance and impartiality. A two-anna piece is no more attractive than a rupee, and it is quite possible to get a hen's egg for either, but if you produce copper coin, the whole neighbourhood is on the alert to sell everything it possesses from its wives downwards."[23]

Here we have a double influence at work: — distrust of an unaccustomed mark on the currency, together with a desire of sticking to what is known in preference to adopting what is unknown as currency, and the habit of using anything as currency which happens to be of a recognised metal.[24]

Perhaps the existing attitude of the Further Indian wilder tribes towards currency may be best expressed in the words of Dr. Gardner, in describing the early Jewish coinage in *Coins and Medals*, p. 153: — "It would seem that until the middle of the Second Century, B. C., the Jews either weighed out gold and silver for the price of goods, or else used the money usually current among the surrounding peoples or among those who came into commercial contact with them." In a modified degree, owing to a closer acquaintance with a civilised currency, this attitude is still characteristic of the Burmese peasant, and in a still more modified degree of the peasantry of India proper.[25]

This view is confirmed by what Barros has said in his *Decadas* about cowries in the Sixteenth Century[26]: — "There is also a kind of shell-fish (in the Maldives), as small as a snail, but differently shaped, with a hard, white, lustrous shell; some of them, however, being so highly polished and lustrous that, when made into buttons and set in gold, they

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[21] This was not Dr. Anderson's experience. See *Mandalay to Momein*, pp. 91, 278.

[22] Worth Rs. 37½.

[23] Ridgeway's ingenious explanation of this class of fact is that certain coins used as currency by civilised man happen to be valued by certain savages or semi-savages as personal ornaments and hence the preference of different tribes for different specific coins without reference to intrinsic worth. *Origin of Currency*, p. 56. In the Parliamentary Return of the Lushai Expedition (*Parl. Papers, House of Commons, E. I., Cachar*, 1872) we have several instances of the Lushais' view of money and the value they set on ornaments. Of these the best examples are at pp. 251 and 207, respectively, shewing the terms for money and for ornaments to be synonymous. Page 251: — "The list of property which the Looshais say was taken from them by the sepoys does not agree with the property sent me by Colonel Stubbs. The following articles were missing: *dâos* (knives) Rs. 3, gold *mohur* of the neck Re. 1, *dhoiee* (loin-cloth) Re. 1, *markin* cloth Rs. 2, silver bangles Rs. 2, rupee of the neck Re. 1, *pugree* (turban) Re. 1, *pakoor kookie* (?) Rs. 2." Page 207: — "Then Sookpilal's (Chief's) *muntrie* (original form of *mandarin*: see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*) offered 50 *metnas* (buffaloes), 10 guns, 2 *dâgchis* (cauldrons), 20 gongs, and 20 great necklaces, for the captives, but to no purpose."

[24] The same influence is apparently seen in the following extracts quoted by Anderson, *Siam*, p. 67 f. In 1616 the English factors in Siam bought sappan-wood to send to Japan. Cocks was the agent in Japan. "The factors in Siam in exchange for the sappan-wood and the rest of the cargo, wished a return from Japan in a coin, a specimen of which William Eaton was to take back with him to shew Cocks, who was told that if he could send coin of the same description it would tend very much to the employer's profit, 'provided it be kept secret.' Cocks' reply to this request was that he could not accede to it, as it was unlawful in Japan to stamp any coin, but that it was permissible to melt silver into bars." Anderson then notes: — "By 1690 the exportation of 'silver plate' from Japan to Siam must have practically ceased, as Kaempfer relates that on his visit to Ayuthia in that year all the money of Siam was coined from Dutch crowns, which were for this purpose coined in Holland and imported by the Dutch East India Company at seven shillings the crown."

[25] In view of actual facts in modern India and Further India, I cannot help thinking that the true coinage of the ancient European and Asiatic world could hardly have descended to the peasantry. See Nicolo Conti's statement of what he found about 1430 in India. *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Vol. II. p. 30.

[26] Quoted in Gray's Ed. of Pyrard de Laval (Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. II. p. 434 f.).

look like enamel. With these shells for ballast many ships are laden for Bengal and Siam, where they are used for money, just as we (Portuguese) use small copper money for buying things of little value. And even to this Kingdom of Portugal, in some years as much as two or three thousand *quintals*[27] are brought by way of ballast. They are then exported to Guinea and the Kingdoms of Benin and Congo, where also they are used for money, the Gentiles (Heathen Natives) of the interior in those parts making their treasure of it."

The whole situation was accurately described by Pyrard de Laval, nearly three hundred years ago, when describing the currency of the Maldives: — "The coin of the realm is silver only and of one sort. These are pieces of silver called *larins* (hook-money) of the value of eight *sous* or thereabouts of our (French) money, as I have said, as long as the finger and doubled down. The king has them struck in his Island and stamped with his name in Arabic characters. All other coins are foreign, and though they are current, they are only taken at their just value and weight, and they must be gold or silver; all others are rejected." And again at p. 235, he says: — "They take no silver without weighing it and trying it in the fire to prove it: and every body has weights in his house for this purpose."[28]

3.

Chipped Bullion.

In using lumps of metal of indefinite size as currency the practice in Burma was, and is still, in places, as in China, to chop off the required weight from the lump and to tender the chip in exchange for the article wanted.[29] In out-of-the-way places some dealers still keep a hammer and chisel for the purpose, and others either go to the local jeweller or assay-master and get the lump chipped off for them, or borrow his hammer and chisel and do the needful themselves.[30]

If we may define a coin as a lump of metal stamped with recognised marks to indicate fineness and weight — i. e., exchange value — the collection shown on Plates I. and II. exhibits a complete history of the evolution of coinage. Thus:—

(1) the mere lump of metal whose fineness can only be tested by actual assay or outward appearance, and its weight only by actual weighment;

(2) the lump of metal whose fineness is attested by a mark stamped thereon, but whose weight can only be ascertained by actual weighment;

(3) the token whose appearance and apparent weight gives it an exchange value without further test;

(4) the coin stamped by marks to indicate weight and fineness — *i. e.*, exchange value;

(5) the coin of the realm, or coin stamped with those marks which give it a forced currency within the realm and make it the legal medium of exchange.

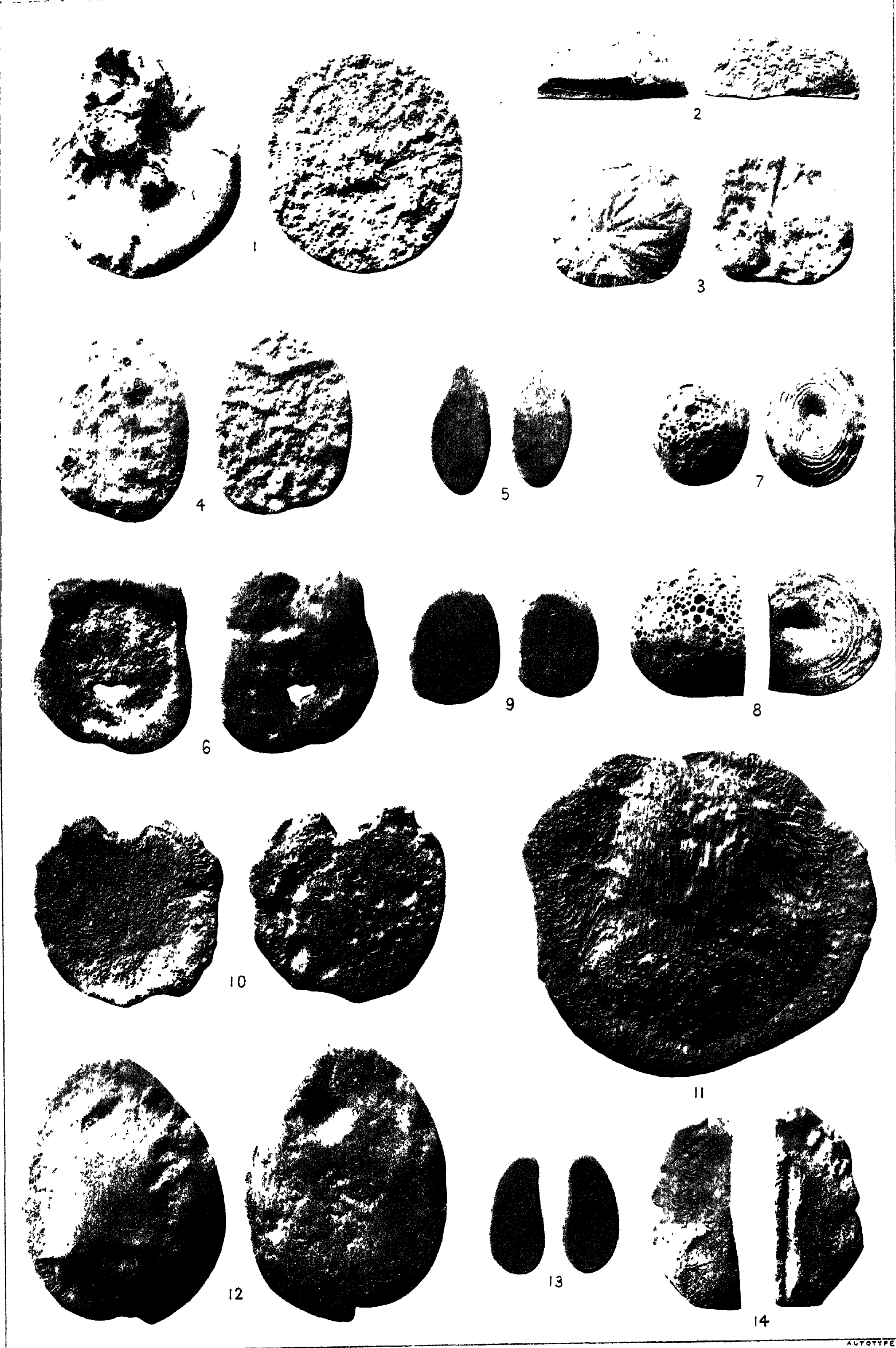
Huc, Nat. Ill. Library Ed., Vol. I. p. 146, has a very interesting note on the treatment of coins by cutting in Tibet, as if they were ingots of metal: — "The monetary

27 Equal to a weight of about 100 to 150 tons, the quintal or kentle being practically the British *cwt.*

28 Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. I. p. 232.

29 See Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.*, Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 38; and Miss Corner's *China*, written for Bohn, Bell's Ed., p. 212; *Pyrard de Laval*, Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. I. p. 235, Vol. II. p. 176; Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 209.

30 Captain Younghusband informed me that in his travels in China he found it necessary to apply to working jewellers to chop pieces from the silver bars or ingots he carried as money, as it was a difficult and tedious operation in unpracticed hands. See also La Loubère, *Siam*, E. T., Vol. I. p. 72. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 30, says that the lumps of silver sent from Ava after the First Burmese War as indemnity weighed "20 to 30 tikals (30 to 40 tolas)," and so were obviously useless for currency except by chopping. Colquhoun, in his *Across Chryse*, Vol. I. p. 139, has rather an interesting reference to lump currency when he tells us that sacrifices to the "Wealth God" by the Chinese consists of hares, eggs, game, fire-works and carp which for this occasion is called "silver-ingot fish."



FULL-SIZE.

Burmese Currency. First stage of evolution.

system of the Tibetians consists entirely of silver coins,[31] which are somewhat larger, but not so thick as our francs. On one side they bear inscriptions in Tibetian Parsee (? for Persian) or Indian characters ; on the other, a crown composed of eight small round flowers. To facilitate commerce, these coins are cut in pieces, the number of flowers remaining on each piece determining its value. The entire coin is called *Tchan-ka*. A *Tche-ptche* is one half of the *Tchan-ka* ; or in other words is a piece of four flowers only. The *Cho-kan* has five flowers, the *Ka-gan* three."

This is the **crescent money** of Terrien de la Couperie, *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, p. xx. He describes it as "the crescent money from Ancient Pegu[32] and of Tibet," and as resulting "from cuts of round money."[33]

It is quite possible that the coins Huc saw were in fact Nepalese, for Prinsep[34] tells us that in 1833 the only coins current then at Lhasa were Nepalese silver *mohars*, and that "as the Bhoteahs have no other currency they are compelled to cut them into halves, quarters and eighths."

As regards China, Colquhoun, in 1882, took with him "Mexican dollars, new and chopped, for use on the (Sikiang) river."[35] And to shew that the custom of chipping obtained in Burma a century ago, I may remark that the French Traveller, Flouest, in 1786, notes that small sums were paid in chips of lead off large lumps, and that large sums were similarly paid in silver.[36]

In a most interesting and graphic account of the wreck of the *Corbin* off the Maldives in 1602, Pyrard de Laval (Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. I. p. 61) after explaining how they rescued some of the great mass of silver in the wreck and buried it, goes on to say :— "But at length, when our comrades, who were left at Pouladou, found that they got nothing to eat and were dying of hunger, they were constrained to unearth it and offer money for food, and the people gave them food for the silver. The mischief was that the smallest piece of money they had was the twenty *sols* piece of Spanish money, and the islanders, seeing our men's ignorance, never gave them change: so that for a thing of the value of two *liars*[37] they had to give one of these pieces, so that at this rate for five or six pieces a man sometimes hardly got a meal. **Had our men had the cunning to do as they use at the Islands and all over India (where money of every kind and mint is accepted so long as it is good metal) — that is to chip it in small pieces and then to weigh it out when required — their silver would have lasted them much longer.** But, as I said, for the smallest commodity they gave a whole piece. So by this waste the silver lasted but a little while to most of those who had it ; and to them the natives would give nothing except for money, so they endured all manner of discomforts."

The whole passage is valuable in every way as exhibiting what currency in the East really was 300 years ago, and the aptitude for trade when opportunity offers, so strongly characteristic of the poverty-stricken peasantry throughout India and the Far East. It further exhibits that accurate appreciation of what passed before his eyes, which distinguishes Pyrard, and to which I have already had occasion to allude.

(To be continued.)

31 Company's rupees must have, however, been then current in Tibet to some small extent : *vide* Duka's *Life of Csoma de Körös*, pp. 78, 85, 87, 93, 105, 134, and lastly, when on his road to study at Lhasa Csoma died at Darjeeling, there were found on him, "cash to the number of 224 rupees of various coinage, and a waist-belt containing 26 gold pieces, Dutch ducats I (Dr. Campbell) believe," p. 152. This last entry shews what this experienced traveller thought to be necessary for a journey in Tibet in 1842. There is probably valuable information on Tibetan currency in a MS. work in the Library A. S. B., noted by Dr. Duka, p. 207 ff., for chapter 224 thereof gives "names of precious things, as jewels, gold, silver, etc."

32 See *post*, remarks on the token money from Tenasserim.

33 In Pegolotti's time (first half, Fourteenth Century, A. D.) silver and gold ingots were apparently not cut in China, but exchanged for the paper money then in vogue. Yule, *Cathay*, Vol. II. p. 289. See also Ibn Batuta's statement a little later in the same century. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II. p. 480 f.

34 *Antiquities*, Thomas' Ed. *Useful Tables*, p. 32. See also Forrest, (Indian) *State Papers, Foreign Department*, Vol. I. p. 78; Vol. III. p. 1074.

35 *Across Chryse*, Vol. I. p. 21. *Cf.* also for the Shân States, *Toung Pao*, Vol. I. p. 51.

36 *Toung Pao*, Vol. II. p. 41.

37 Fourteen to a *sou*, equal a pie and a half, so two *liars* or *liards* equal a pice.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TOWN OF AJMER AND OF ITS NAME.[1]

BY G. BÜHLER.

THE statements regarding the antiquity and the name of the famous town of Ajmêr or Ajmîr, found in the various historical and descriptive accounts of Rajputânâ, are very conflicting. Colonel Tod tells us in the beginning of his *Annals of Râjasthân*, Vol. I. p. 10, note 1 (Madras edition), that Ajmêr is the "hill of Ajya" (*sic*) the "Invincible" hill — *mer* signifying in Sanskrit "a hill." But on p. 663 f. of the same volume he gives a different story and says that the town was built by, and derives its name from, a goat-herd of Pushkar, who was called Ajapâl and was an ancestor of the Chohân king Busildeo (Vîsaladêva).

Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. II. p. 252 ff., ascribes the foundation of Ajmêr to the Chohân or Châhamâna prince Ajayapâla, whom he places — very properly rejecting the bardic story acccording to which he lived before the days of the *Mahâbhârata* — some time before Mânik Rae. Referring the traditional date of the latter king, Saṁvat 741 or 747, to the Saka era, he makes it equal to A. D. 819-825, and in order to prove the antiquity of the town, he appeals to Ferishta, who mentions "the king of Ajmêr" in A. H. 63 (A. D. 684), 377 and 399, and asserts that Mahmud of Ghazni sacked Ajmêr in A. H. 416 or A. D. 1025 on his expedition against Sômnâth.

Further, the *Rajputânâ Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 14, gives, according to traditional accounts, the year A. D. 145 as the date of the foundation of Ajmêr and the name of its founder as Râjâ Aja, "a descendant of Anhal, the first Chohân." Finally, Prof. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III. p. 151, conjectures that the original name of the town was Ajamîḍha, for which later Ajamîra was substituted, and that it is mentioned by Ptolemy, ca A. D. 150, as Gagasmira. In addition there are two native works, not noticed by the European writers, which likewise assign a great antiquity to the town, giving at the same time its correct name. First, the *Hammîramahâkâvya* of Nayachandra (I. 52) states at the end of the description of Ajayapâla[2] the third successor of Châhamâna the *heros eponymos* of the Chôhâns, that this king "established the fort of Ajayamêru, lovely with a beauty that surpasses the glory of heaven." Secondly, an anonymous list of the Châhamâna kings, printed in the Bombay edition of the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 52 ff., calls Ajayarâja, the fourth prince of the Chôhân dynasty (the beginning of which is placed in Saṁvat 608) *Ajayamêrudurgakârakaḥ*, 'the founder of the fort of Ajayamêru."

While all these authorities agree in attributing to Ajmêr a considerable antiquity, the brief note from the *Pṛithvîrâjavijaya*, inserted by Dr. J. Morison in his important article on the Genealogy of the Châhamânas (*Vienna Or. Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 191) under the twentieth king, Ajayarâja or Salhaṇa, relegates its foundation to a very late period, as it calls this king the builder of *Ajayamêru*.

The passage, on which Dr. Morison's note is based, is a rather long one in Sarga V. of the poem. The inscription of Ajayarâja begins with verse 77 and continues through, perhaps, more than forty verses to the end of the Sarga.[3] Verse 99, which has been lost with the exception of the last words of the commentary [रा]जा नगरं कृतवान्, contained the statement of that Ajayarâja built a town. Then follows the inscription of its splendour and holiness in a long

[1] Reprinted from the *Vienna Or. Journal*.

[2] Mr. J. N. Kirtane has printed in I. 41, erroneously महीमहेन्द्रो जयपालः instead of महीमेहन्द्रोऽजयपालः, and has given also Jayapâla in the Introduction, p. 14.

[3] Here and in the sequel I make use of Dr. Morison's transcript which he has kindly placed at my disposal for my work in connection of the *Grundriss*. The state of the dilapidated original makes it impossible to give the numbers of the verses always exactly.

row of stanzas, each of which contains a relative sentence connected with the word *nagara* in verse 99. The first two run as follows:—

भवत्यजयमेरुत्वं सार्थं यस्य सुरालयैः ।
न हि पुण्यप्रभावेण तदस्त्येव न यद्भवेत् ॥ १०० ॥[4]
व्रजन्ति स्थानमाहात्म्यादधमा अविगीतताम् ।
वेश्यानामपि यद्यत्र वास्तवं रागमेलकम् ॥ १०२ ॥

"100. Whose appellation Ajayamêru becomes appropriate through its dwellings of the gods; for, owing to its sanctity, nothing exists that is not found (there);"

"101. Where through the peculiar efficacy of that sacred spot the lowest become blameless, since there even the courtesans unite (themselves) in real passion (with their lovers)."

The end of the description is found in the verse which stands last but one in the Sarga:—

एवंविधामजयमेरुगिरौ प्रतिष्ठां
कृत्वा सकौतुक इवाजयराजदेवः ।
दोर्वीर्यसंहतनयं तनयं विधाय
सिंहासने त्रिदिवमीक्षितुमुच्च[च]ाल ॥[5]

"Having made such a settlement on the Ajayamêru hill, his majesty Ajayarâja went up full of curiosity as it were, to look at heaven, after he had placed on the throne his son, in whom political wisdom was united with the strength of the arm."

The next and concluding verse of the Sarga says that the name of this son was Arṇôrâja, whose reign is described in Sarga VI. and in a portion of Sarga VII. The time of this prince can be ascertained with tolerable accuracy from the statements of the *Pṛithvîrâjavijâya*, of the Gujarât chronicles and of Kumârapâla's Chitôrgaḍh inscription. From the *Pṛithvîrâjavijaya* (Sarga VII.) we learn that Arṇôrâja took as his second wife Kâñchanadevî, a daughter of Jayasiṁha-Siddharâja of Gujarât,[6] and consequently was a younger contemporary of that king, who ruled from A. D. 1094-1143 (Vikrama Saṁvat 1150-1199). Further, the Gujarât chronicles, beginning with Hêmachandra's Dvyâśrayakôsha, all describe the successful war which Jayasiṁha's successor Kumârapâla waged against Arṇôrâja or Ânâka, and the Chitôrgaḍh inscription[7] proves that this war came to an end in, or shortly before, Vikrama Saṁvat 1207, which may correspond to A. D. 1149-50 or 1150-51. Finally, it appears from the date of the Ajmêr inscription[8] of Arṇôrâja's second son Vigraha IV. or Vîsaladêva, Vikrama Saṁvat 1210 or A. D. 1153, that he must have died[9] between V. S. 1207 and 1210.

From these dates it is plain that Arṇorâja reigned in the second quarter of the twelfth century and his father between A. D. 1100 and 1125 or thereabouts, and that Ajayamêru must

4 The text has भजत्यजय°, but Jônarâja's commentary is: यस्य नगरस्याजयमेरुभावः सार्थको भवति देवतावासैः । मेरुर्हि देवावासः । एतमेव विशेषं सामान्येन समर्थयते । न यद्भवत्तन्नास्ति । किं तर्हि । सर्वमेव भवेदित्यर्थः पुण्यप्रभावात् ॥

5 Jônarâja's explanation is as follows: एवंविधामजयमेरुनग[र]स्य प्रतिष्ठां कृत्वा स्वर्गदर्शनार्थं कौतुकीव । नगरान्तरलब्द[ब्धा]न्तर इति भाव : । भुजबलमिलितनीतिं पुत्रं सिंहासने कृत्वोच्चलितः ॥

6 The text of the most important verse has been lost, but Jônarâja's commentary says: गूर्जरेन्द्रो जयसिंहस्तस्मै यां दत्तवान्सा काञ्चनदेवी रात्रौ च दिने च सोमं सोमेश्वरसंज्ञमजनयत् ॥ "That Kâñchanadevî, whom the king of Gujarât Jayasiṁha had given to him, bore him who was called Sômeśvara and who (being an incarnation of Śiva, was) united day and night with Umâ (Pârvatî)."

7 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 422.

8 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX. p. 201. The date is that of the incision of Vigraha's Harakêlinâṭaka.

9 According to the *Pṛithvîrâjavijaya* (S. VII.) Arṇôrâja was assassinated by the eldest son of his first wife, Sudhavâ of Marvâḍ:—

प्रथमः सुधवासुतस्तदानीं परिचर्यां जनकस्य तामकार्षीत् ।
प्रतिपाद्य जलाञ्जलिं घृणायै विदधे यां भृगुनन्दनो जनन्यै ॥

"Then the eldest son of Sudhavâ did that service to his father, which the scion of Bhṛigu (Paraśurâma) — offering a libation of water to Compassion — performed for his mother." Jônarâja reads प्रतिपाद्यजलाञ्जलिम् as a compound and explains घृणायां प्रतिपाद्यो जलाञ्जलिर्यस्यां तां निर्घृणां[यां]परिचर्यां शिरश्छेदात्मिकां परशुरामो मातुः कृतवांस्तां परिचर्यां पूजां ज्येष्ठः सुधवापुत्रः पितुः कृतवान्पितुः शिरश्छेदमकार्षीदित्यर्थः ॥

have been built during this latter period. The testimony of the *Prithvîrâjavijaya*, of course, outweighs that of the modern tradition as well as that of the *Hammîramahâkâvaya* and of Ferishta. For the poem was composed during the reign of Prithvîrâja II. or in the last quarter of the twelfth century, while the *Hammîramahâkâvya* dates at the best from the end of the fourteenth century and Ferishta wrote two hundred years later towards the end of the sixteenth century. Moreover, the *Prithvîrâjavijaya* is the only work, in which, as Dr. Morison has stated, the genealogy of the Châhamânas agree with that contained in their inscriptions, while those of the other Sanskrit sources do not even agree with each other and clearly contain anachronisms.

With respect to one of Ferishta's statements, the sack of Ajmêr by Maḥmûd of Ghaznî, it must be pointed out that the older accounts of the expedition against Sômnâth do not name the town. Ibn Asîr, the oldest author, merely says that after crossing the desert on his way from Multân to Aṇhilvâd, Maḥmûd perceived "on one side a fort full of people, in which place there were wells," and that he took and sacked it.[10] In Ferishta's other references the expression "the king of Ajmer" no doubt is meant to denote the Châhamânas (Chôhâns) of Śâkambharî, who, to judge from the length of the list in the *Prithvîrâjavijaya*, seem to have ruled in Eastern Râjputânâ since the sixth century A. D. The fact that Ajmêr was their capital at the time of the Mahommedan conquest explains Ferishta's mistake.

It deserves to be noted also that the name of Ajmêr does not occur in the Indian intineraries of the earlier Arab geographers, given in the first volume of Elliot's *History of India*, that only one of the Gujarât chronicles, the *Prabhâvakacharitra* (XXII. 420), mentions it in connection with Kumârapâla's war against Arṇôrâja (when it did exist) and that the only Châhamâne inscription, found at Ajmêr, is that of the time of Vigraha IV., mentioned above. All these points, of course, speak in favour of the assertion of the *Prithvîrâjavijaya*, that Ajaya, the twentieth Châhamâna king of Śâkambharî, was its founder, and the late date for the town must be accepted as historical.

As regards the name of *Ajayamêru*, its meaning is no doubt, as the *Prithvîrâjavijaya*, v. 100, suggests, "the Mêru made by Ajayarâja." *Mêru* is primarily the name of the fabulous golden mountain (*hêmâdri*), the centre of Jambudvîpa on which the gods dwell (*surâlaya*) and it is figuratively applied in geographical names to any hill covered with splendid temples and palaces.[11] Thus we have in Rajputânâ *Jêsalamêru*,[12] "the Mêru made by Jêsala," which primarily denotes the hill-fort, rising with its temples and palace above the town of Jêsalmêr or Jêsalmîr in Marvâḍ, Komalmêr, properly *Kumbhalamêru*, "the Mêru built by *Kumbhala* or *Kumbhakarṇa*," which is the well-known hill-fort[13] in Mêvâḍ, and Bâlmêr or Bârmêr, properly *Bâhaḍamêru*, the Meru made by Bâhaḍa," a hill-fort in Mallânî.[14] In Kâṭhiâvâḍ, there is Jhâṅjmêr,[15] properly **Jhañjhamêru*, "the Mêru made by Jhañjha," and in the Central Provinces there is another Ajmîrgarh, properly **Ajayamêrugaḍha*, "the fort, *i. e.*, the Mêru made by Ajaya."

March 12*th*, 1897.

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10 Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 469. — This unnamed fort no doubt was erroneously converted into Ajmêr by Ferishta or his informants. It is more probable that Mahmud took the straighter road to Aṇhilvâḍ *viâ* Maṇḍôr and Pâli, and that one of these forts is meant by Ibn Asîr.

11 Another figurative meaning of *mêru*, derived from the notion that mount Mêru is the home of the gods, is "a large temple with six towers, twelve stories and wonderful vaults" (*Brihatsaṁhitâ*, lvi. 20). According to the *Prabandhachintâmani*, p. 134 (see also p. 175 f.) king Karṇa of Gujarât constructed a building of this kind, called *Karṇamêruḥ prâsâdaḥ*, in Aṇhilvâḍ. Similarly, the *Prabhâvakacharitra*, XII. 402, mentions a Śiva temple, called *Siddhamêru*.

12 This form is still used by Pandits and Yatis, and occurs regularly in the colophons of the palm-leaf MSS., in the inscriptions and in the Jaina books.

13 In the *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III. p. 52, the fort is called Komalgarh, while Col. Tod gives Komalmer. The name *Kumbhalamêru* occurs in the Jaina Paṭṭâvalis, see the description of the Kharatara Śrîpûj Jinabhadra, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 249.

14 *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 271. The form *Bâhaḍamêru* is used by the Jainas, see the description of the Kharatara Śrîpûj Jinasamudra, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 249.

15 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII. p. 459.

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 10. — *Kuthuveluku and Tungaveluku.*

ONCE on a time in a certain country there lived a Brâhmaṇ, who had two very beautiful daughters. The eldest bore the name of **Tungaveluku** and her sister **Kuthuveluku.** The father had these girls married at an early age. In due time, Tungaveluku, who had been married in her seventh year, advanced towards womanhood, and the *garbavasi*, or *garbadhan*, ceremony[1] had been performed. Shortly afterwards Kuthuveluku, too, attained to womanhood, but the *sobanam*[1] ceremony could not be performed, for her husband, Dêshâdi Râjâ, was travelling in the East and West and North and South of Âryavarta.

Not having seen her sister, Tungaveluku, for a long time, Kuthuveluku, adorning herself in all her ornaments, went to visit her. Tungaveluku, on seeing her appear even more beautiful than when she had last seen her, wept bitterly, for she had heard of the death of Dêshâdi Râjâ. The younger sister asked the cause of her weeping, but she would not tell her for a long time. As Kuthuveluku persisted, she yielded, and with tears in her eyes, said: — "My loving and only sister, Kuthuveluku, I wept because I thought of what you will do with your youth and loveliness, young and lovely as you are, for I have heard of the death of your husband in the course of his travels in Bharatavarsha."

Hearing this, Kuthuveluku took leave of her sister and returned to her parents. Informing them of her misfortune with tears, she entreated her father to prepare a funeral pyre, so that she might burn herself in it and rejoin her husband in the next world.

In due course the pyre was prepared. After distributing *pushpu*, *kuṅkuma*, *barnailu*, *santôsa* and *vastra*[2] to the *punya strîs*,[3] and after making *pranâms*[4] to the assembled crowd, Kuthuveluku, without swerving for one moment from the self-imposed ordeal, and calling upon heaven and earth to witness, notwithstanding the high flames leaping to the skies, jumped upon the pyre. But an unusual heavy rain came down from the blue sky and not only extinguished the funeral pile, but burst the banks of the rivers abounding in the country and made them overflow, and caused a general flood. One of these rivers, by the impetuosity of its flow, swept the immaculate victim of the burning fires along with it. On the morning of the next day the chaste young widow of Dêshâdi Râjâ, whom the fires refused to touch, carried by the benign current, found herself landed on the bank of a river in a strange country.

A *mâlakâra*[5] in service of the king of the country saw her and was impressed with her extreme beauty. Pitying her forlorn condition, wetted and shivering as she was, he took the young lady home and told his wife to tend her as their child, as they had no children. Now it was the duty of the *mâlakâra* every morning to make ready garlands and *immortelles*, *gujras* and *turas*[6] for the royal family. In this work he was relieved on one occasion by his adopted daughter. The queen observed the change, and so struck and pleased was she with the artistic talent displayed in the arrangement of various flowers constituting the wreaths, etc., that she sent for the *mâlakâra* and asked him who had made ready the *mâlâs* that day.

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1 Consummation of marriage.

2 *Pushpu*, turmeric; *kuṅkuma*, a powdered substance, vermilion in colour, applied in the form of a circle to the forehead by Hindu women; *barnailu*, small caskets to hold *kuṅkuma* often made of wood; *santôsa*, ornaments; *vastra*, cloths.

3 *Punya strîs*, *lit.*, meritorious ladies, or those ladies whose husbands are alive as distinguished from widows. They are allowed to wear the *kuṅkuma* marks on the forehead and to apply turmeric to their face, hands and feet.

4 Salutations.

5 *Lit.*, maker of necklaces or *mâlâs* of flowers, usually a *mâlî*.

6 *Gujras*, small garlands of flowers for the hands; *turas*, small garlands of flowers for the head, rather for the head-dress.

"My daughter," was the reply.

"Bring your daughter to me some day," said the mistress.

Accordingly, the *mâlakâra* took his adopted daughter to the palace one day, and she was at once, much to the regret of the foster father, taken into the service of the royal family as a suitable companion to the queen's daughter, who was of the same age.

Now, on a certain occasion, the queen gave a *sêr* of pearls to one of the maid-servants, telling her to string them. The *mâlakâra's* adopted daughter, who happened to be present, said she would do the work, but her mistress would not trust her with it. However, she insisted, and in an inauspicious moment began the work. While thus occupied Kuthuveluku was shouted at and called several times for her noon-day meal. So she left the pearls in a temple to Gaṇsêśa attached to the palace, and went to her food. But what was her surprise on her return to find that the pearls had completely disappeared.

The loss of the pearls was, in due course, brought to the notice of the queen. She was very wroth, and had the culpirt's head at once shaved[7] as a public insult. Besides this punishment the poor widow of Dêshâdi Râjâ was made to sweep the verandahs, granaries and stable-yards during the day, and at night to act as a lamp-stand at the latter place.

Now, Dêshâdi Râjâ was alive, notwithstanding the rumours of his demise, and had arrived in this country from his extensive travels in the land of Bharata and of Kaśyapa Muni,[8] embosomed and nestling amidst the Yamulgiri Parvatam[9]; for the queen was no other than his sister. Here, in the palace, he saw poor Kuthuveluku standing alone during the night at the entrance to his chamber, for her position had been shifted to the palace from the stable-yard since the Râjâ's stay in the palace. He was very much displeased with the inhuman treatment meted out to the maid-servant: and was anxious to know the cause of such a harsh treatment, but somehow or other he forgot to ask about it.

During his stay with his brother-in-law and sister, Dêshâdi Râjâ asked that a mistress be provided for him. This, of course, could not be done without informing the queen. So she was informed, and said: — "We had better send that girl who lost the *lâkh* of rupees worth of pearls: she is beautiful. By this way at least the loss of the pearls will be recompensed."

Accordingly, Kuthuveluku was ordered to dress herself and go to the newly arrived brother of the queen in the palace during his stay. She understood the purpose and wept much, but obey she must. So, fervently praying to Iśvara inwardly to preserve her chastity, she, on the first day, heaving deep sighs, approached the entrance of the chamber and stood weeping. On the second night also she approached the entrance of the chamber with a heavy heart and stood weeping. The third day, too, saw her standing and weeping at the entrance. The fourth day also marked the tears of Kuthuveluku, wetting the ground at the entrance to the chamber of the Râjâ. But on the fifth day, when she had begun weeping after approaching the entrance and taking her stand, the Râjâ, who had observed her behaviour for the last four days, and taking her to be no prostitute, asked her who she was and why she was weeping. Upon this Kuthuveluku with clasped hands unfolded her tale of woes. She told how she had been married to the unfortunate Dêshâdi Râjâ, who had died while making acquaintance with different countries, and in consequence how she had had a funeral pile prepared and jumped into it to rejoin her husband in the next world, but how an unusually heavy rain at that moment came down from the high heavens, as ill-luck would have it, and

[7] Shaving of the head, lopping of the ears, cutting of the noses of women and parading them in streets after making them sit on donkeys with their faces pointing to the tail of the animal, were old punishments inflicted on women for misconduct or infidelity to their husbands or other offences.

[8] Kashmir.

[9] Himalaya Mountains.

extinguished the flames: how one of the several rivers which inundated the country in consequence, instead of accepting her sinful self as a sacrifice when refused by fire, swept her along only to lay her on the banks of a river of a strange country, where a *mâlakâra* taking compassion on her, adopted her as his daughter; how she was torn away from him by the queen to become a companion for her daughter; how she lost the pearls in the temple of Gaṇêśa and had in consequence been punished.

She went on to say: — "I have been the lamp-post at the entrance to your chamber since your arrival (though I was in the stable-yard before), and now I am compelled to lead the life of a prostitute against my will, when, as heaven and earth know it, I have laid the hem of my garment[10] to Dêshâdi Râjâ, and to him alone. To save me from dishonour and allow me to die pure, when death overtakes me, is now within your power," said Kuthuveluku, prostrating herself at his feet with tears trickling down the pallid cheeks of her swollen face.

Hearing her sorrowful story, and recognizing, from the narration in the poor, badly-treated servant sent to him, his own wife, Dêshâdi Râjâ took her to his side and wept bitterly, exclaiming that he was her husband. But Kuthuveluku would not believe that he was her husband, for had she not learnt from the lips of her sister that he died while travelling in the classic Âryabhûmi, and were not women always being deceived by men by false persuasion? However, Dêshâdi Râjâ sent for his brother-in-law the next day, and in high terms asked the cause of the maltreatment of his wife, and straightway made his way to the temple to Gaṇêśa and beat the image[11] in his anger with a ratan, stating that he was the root of the disappearance of the pearls for which his poor wife was so bitterly persecuted. Whereupon the god gave up the pearls!

Dêshâdi Râjâ soon afterwards, leaving his cruel sister and brother-in-law, who were at a loss for an explanation of the maltreatment of his wife, reached his father-in-law's country, followed by his patient wife, Kuthuveluku.

Here, to the great joy of Kuthuveluku's father and sister, was very soon celebrated with great pomp and splendour the marriage of Dêshâdi Râjâ with Kuthuveluku for the second time, for both had been reported dead and were alive.

It need hardly be said that the pair lived happily afterwards, attaining a good old age.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(*Continued from p.* 140.)

XXXIV.

AT Chatrapur lived four poor friends, who, being in great distress and sorely puzzled how to eke out a livelihood, met at a certain spot to devise means for bettering their condition. They thereupon performed severe austerities to the Kâḷî of the place, who, being pleased with them, appeared to them and asked them what they wanted. They asked her to confer riches and happiness on them. The goddess thereupon gave each of them a talisman, which was to be carried on the head. They were told to go in a northerly direction, and wherever the talisman fell from the head to dig there, and take whatever came to each person's lot. The four friends set out on their errand, and went a certain distance, when the talisman of the first person fell from his head. When the spot was dug into, an enormous quantity of copper was found. The first man saw the others, and said that he was quite content with his lot, and stopping there, he carried the copper home. After travelling a little more distance, the talisman of the second man fell from his head. The spot was dug into, and an enormous quantity of silver was found. He followed

[10] *Konguvaisinanu* in Telugu — laid the hem or that portion of the *sârî* gracefully coming over the head on the ground with a view to receive.

[11] *I. e., Gaṇêśa vigraha* — Piety calls it so.

the action of the first friend, and desisted from going any further. The other two travelled for some time longer, when the talisman on the head of one of them fell off. When the spot was dug into, an enormous quantity of gold was found. He thereupon told the last friend not to proceed any further, as, with the quantity of gold found, both of them could live happily. But he gave a deaf ear to the advice, and went on for some time longer, till the talisman fell from his head. The spot was dug into, and a quantity of iron was found. He was overcome with grief at his lot, and regretting the neglect of his friend's advice he retraced his steps. But, alas, in this he was sorely disappointed, for he was not able to find his friend. Thereupon immersed in grief he tried to get at the iron that had fallen to his lot, but he was not able to find the iron. Very sorry for his lot, he came back to the town and lived once more by begging.

Moral: — A person who hears not the advice tendered by his most intimate friends will surely come to grief.

XXXV.

Lake Vîmalâvati has been occupied from time immemorial by large numbers of fish. Once upon a time, a crane, which happened to pass by, conceived the idea of preying on them, and stood on the brink of the lake. But it saw the fish going away from it shaking with fear, and so it said:—"I very much regret your going away from me in the belief that birds of my order make you their prey, and that I would do the same. But I have not come here with such an object in view. I, following others of my kind, have killed a good many fish, and become a sinner, but I am now grown very old, and have renounced the world. I am come here to perform penance. Fear not any harm from me. You may roam anywhere you please."

The poor fish believed the wily words of the crane, especially as the crane did not interfere with them at all, though they approached it. After some time had thus elapsed, the crane appeared to be very much dejected and melancholy. The fish approached it, and asked it what the matter was. To which the crane replied: — "What shall I say? A twelve years' famine will very shortly visit the land. Not a drop of water will then remain in this lake. I am able to know this by second sight, and, as you are my close friends, I cannot resist the temptation of informing you, lest you die when the famine comes."

The fish were exceedingly joyed at the humane nature of the crane, and requested it to save them from the impending peril. The crane thereupon informed them, that there was a lake a few yards further off, which would never dry, and that it would be a very happy refuge for the fish. The latter requested the former to take them up and leave them there. The crane thereupon took them up one by one and left them in the sun on a mountain-top, and slowly devoured them.

Moral: — We should never, therefore, believe the words of our natural enemies.

XXXVI.

A famine, in days long gone by, once devastated the whole of the southern country, and there was not a drop of water visible in pond, lake, well or tank. The elephants, very much troubled by thirst, went in search of a place where they could satisfy it to their hearts' content, and found a tank called **Chandrapushkârani.** As the tank was full to the brim, they rested there and quenched their thirst, and also found a habitation in the woods adjacent, till the whole country was again green with verdure. But the track of these elephants was full of hares, and they were smashed to pieces under their heavy footsteps. The hares, seeing the calamity that had befallen them, and how they were greatly reduced in numbers, met at a certain spot to devise means for sending the elephants away to a distant spot. One of them said:—"Why fear the elephants? I have devised means to get rid of them."

On a certain moon-light night, it climbed and sat on an adjacent mountain-top, and said to the elephants who came by, as usual, to drink from the tank:—"O, ye elephants, I have been deputed by Chandra (the moon), whose tank it is, to inform you that this tank has been dug under his orders. That is the reason why it goes under the name of Chandrapushkârani (*lit.*, the moon's tank). He comes here every night and dallies with his wives. For some time past he has been interrupted in his pastime by your advent and meddling with the waters. He is therefore very angry with you. Quit the tank instantly, or otherwise, he told me, he would smash you up ere dawn. If you want to see whether he is angry or not, just look into this tank and you will be satisfied."

The elephants were wonder-struck, and seeing the reflection of the moon, agitated by the wind in the waters, mistook it for his wrath with them, bowed to the moon, requested him to excuse them as they had come there in innocence, and desired the hare to intercede with the moon on their behalf. The elephants thereupon quitted the place instantly, and the hares from that time forwards lived comfortably.

THE MANDUKYA UPANISHAD.

BY HERBERT BAYNES, M.R.A.S.

The Mâṇḍûkya-Upanishad.

ओम्

ཨོཾ་མ་ཎི་པ་དྨེ་ཧཱུྃ་

सत्यम् एव जयते

Hiraṇmayêna pâtrêna satyasya apihitam Mukham ।
Yaḥ asâu âdityê purushaḥ saḥ asâu aham
Ôm! Kham! Brahma! ॥

The Mâṇḍûkya Upanishad.

PERHAPS no class of metaphysical literature is likely to exercise so great an influence on future schools of thought in Europe as those mystical products of the Indian mind known as the *Upanishads.* No less an authority than Prof. Deussen does not hesitate to say: 'Whatever, with growing knowledge, may be the final form of these and other parallels, they at all events prove what penetrating questions have been raised and in their way answered by the Indians, and what a mistake it is to exclude the philosophy of the Hindûs from the philosophical curriculum. In the course of time this state of things must and will be altered.'

Professor Max Müller has contributed two volumes of translation of these ancient treatises to the Clarendon Press series, and, to judge alike from the friendly and the adverse criticism of which they have been the subject, interest in these matters is likely to grow rather than to diminish.

Now the *Mâṇḍûkya,* which, in the opinion of competent *paṇḍits,* best expresses in terse form the essential theosophy of India, does not form one of the aforesaid series. There is a short literal English translation of the work by Dr. Roer in the second volume of the *Bibliotheca Indica,* a similar prose rendering into German in his *Indische Studien* by Prof. Albrecht Weber and into French by M. Regnaud. But hitherto, at all events in Europe, this *Upanishad* has not received the attention which it undoubtedly deserves.

It bears its name from an ancient Ṛishi called Maṇḍuka, the Frog, or from a school of Âchâryas of that name, the Mâṇḍûkya Śâkhâ.

Professor Weber has pointed out that we read in the *Prâtiśâkhya* of a Mâṇḍûkêya as one of the Ṛik grammarians. To fix the exact date of its composition seems quite impossible. It is certainly after that of the eleven classical *Upanishads,* but we know it must have been before Gâuḍapâda, the teacher of Gôvinda, and before Śaṁkara, the latter's pupil, who both wrote a commentary on the work, which is attached to the *Atharva Vêda.* For a true understanding of the doctrine and history of Brahman and as a preparation for the standpoint of the *Upanishads* the *Atharva Vêda* is most important. In the fifth *Maṇḍala* we have a description of the origin of man, of the Vêdic student as an incarnation of Brahman and of Brahman as the Breath of Life, the World-Support and the Teleological Principle.

Says the *Chândôgya* (v. 18, 2): 'Of that *Âtharvaṇa Vêda* the head is Sutêjas, the eye Viśvarûpa, the breath *pṛithagvartman,* the trunk *bahula,* the bladder *rayi,* the feet the earth, the chest the altar, the hairs the grass on the altar, the heart the *gârhapatya* fire, the mind the *anvâhârya* fire, the mouth the *âhavanîya* fire.'

The position taken up by the *Mâṇḍûkya* may be described psychologically, cosmologically and theologically, the idea being that the macrocosm and the microcosm are involved and evolved in the same way, the whole process being symbolized by **Ôm**, the real Brahman. It is the doctrine of **Âtman trikâuśa** or three-sheathed Soul.

From a psychological point of view we have a representation of the states known as the conscious, the sub-conscious and the super-conscious, here called **vâiśva, tâijas** and **prâjña** corresponding to the three Kôśas named *annamaya*, the sheath of nourishment, of the gross body; *jâgradvâsanâ*, the sheath of the subtle body; and *ânandamaya*, the sheath of bliss, of unity and liberty. In later books the qualities **tamas, rajas** and **sattva** are similarly conceived and applied. According to Indian psychology *ahaṁkâra*, individuality, consists of **Śarîra** the solid frame, **indriya** the sensor nerves, **manas** the motor nerves, and **Âtman** the subsuming and controlling Spirit, certain phases of Âtman being sometimes distinguished as *buddhi* the faculty of decision and *citta* the faculty of memory.

The Âtmâ, represented by our Upanishad in three states, appears first of all as what metaphysicians of the older schools used to call **bahishkaraṇa**; that is to say, the human spirit manifests itself through the physical temple in manifold activity of body and brain as **âtmâ vâiśvânara.** The Atlantic cable and the telephone, the railroad and the ironclad, the Tâj Mahal, the statues and chryselephantine products of Aegina, the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Iliad*, the *Prometheus*, *Antigone* and *Hamlet*, the *Ninth Symphony* and the *Hymn of Praise*; all the creations of genius, the highest achievements of science and of art come under this head. We have, in fact, the action and re-action of *indriya* and *manas*, resulting in the many-colored activities of an ordered world. **Pravṛitti** of **Purusha** or **Viśva** of **Âtman** is thus the first modal expression of what Spinoza would call *Natura naturans*, the primary form of *Natura naturata*.

In the second place we have **Nivṛitti** or **Âtman tâijasa.** This is the sub-conscious state, in which the soul withdraws from the outside world in order to pass in review the forms and, fancies of the Kosmos known to âtmâ vâiśvânara. It is **antaḥkaraṇa**, the dream of the doer the Mâyâ of the mind. In the words of the great poet of the Middle Age, it is *Un' alma sola, che vive e sente e sè in sè rigira.*

The third phase is the super-conscious, in which the **âtman prâjña** beholds, as it were, its own apotheosis, the Many is resolved into the One, **trikôśa** is again **êkakôśa**, in the blissful state of **sâmyâsvasthâ.**

Cosmologically the theory is that the universe, when it comes out of the Absolute, manifests itself from finer to grosser states in three stages and goes into the Absolute in the opposite way, and he who knows this secret, which has been symbolized by the threefold Ôm and by the Âtman, becomes master of his own different states of existence and knows the truth.

But the theological, or rather theosophical, standpoint is the really important one, to which the other two are altogether subsidiary. 'I pray Thee, tell me Thy name' is the prayer of the poet in all ages, struggling, like another Jacob, with the thought that is within him. About the same time that Ṛishi Maṇḍuka was whispering this *rahasya*, the old Persian prophet Zarathushtra exclaimed (*Ormazd Yasht*, i. v.) :—

"Tell me Thy name, O holy Ahura Mazda, that name which is the greatest, the best, the most beautiful, the most efficacious, the strokes of which are the most victorious, which succours best, which best confounds the malice of demons and of men, that I may overcome both, and Yâtus and Pairikas, so that none may destroy me."

After enumerating 19 names Ahura Mazda answered :—

𐬀𐬵𐬨𐬌. 𐬫𐬀𐬙. 𐬀𐬵𐬨𐬌.

I am that I Am!

Amongst the Greeks, too, who can forget the chorus in the *Agamemnon* of Aischylos?

Ζεύς, ὅστις ποτ᾿ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὐ —
τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,
τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω.
οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι,
πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος
πλὴν Διὸς, εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ
φροντίδος ἄχθος
χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.

'Zeus — if to The Unknown
That name of many names seem good —
Zeus, upon thee, in utter need, I call.
Through the mind's every road
I passed, but vain are all
Save that which names thee Zeus, the Highest One!
Were it lent mine to cast away the load,
The weary load that weighs my spirit down!'

Now, as regards the Mâṇḍûkya, the whole treatise is primarily an exposition and expansion of the sacred Name. 'Hold the bow,' says the Muṇḍaka, the Upanishads proclaim; fit in it the sharp arrow of concentrated attention; draw it with the whole mind of devotion, and forget not that the mark is the great Imperishable. Ôm, the great name of God, is the bow, the soul the arrow, the mark the Supreme Being himself. Shoot it with all your care and diligence. As the arrow is held fast in the mark, so is the soul lodged in Divinity.' In the *Bhagavadgîta* Kṛishṇa says to Arjuna (viii. 13) : —

Ômityêkâksharam Brahma vyâharan mâmanusmaran,
Yaḥ prayâti tyajan dêhaṁ sa yâti paramâṁ gatiṁ.

'Whoso pronounces the sacred Ôm, the one imperishable Brahma, thinking all the while of me, he, thus abandoning his body, treads the path supreme!'

And here we see the great difference between Âryan and Semitic religious feeling. Whereas to the Hebrew the *Tetragrammaton* or *Shêm-ha-Meforush* is too sacred to be by any means ever uttered or even to be written in the way it occurs in the Bible, the *Êkâksharam* to the Hindû is a word not only to be written, but, by very reason of its sacredness, to be recited before every reading of the Vêda and to be brooded on day and night!

But though this is true of the Jews at the time of the Upanishads we must not forget that it was not always so. It has long been known that in Hebrew history we must distinguish three periods in which names and words bore very different characters.

In the first, when the people were called Hebrew, names stood for truths and words were the symbols of realities. Of that early age simplicity and sincerity were the chief characteristics. Names were drawn either from the idea of the family or from that of the tribe; from some prominent peculiarity of the individual or from the religious idea. It is quite true that, though in those days names were real, the conceptions expressed were not the most lofty. Thus the thought of Deity was not yet יָהּ, the great secret of existence, but only אֵל Might.

וַיִּקְרָא יַעֲקֹב שֵׁם הַמָּקוֹם פְּנִיאֵל
Gen. xxxii. 30.

וַיַּצֶּב־שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ וַיִּקְרָא לוֹ אֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃
Gen. xxxiii. 20.

Unabated simplicity combined with emotion more fervently-religious characterizes the Israelites of the second epoch, which begins with the *Exodus*. And with intense feeling comes sublime thought. The soul within stretches out into the Infinite; the whole being expands into a mighty longing to utter the Unutterable. None has stated this more beautifully than Rev. F. W. Robertson.

'The heart of the nation was big with mighty and new religious truth — and the feelings with which the national heart was swelling found vent in the names which were given abundantly. God, under his name Jah, the noblest assemblage of spiritual truths yet conceived, became the adjunct to names of places and persons. Oshea's name is changed into Je-hoshua.

Observe, moreover, that in this period there was no fastidious, over-refined chariness in the use of that name. Men, conscious of deep and real reverence are not fearful of the appearance of irreverence. The word became a common word, as it always may, so long as it is *felt*, and awe is *real*. A mighty cedar was called a cedar of Jehovah — a lofty mountain, a mountain of Jehovah. Human beauty even was praised by such an epithet. Moses was divinely fair, beautiful to God. The Eternal name became an adjunct. No beauty — no greatness — no goodness, was conceivable, except as emanating from Him: therefore, His name was freely but most devoutly used.'

Here words are not only real but are pregnant with deep religious truth, with thought profounder far than at the earlier stage. 'What is His name?' says Moses, 'What shall I say unto them?' And the great answer came, as at last it came to the Iranian prophet:—

אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה

I Am that I am!

It was only at the third period, which was at its zenith in the time of Christ, that names to the Jews became hollow and words lost their meaning. Then it was that the decay of national religious feeling began. For, whenever the debasement of a language takes place, it is a sure sign of the insincerity of a nation.

To again quote the weighty words of Rev. J. W. Robertson:—

'A nation may reach the state in which the Eternal Name can be used to point a sentence or adorn a familiar conversation, and no longer shock the ear with the sound of blasphemy, because in good truth the Name no longer stands for the Highest, but for a meaner conception, an idol of the debased mind . . .

Yet in this period, exactly in proportion as the solemnity of the idea was gone, reverence was scrupulously paid to the corpse-like word which remained and had once enclosed it. In that hollow, artificial age, the Jew would wipe his pen before he ventured to write the Name — he would leave out the vowels of the sacred Jehovah, and substitute those of the less sacred Elohim. In that kind of age, too, men bow to the name of Jesus often just in that proportion in which they have ceased to recognise His true grandeur and majesty of character.'

With the Arabs the recitation of the Name seems ever to have been a sacred duty, and no true follower of Islâm fails to preface every undertaking with the words بسم الله

Returning to the Upanishads we read in the second Prapâṭhaka of the Chândôgya (Ch. xxiii.):—

'Prajâpati brooded on the worlds. From them, thus brooded on, the threefold knowledge issued. He brooded on it, and from it, thus brooded on, issued the three syllables Bhûḥ, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ. He brooded on them, and from them, thus brooded on, issued the Ôm. As all leaves are attached to a stalk, so is all speech attached to the Ôm. Ôm is all this, yea, all this is Ôm!'

Vyâsa, too, commenting on the Yôga Darśana, says :—

'The recitation of Ôm and the constant presentation to the mind of its signification: these are the two means of **Upâsanâ**, of true worship. The Yôgin who constantly does both, developes concentration, or, as has elsewhere been stated, the aforesaid recitation and realisation develope concentration, and concentration facilitates realisation till, by the continual action and re-action of both, the light of the supreme divinity begins to fully shine in his heart.'[1]

Of such a Yôgin or Sannyâsin Mr. Rudyard Kipling has given us a most interesting and delightful picture in the story of Pûran Bhagat. A man of world-wide culture, the prime minister of a Native State, who for many years had been *par excellence* a man of affairs, one day renounces all, and goes quietly forth with leopard-skin and almsbowl to dwell in the forest and to meditate on God.

'That day saw the end of Pûran Bhagat's wanderings. He had come to the place appointed for him — the silence and the space. After this, time stopped, and he, sitting at the mouth of the shrine, could not tell whether he were alive or dead ; a man with control of his limbs, or a part of the hills, and the clouds, and the shifting rain, and sunlight. He would repeat a Name softly to himself a hundred hundred times, till at each repetition he seemed to move more and more out of his body, sweeping up to the doors of some tremendous discovery ; but, just as the door was opening, his body would drag him back, and, with grief, he felt he was locked up again in the flesh and bones of Pûran Bhagat.'

In all Vêdic literature the most sacred mame is **Ôm.** Whereas other names of the Supreme also express or imply phenomena, or things that pass, this word alone indicates the Eternal, expresses the noumenon. But this is not all. 'The deepest and in truth the highest reason,' says the Vêdântist, 'is that the signification of Ôm is the *Key-note* of the realisatsion of the Divine Spirit. The several letters of Ôm, with unparalleled exactness, mark the successive steps of meditation by which one rises to the realisation of the true nature of Divinity.'[2]

This sacred syllable consists of three letters, **A, U, M,** and these by the Mâṇḍûkya are made the modal expressions of the First Cause, the means of the self-development of the Divine along the three planes of Vyavahâra, Pratibhâsa and Paramârtha. अ represents **jâgrat,** the 'wakeful' phase ; उ **svapna**, the 'dreaming ;' and म **sushupti**, the 'slumbering.' In brooding over the meaning of अ the devotee has in mind the Deity as Framer of systems and of worlds, as Brahmâ emerging from Brahman, a divine self-protection into infinite space, resulting in the music of the spheres and in Nature as the manifold manifestation of Mind. As regards motive for **jâgrat** the Indian Yôgî would probably agree with the Persian Sûfî: 'I was a hidden treasure and I longed to be known, so I called forth Creation that I might be comprehended.'

Reflection on उ leads to a thought of the supreme Being as turning in upon Himself to review the results of His previous act of Creation. The exquisite play of light and shade, the full-toned tints and forms of star and tree and flower ; all the high harmonics of this so solid-seeming world are seen and heard as in a dream, until, in that matchless line of Dante — *Ciò ch'io vedeva, mi sembrava un riso Dell' universo !* — or in the words of that surpassing poem — Genesis : 'God saw all that He had made, and lo ! it was very good !

The Deity viewed as Himself the embodiment of all ideas and principles is the meaning of म. Creation and contemplation are over. The objective world has ceased to be. It is **sarvôparamatvât.** The All again becomes the One. Behind and above all that *appears* is that which *Is*, das Werden is again das Sein. For म is mâtra, that which measures all, is the Resort of all. The *Chândôgya* tells us: 'that Self abides in the heart. And this is the

[1] *Sûtras* xxvii. and xxviii.

[2] Guru Vidyarthi's *Vêdic Magazine*, July, 1898.

etymological explanation. The heart is called *hṛidayam* instead of *hṛidyayam*, *i. e.*, He who is in the heart. He who knows this, that He is in the heart, goes day by day when in deep sleep (*sushupti*) into heaven (*svarga*), *i. e.*, into the Brahman of the heart.'

Says the *Kaṭha Upanishad* :—

Svapnântaṁ jâgaritântaṁ cha ubhâu yênânupaśyati |
Mahântaṁ vibhumâtmânam matvâ dhîrô na śôchati ||

'That wise man sorrows not, who, awake or in a dream or in both, beholds the great and omnipresent Self!'

It is from the *Mâṇḍûkya* that Sadânanda, the author of the *Vêdânta-Sâra*, seems to have drawn his inspiration. "A follower of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa," he says, "is of opinion that the soul is intellect conditioned by ignorance, according to Scripture which saith : 'Soul which is full of joy is also replete with knowledge' (M. U. v.), because in deep sleep light and darkness are alike really present, and because one is under the impression that one does not know oneself."

The *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇaṁ* well says (x. iii. z. b) :—

Yadâ vai purushaḥ svapiti, prâṇaṁ tarhi vâgapi-êti, prâṇaṁ chakshuḥ, prâṇaṁ manaḥ, prâṇaṁ śrôtraṁ. Sa yadâ prabudhyatê, prâṇâd êva adhi-punar jâyantê.

'When a man sleeps, speech is merged in life, eye in life, mind in life, ear in life. And when he wakes they are reborn from life.'

Professor Deussen has put this into modern metaphysical phraseology. 'The Will, as the objectification of which every man and every animal appears, is originally and essentially *unconscious*. It is only in a limited sphere of animal life, becoming narrower as we descend the scale, that it furnishes itself with consciousness. Nothing proves more clearly the secondary and so to say borrowed nature of all conscious life than the necessity of *sleep*. In sleep, owing to the isolation of the brain from the motor and sensory nerves, consciousness is periodically extinguished, that is, the union between will and intellect is suspended, and the latter, for the sake of its (that is the brain's) nourishment, is merged completely in unconscious life, which, as the central and essential entity, unwearingly exercises its functions, whether we sleep or wake.'

In two other Sûtras of the *Vêdânta-Sâra* (47, 57) we read :—

Sarvôparamatvât sushuptih ||

'Since everything attains rest (or realises itself) in Him, He is deep sleep!'

As regards the way in which the *Mâṇḍûkya* deals with the three letters of the mystical syllable we can have no better commentary, whether by Gâuḍapâda or Śaṁkara, than the remarkable words of *Praśna Upanishad* :—

'The three letters of Ôm when duly contemplated and in their respective order set free the devotee from the troubles of this world. The contemplation of the first mâtra confers upon him the most exalted state of existence possible on this earth, that of the second fills him with the joys of the spiritual world, and the contemplation of the last blesses him with Môksha.'

And here I may mention a very interesting fact in the theology of Islâm. The first verse of the second Sûra of the *Kurân* consists entirely of three letters — A, L, M. That is to say, the chapter begins: 'In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful — A, L, M; this is the Book, there can be no doubt about it!' Of these letters the explanations have been many and various, but nearly all commentators agree that they refer to the Deity. A modern Vêdântin goes so far as to hold that we have here simply another form of Ôm (*i. e.*, A, U, M).[3] But though I venture to think that no Semitic scholar would agree to this, we may certainly admit that such a form in Semitic divinity is sufficiently striking.

[3] Hâr Nârâyana : *Vêdic Philosophy*, p. 74.

Lastly, we may notice how in Indian theology the number *three* prevails, as indeed, in many cases it seems to exhaust all that can be conceived of a subject.

God is Light: in Him is no darkness, and it is a remarkable fact that all the varieties in the composition of external light must be referred to mixtures of Red, Green and Violet, all differences of hue depending upon combinations in different proportions of these three primary colors. He is the Soul of sacred sound, the great Tone-Poet, and we must not forget that all harmony is based upon the common chord of tonic, mediant, dominant C, E, G. He who is above Space, conceived as Length, Breadth, Height, and beyond Time, known to us as Past, Present, Future, is in popular thought Brahma-Vishṇu-Śiva; to the Vêdântin He is Sat-Chit-Ânanda; in our *Upanishad* the imperishable Ôm is **trikâuša**, appears in three sheaths as **jâgrat, svapna, sushupti,** whilst the Âtmâ is similarly known as *vâiśvânara, tâijasa and prâjña.* Not less than three lines enclose a space, and, in this connexion it is interesting to remember that the Indians of the Western Continent represent the Infinite by a Triangle (Mikmak: △ Nukskam God). Indeed, this colossal conception of Deity is deeply seated in the human breast. The prophet of Paradise, the master of 'mystic, unfathomable song,' sees all things in God as the different modes in the unity of the Spinozian substance. Our thoughts are born in God, not in the moment of time in which we think them, but exist in Him in that Eternity which is peculiar to mathematical truths.[4]

Here, then, we have the realisation and reconciliation of **Adhibhûta,** the separable nature of Brahma, **Adhidaiva** the procreative principle in Nature, and **Adhiyajña** the meeting of the human and the divine. It is the unfolding of the infinite Spirit, whose face is hidden in the golden veil of Truth. The feeling after the Divine which we find in the *Ṛig-Vêda:*

Êkam sat viprâ bahudhâ vadanti

is here merged in the beautiful thought **hṛidi-ayam** He is in the Heart! For surely this is the meaning of 'the Jewel in the Lotus' **Ôm Mani Padmê,** the sacred name in the heart of man.

And we of the West, to whom the sweet Galilean vision, the revelation of the Son of Man has come, know that the secret of union is the Sacred Name engraven on the heart, when we hear the farewell prayer: 'Holy, righteous Father, keep them in Thy name, which Thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are one!'

Translation.

To Him, the one, imperishable Ôm,
Who was, and is, and shall be; 'yond the foam
And fret of Time, and man's and Nature's home!

His name is Brahma, spirit, self and Soul,
Four-fold in form, and yet, in essence whole!

O'er Nature's realm He watches, vision true
Guards mind and matter, speech, thought, me and you!

And so, in second phase, He aye appears
Worlds' dreamer and the Architect of years!

As rest, self-folded, human souls in sleep,
When ear and eye repose, no vigils keep;
So He, in thought, in joy, knows slumber deep!

Yea, this is He, awake or in a dream
Within, without, o'er all things is supreme!

[4] Par. xvii. 13.

Not solely self-absorbed know Him to be,
Nor yet as wholly lost in trackless space ;
As mind made manifest, as giving face
To truth, ay, this and more : we cannot see
The half, much less the whole of Him who lies
Unseen, unsearchable ; His qualities
No man can name. Within the soul, know this,
An undivided Blessing and pure Bliss !

This matchless spirit present ev'rywhere
The symbols **A, U, M,** can best declare.

Of waking, watching find in **A** the sign,
The first phase this of Being all-divine :
O take this step and all desires are thine !

And meditation doth the **U** proclaim,
An ordered world, an architectural mind.
Whoso has ta'en the second step will find
His home rejoicing in the sacred Name !

In **M** behold the silent Soul in sleep :
Who grasp this truth, of world-thought measure keep.

The fourth is Reconciliation sure,
The last, the best, the measureless, the pure,
Awake, aware, asleep — life's thrill and flush,
The Soul supreme, the silence and the hush !

ओम् ।

माण्डूक्योपनिषद् ।

ओम् । इति । एतत् । अक्षरम् । इदम् । सर्वम् । तस्य । उपव्याख्यानम् । भूतम् । भवत् । भविष्यत् । इति । सर्वम् । ओङ्कारः । एव । यत् । च । अन्यत् । त्रिकालातीतम् । तत् । अपि । ओङ्कारः । एव ॥ १ ॥

सर्वम् । हि । एतत् । ब्रह्म । अयम् । आत्मा । ब्रह्म । सः । अयम् । आत्मा । चतुष्पात् ॥ २ ॥

जागरितस्थानः । बहिःप्रज्ञः । सप्ताङ्गः । एकोनविंशतिमुखः । स्थूलभुक् । वैश्वानरः । प्रथमः । पादः ॥ ३ ॥

स्वप्नस्थानः । अन्तःप्रज्ञः । सप्ताङ्गः । एकोनविंशतिमुखः । प्रविविक्तभुक् । तैजसः । द्वितीयः । पादः ॥ ४ ॥

यत्र । सुप्तः । न । कञ्चन । कामम् । कामयते । न । कञ्चन । स्वप्नम् । पश्यति । तत् । सुषुप्तम् । सुषुप्तस्थानः । एकीभूतः । प्रज्ञानघनः । एव । आनन्दमयः । हि । आनन्दभुक् । चेतोमुखः । प्राज्ञः । तृतीयः । पादः ॥ ५ ॥

एषः । सर्वेश्वरः । एषः । सर्वज्ञः । एषः । अन्तर्यामी । एषः । योनिः । सर्वस्य । प्रभवाप्ययौ । हि । भूतानाम् ॥ ६ ॥

न । अन्तःऽप्रज्ञम् । न । बहिःऽप्रज्ञम् । न । उभयतःऽप्रज्ञम् । न । प्रज्ञानघनम् । न । प्रज्ञम् । न । अप्रज्ञम् । अदृष्टम् । अव्यवहार्यम् । अग्राह्यम् । अलक्षणम् । अचिन्त्यम् । अव्यपदेश्यम् । एकात्मप्रत्ययसारम् । प्रपञ्चोपशमम् ॥ शान्तम् । शिवम् । अद्वैतम् । चतुर्थम् । मन्यन्ते । सः । आत्मा । सः । विज्ञेयः ॥ ७ ॥

सः । अयम् । आत्मा । अध्यक्षरम् । ओम्ऽकारः । अधिमात्रम् । पादाः । मात्राः । मात्राः । च । पादाः । अकारः । उकारः । मकारः । इति ॥ ८ ॥

जागरितस्थानः । वैश्वानरः । अकारः । प्रथमा । मात्रा । आप्तेः । आदिमत्त्वात् । वा । आप्नोति । ह । वै । सर्वान् । कामान् । आदिः । च । भवति । यः । एवम् । वेद ॥ ९ ॥

स्वप्नावस्थानः । तैजसः । उकारः । द्वितीया । मात्रा । उत्कर्षात् । उभयत्वात् । वा । उत्कर्षति । ह । वै । ज्ञानसन्ततिम् । समानः । च । भवति । न । अस्य । अब्रह्मवित् । कुले । भवति । यः । एवम् । वेद ॥ १० ॥

सुषुप्तस्थानः । प्राज्ञः । मकारः । तृतीया । मात्रा । मितेः । अपीतेः । वा । मिनोति । ह । वै । इदम् । सर्वम् । अपीतिः । च । भवति । यः । एवम् । वेद ॥ ११ ॥

अमात्रः । चतुर्थः । अव्यवहार्यः । प्रपञ्चोपशमः । शिवः । अद्वैतः । एवम् । ओङ्कारः । आत्मा । एव । संविशति । आत्मना । आत्मानम् । यः । एवम् । वेद । यः । एवम् । वेद ॥ १२ ॥

(To be continued.)

FESTAL DAYS OF THE HINDU LUNAR CALENDAR.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

SOME years ago I compiled, chiefly from the *Dharma-sindhu* and a number of Native calendars, a list[1] of the principal festivals and religious observances connected with the *tithis* of the Hindu lunar months, of the names and epithets of certain *tithis*, and generally of such items of information concerning individual *tithis* as seemed likely to be of use in the verification of Hindu dates. This brief list was not intended for publication. If, nevertheless, I now yield to the request of a friend to publish it, I do so, because something of the kind appears really to be wanted, and in the hope that I may induce others to correct, and improve on, what I can offer myself.

What I should especially like to see treated by a competent Native scholar, is the question, how the *tithis*, for the purpose of the particular festivals or rites connected with them, are joined with the civil days.[2] For my own use I have indeed translated most of the rules on this subject, given in the *Dharma-sindhu*;[3] but some of these precepts are so intricate that I should be afraid of giving an authoritative version of them or of applying them in practice. In my list, therefore, I have only inserted, in square brackets, some very general hints. Thus, by the word *pûrva-viddhâ* I have indicated that certain *tithis*, so far as regards the rites mentioned along with them, are liable to be joined with the days on which they commence.[4] And more frequently I have given the time of the day or night[5] during which a rite must be performed or a festival celebrated, statements from which it may sometimes be possible to ascertain with which day a *tithi* should be connected, because the particular time of the day or night, mentioned in the list, must generally be included in the *tithi*.[6] But I know only too

[1] For a similar list see Sir W. Jones's article on the lunar year of the Hindus, in the *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. III. p. 257 ff.

[2] In the case of rites, prescribed for a certain *tithi*, there can be no doubt as to the day on which the rite should be performed, when the *tithi* happens to last from sunrise to sunrise; and the same is mostly the case, when the *tithi* lasts from sunrise to sunset. But *tithis* often commence after sunrise of one day, and end before sunset of the following day, and the question therefore arises whether, for the purpose of particular rites, they should be joined with the days on which they commence, or with the days on which they end.

[3] The general rules on the *tithis*, given in the *Dharma-sindhu*, have been translated by the Rev. A. Bourquin, in the *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XV.

[4] A *tithi* is *pûrva-viddhâ* (in the sense in which this term is used here), when it commences more than 4 *ghaṭikâs* before sunset of one day and ends before sunset of the following day; and when such is the case, it must be joined with the day on which it *commences*. Thus, when the first *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika commences 20 *ghaṭikâs* after sunrise (or 7 *gh.* before sunset) of Monday and ends 16 *gh.* after sunrise of Tuesday, the *Bali-pûjâ*, prescribed for the first *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika, must be performed on the Monday (although in civil life that day is Âśvina-vadi 15). When, on the other hand, the first *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika commences 41 *gh.* after sunrise of Monday, and ends 46 *gh.* after sunrise of Tuesday, the same rite must be performed on the Tuesday (in civil life Kârttika-sudi 1).

[5] The day, from sunrise to sunset, is divided into the forenoon and afternoon. But it is also divided into five equal parts, each of about 6 *ghaṭikâs*, called *prâtaḥkâla* (the early forenoon), *saṁgava* (the forenoon part), *madhyâhna* (midday), *aparâhna* (the afternoon part), and *sâyâhna* (the late afternoon part). The four *ghaṭikâs* before sunrise are called *aruṇôdaya* (the rise of the dawn), the six *ghaṭikâs* after sunset *pradôsha* (evening), and the two *ghaṭikâs* in the middle of the night *niśîtha* (midnight).

[6] This may be shewn by an example. The time which I have given for the *Gaṇêśa-chaturthî* of Chaitra-śukla-paksha is midday (*ghaṭikâs* 13-18 after mean sunrise). If, then, the 4th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra commences 43 *gh.* after sunrise of Sunday and ends 44 *gh.* after sunrise of Monday, the *Gaṇêśa-chaturthî* must be joined with the Monday (Chaitra-sudi 4); but if the 4th *tithi* commences 5 *gh.* after sunrise of Sunday and ends 7 *gh.* after sunrise of Monday, the *Gaṇêśa-chaturthî* must be joined with the Sunday, and in calendars this Sunday will be described as *Gaṇêśa-chaturthî*, although in civil life it is Chaitra-sudi 3. — Now it is clear that sometimes the 4th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra may occupy the whole or part of the midday portion of *two* days (as would be the case, if it were to commence 13 *gh.* after sunrise of Sunday and to end 17 *gh.* after sunrise of Monday), and that for such and similar cases we want special rules to guide us. In the present instance the special rule for all *Gaṇêśa-chaturthîs* is this, that, when the fourth *tithi* occupies, entirely or partly, the midday part of two days, or does not occupy the midday part of either day, it must be joined with the day on which it *commences* (in the present case, with the Sunday). — If there were a similar conflict in the case of a *Manvâdi* of a bright fortnight, for which the prescribed time is the forenoon, we should have to decide in favour of the day on which the *tithi ends*, provided the *tithi* were to occupy more than 6 *gh.* after sunrise of that day; but if the *tithi* happened to occupy less than 6 *gh.* of the second day, we should have to join the *Manvâdi* with the first day. — There are many such special rules, which form an essential part of the Hindu calendar.

well that such and similar short remarks, by themselves, are not sufficient to solve the problem, even in cases which are not beset with any great difficulties.

I add here some general notes on several of the *tithis*, which could not be given in the list:—

A fourth tithi is considered auspicious when it falls on Tuesday. Such a *tithi* of the bright half is called **Sukhâ**, and is most auspicious for making donations. A fourth *tithi* of the dark half, which falls on Tuesday and continues till moonrise, is called **Aṅgârakî.**

A seventh tithi is considered auspicious when it falls on Sunday, particularly so, when it is joined with the *nakshatra* Rêvatî. A seventh *tithi* of the bright half, which falls on Sunday, is called **Vijayâ**,[7] and donations made on it secure great rewards. A seventh *tithi* of the bright half is called **Bhadrâ**, when it is joined with the first quarter of the *nakshatra* Hasta. Moreover, a seventh *tithi* of the bright half is called **Mahâjayâ**, when a saṁkrânti takes place on it, and for making donations such a *tithi* is said to be superior even to an eclipse.

When the sixth and seventh *tithis* meet on a Sunday, this coincidence is called **Padmaka-yôga.**[8]

An eighth tithi is considered auspicious when it falls on Wednesday **(Budh-âshṭamî).**

An eleventh tithi of the bright half, which is joined with the *nakshatra* Punarvasu, is called **Vijayâ.**

Eight kinds of **the twelfth tithi** are called **Mahâ-dvâdaśî.** Their special names are **Unmîlanî**, a 12th *tithi* which follows upon an 11th *tithi* that is current at sunrise on two days; **Vañjulî**, a 12th *tithi* which itself is current at sunrise on two days; **Trisparśâ**, a 12th *tithi* which commences after sunrise and ends before the next sunrise; **Pakshavardhinî**, a 12th *tithi* preceding a full-moon or new-moon *tithi* which is current at sunrise on two days; **Jayâ**, a 12th *tithi* joined with the *nakshatra* Pushya; **Vijayâ**, a 12th *tithi* joined with the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa; **Jayantî**, a 12th *tithi* joined with the *nakshatra* Punarvasu; and **Pâpanâśinî**, a 12th *tithi* joined with the *nakshatra* Rôhiṇî.

A fifteenth tithi of the dark half (*i. e.*, the new-moon *tithi*) is regarded as very auspicious for making donations, when it falls on Monday (in which case it is called **Sômavatî**), or on Tuesday. — Concerning the 15th *tithi*, it may also be stated that **a solar eclipse** which takes place on Sunday, and **a lunar eclipse** which takes place on Monday, are called **chûḍâmaṇi**, 'crest-jewel,' and that donations made at such eclipses are said to bear endless fruit.

In the following list the Roman figures at the commencement of the lines give the numbers of the *tithis* of the half-months.

I. — Chaitra-śuklapaksha.

I. — Vatsar-ârambha, commencement of the year.

Navarâtr-ârambha, commencement of the vernal Navarâtra. (For the autumnal Navarâtra see the same *tithi* of Âśvina-śuklapaksha.)

Kalpâdi. [Forenoon.]

III. — **Gaurî-tṛitîyâ.**

Matsya-jayantî, Vishṇu's incarnation in the form of a fish. [Afternoon part.]

Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

IV. — Vainâyakî or Gaṇêśa-chaturthî. [Midday.]

V. — Śrî-pañchamî, according to some. (See the same *tithi* of Mâgha-śuklapaksha.)

Kalpâdi. [Forenoon.]

[7] This is the *vijaya-saptamî* of the inscription, published in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 54 ff.

[8] For another meaning of *Padmaka-yôga* see below, under Kârttika-śuklapaksha XV.

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.[9]

Bhavâny-utpatti, birth of Bhavânî.

Bathing in the morning during this *tithi*, when it falls on Wednesday and is joined with the *nakshatra* Punarvasu, is as meritorious as a *vâjapêya* sacrifice.

IX. — **Râma-navamî**; **Râma-jayantî**, Vishṇu's incarnation as Râma. [Midday.]

XI. — Kâmadâ êkâdaśî.

XIII. — **Madana-trayôdaśî**; Anaṅgapûjana-vrata, worship of the god of love. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

XV. — **Hanumaj-jayantî**, birth of Hanumat. (Only in calendars.)
Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

Bathing, etc., during this *tithi*, when it falls on Sunday, Thursday, or Saturday, is as meritorious as an *aśvamêdha* sacrifice.

Chaitra-[or pûrṇimânta Vaiśâkha-]kṛishṇapaksha.

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî.[10] [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

XI. — Varûthinî êkâdaśî.

XIII. — (See the same *tithi* of Phâlguna-[pûrṇ. Chaitra-]kṛishṇapaksha.)

XIV. — Śivarâtri. [Midnight.]

Bathing (especially in the Ganges) near Śiva during this *tithi* (according to some, when the *tithi* falls on Tuesday) prevents trouble from Piśâchas or demoniac possession.[11]

II. — Vaiśâkha-śuklapaksha.

III. — **Kalpâdi.** [Forenoon.]

Trêtâyugâdi. [Forenoon.]

Akshaya-tṛitîyâ; is highly auspicious, when it falls on Wednesday and is joined with the *nakshatra* Rôhiṇî. [Forenoon.]

Paraśurâma-jayantî, Vishṇu's incarnation as Paraśurâma. [Midday; or, according to others, evening.]

IV. — Vainâyakî or Gaṇêśa-chaturthî. [Midday.]

VII. — **Gaṅgâ-saptamî**; Gaṅg-ôtpatti, birth of Gaṅgâ. [Midday.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.

XI. — Môhinî êkâdaśî.

XII. — When the 12th *tithi* of the bright half is joined with the *nakshatra* Hasta, while Jupiter and Mars are in the sign Siṁha, and the sun in Mêsha, this coincidence is called **Vyatîpâta.**[12] Donations made on such an occasion are highly meritorious.

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[9] *Annapûrṇâ* is an epithet of Durgâ.

[10] According to Molesworth's *Marâṭhî and English Dictionary*, on this *tithi* ceremonies are performed for the averting of difficulties or troubles. When a *Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî* falls on Tuesday, it is called *Aṅgâraka-chaturthî*; see above.

[11] Compare the term *Piśâchî-chaturdaśî* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 187, line 3.

[12] For other meanings of the term *vyatîpâta* see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 292 f.

XIV. — Nṛisiṁha-jayantî, Vishṇu's incarnation as man-lion. [Sunset.]

The *tithi* is highly auspicious, when it falls on Saturday and is joined with the *nakshatra* Svâti.

XV. — Kûrma-jayantî, Vishṇu's incarnation in the form of a tortoise. [Late afternoon part.]

Donations on this *tithi* are particularly enjoined.

Vaiśâkha-[or pûrṇimânta Jyaishṭha-]kṛishṇapaksha.

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

XI. — Aparâ êkâdaśî.

XIV. — 'Sivarâtri. [Midnight.]

III. — Jyaishṭha-śuklapaksha.

III. — Rambhâ-tṛitîyâ; Rambhâ-vrata, worship of Bhavânî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

IV. — Vainâyakî or Gaṇêśa-chaturthî. [Midday.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.

X. — Daśaharâ;[13] Gaṅg-âvatâra, descent of Gaṅgâ to the earth. [The choice of the day depends on the union, during the forenoon, of the greater number of certain occurrences, such as the *tithi's* falling on Wednesday (according to others, on Tuesday), the *nakshatra* being Hasta, the *yôga* Vyatîpâta, etc.] When Jyaishṭha is intercalary, the Daśaharâ falls in the first (intercalated) Jyaishṭha.

XI. — Nirjalâ êkâdaśî.

XV. — Vaṭa-pûrṇimâ or **Vaṭa-sâvitrî.**[14] [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]
Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

When the moon and Jupiter are in the *nakshatra* Jyêshṭhâ, and the sun in Rôhiṇî, the *tithi* is called **Mahâ-jyaishṭhî,** and is most auspicious for making donations.

Jyaishṭha-[or pûrṇimânta Âshâḍha-]kṛishṇapaksha.

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

XI. — Yôginî êkâdaśî.

XIV. — 'Sivarâtri. [Midnight.]

IV. — Âshâḍha-śuklapaksha.

II. — Rathayâtrâ-dvitîyâ; Râma-rathôtsava, Râma's car-festival.

IV. — Vainâyakî or Gaṇêśa-chaturthî. [Midday.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.

X. — Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

XI. — Vishṇuśayan-ôtsava; 'Sayanî or Vishṇuśayanî êkâdaśî, on which Vishṇu goes to sleep.

[13] This really is an epithet of Gaṅgâ, as 'taking away ten sins.'

[14] Molesworth explains *Vaṭasâvitrî-vrata* to be a particular observance of women, *viz.*, worship of the *Ficus Indica*, etc.

XII. — Châturmâsya-vrata commences on this *tithi* (or on the 11th).

XV. — **Manvâdi.** [Forenoon.]

Śivaśayan-ôtsava. [Evening.] — Kôkilâ-vrata; Vyâsa-pûjâ.

Âshâḍha-[or pûrṇimânta Śrâvaṇa-]kṛishṇapaksha.

II. — Aśûnyaśayana-vrata.[15] [Moonrise.]

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

XI. — Kâmadâ or Kâmikâ êkâdaśî.

XIV. — Śivarâtri. [Midnight.]

V. — Śrâvaṇa-śuklapaksha.

III. — Called **Madhusravâ** by the people of Gujarât.

IV. — Vainâyakî or Gaṇêśa-chaturthî. [Midday.]

V. — **Nâga-pañchamî,**[16] on which the serpents are worshipped. [The day on which the *tithi* commences, if the fourth *tithi* ends less than 6 *ghaṭikâs* after sunrise of that day, and the fifth *tithi* less than 6 *ghaṭikâs* after sunrise of the following day.]

VI. — **Kalki-jayantî,** Vishṇu's incarnation in his last Avatâra. [Sunset.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.

XI. — Putradâ êkâdaśî.

XII. — **Vishṇôḥ pavitrârôpaṇam.** The *pavitr-ârôpaṇa* is 'the ceremony of casting new threads around an idol that they may be sanctified, and of thence taking them to wear.'

XV. — **Ṛig-yajuḥ-śrâvaṇî,** for students of the Ṛigvêda and Yajurvêda the chief time of renewing the sacred thread (*upâkarman*).[17] [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

Rakshâ-bandhana, the tying of a piece of silk or string round the arm, as a preservative against evil spirits. In Marâṭhî, the *tithi* therefore is called **Râkhî-pûrṇimâ.** (In Marâṭhî it is also called **Nâraḷî-pûrṇimâ,** because cocoa-nuts are thrown into the sea, and the monsoon is declared to be broken up.)

Hayagrîva-jayantî, birth of Hayagrîva.

Śrâvaṇa-[or pûrṇimânta Bhâdrapada-]kṛishṇapaksha.

II. — Aśûnyaśayana-vrata.[18] [Moonrise.]

III. — **Kajjalî-tṛitîyâ.**

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15 See the same *tithi* of the next three months.

16 See the same *tithi* of Mârgaśîrsha-śuklapaksha.

17 In an inscription the *tithi* is described as *Yajñôpavîta-parvan*; see *ante*, Vol. XXV. p. 290.

18 See the same *tithi* of the preceding month.

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî; commencement of the Saṁkashṭachaturthî-vrata. [Moonrise.]

Bahulâ-chaturthî; worship of cows. [Late afternoon part.]

VI. — **Hala-shashṭhî.**

VII. — **Śîtalâ-saptamî**; Śîtalâ-vrata. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

Janm-âshṭamî, Kṛishṇ-âshṭamî, Gôkul-âshṭamî, or **Kṛishṇa-jayantî,** birth of Kṛishṇa; is very auspicious, when joined with the *nakshatra* Rôhiṇî, and also, though in a less degree, when it falls on Monday or Wednesday. [In general, midnight.]

Manvâdi. [Afternoon part.]

XI. — Ajâ êkâdaśî.

XIV. — Śivarâtri. [Midnight.]

XV. — Piṭhôrî (only in some calendars. According to Molesworth) a name of this *tithi* on account of a particular observance, *viz.*, 'the drawing with flour the figures of 64 Yôginîs, and the worshipping of them.'

Kuśôtpâṭinî (only in some calendars).

VI. — Bhâdrapada-śuklapaksha.

III. — **Varâha-jayantî,** Vishṇu's incarnation in the form of a boar. [Afternoon part.]

Haritâlikâ; worship of Pârvatî.

Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

IV. — **Gaṇêśa-** or **Varada-chaturthî**; especially auspicious, when it falls on Sunday or Tuesday. [Midday.]

According to the *Bhavishyatpurâṇa*, called **Śivâ.**

V. — **Ṛishi-pañchamî.** [Midday; others differently.]

VI. — **Sûrya-shashṭhî.**

Skanda-shashṭhî (only in some calendars. See the same *tithi* of Mârgaśîrsha-śuklapaksha).

VII. — According to the *Bhavishyatpurâṇa*, called **Aparâjitâ.**

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.

Dûrv-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

Jyêshṭhâ-Gaurî-pûjana-vrata, when the moon is in the *nakshatra* Jyêshṭhâ (which) need not necessarily be the case during this particular *tithi*).

IX. — Aduḥkha-navamî (only in some calendars).

XI. — **Vishṇuparivartan-ôtsava**; Parivartinî êkâdaśî. On this *tithi*, or on the 12th, Vishṇu, sleeping, turns on his side.

XII. — Is called **Sravaṇa-dvâdaśî** (or **Vijayâ**), when joined with the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa ; and is particularly auspicious, when it falls on Wednesday. (The union of the 11th and 12th *tithis* and the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa is called **Vishṇu-śṛiṅkhala.**

Vâmana-jayantî, Vishṇu's incarnation in the form of a dwarf. [Midday.]

XIV. — **Ananta-chaturdaśî**, sacred to Vishṇu.

XV. — **Praushṭhapadî pûrṇimâ** ; Praushṭhapadî-śrâddha.

Bhâdrapada-[or pûrṇimânta Âśvina-]kṛishṇapaksha.

I. — Mahâlay-ârambha. Śrâddhas are performed during the whole of this dark half.

II. — Aśûnyaśayana-vrata.[19] [Moonrise.]

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî. [Moonrise.]

VI. — Is called **Kapilâ-shashṭhî**, when it falls on Tuesday, and is joined with the *nakshatra* Rôhiṇî and the *yôga* Vyatîpâta ; and is particularly auspicious, when the sun, besides, is in the *nakshatra* Hasta.[20] Donations on such an occasion secure great rewards.

Chandra-shashṭhî. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. Mahâlakshmî-vrata. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

Ashṭakâ-śrâddha. [Afternoon part.]

IX. — Avidhavâ- or Mâtṛi-navamî (only in some calendars. According to Molesworth, offerings are made to the manes of women who have died unwidowed).

XI. — Indirâ êkâdaśî.

XIII. — **Kaliyugâdi.** [Afternoon part.]

Is called **Maghâ-trayôdaśî**, when joined with the *nakshatra* Maghâ ; and **Gajachchhâyâ**, when the sun, besides, is in Hasta.

XIV. — Śivarâtri. [Midnight.]

XV. — Sarvapitrî amâvâsyâ (only in some calendars; so called, because Śrâddhas are offered to all ancestors).

Is called **Gajachchhâyâ**, when the sun and the moon are both in the *nakshatra* Hasta.

VII. — Âśvina-śuklapaksha.[21]

I. — Navarâtr-ârambha. (See the same *tithi* of Chaitra-śuklapaksha.)

IV. — Vainâyakî or Gaṇêśa-chaturthî. [Midday.]

V. — **Lalitâ-pañchamî** ; Upâṅgalalitâ-vrata, worship of Durgâ. [Afternoon part.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.

Mahâshṭamî; is especially auspicious, when it falls on Tuesday.

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19 See the same *tithi* of the two preceding months.

20 Molesworth says that, because this synchronism is very rare, *Kapilashashṭhîchâ yôga*, in Marâṭhî, is applied to any astonishing and unhoped for combination of favourable circumstances.

21 Under the *nakshatra* Mûla (on about the 7th *tithi*) of this half Sarasvatî is worshipped.

IX. — **Mahâ-navamî** or **Durgâ-navamî.** [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

X. — **Vijaya-daśamî,** anniversary of Râma's marching against Râvaṇa; worship of Aparâjitâ, dêśântara-yâtrâ, etc.; (Dasrâ festival). Is very auspicious, when joined with the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa. [Afternoon part or evening; special rules.]

Buddha-jayantî, Vishṇu's incarnation as Buddha. [Sunset.]

XI. — Pâśâṅkuśâ êkâdaśî.

XV. — **Kôjâgarî pûrṇimâ**; Kôjâgara-vrata; the night is spent in worshipping Lakshmî and Indra, and in games of chance. [Midnight.]

Navânna-pûrṇimâ (only in some calendars. According to Molesworth, so called, because at this time people generally begin to dress the new corn of the year).

Âśvina-[or pûrṇimânta Kârttika-]kṛishṇapaksha.

II. — Aśûnyaśayana-vrata.[22] [Moonrise.]

IV. — **Karaka-chaturthî** (in some calendars called Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî). [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

XI. — Ramâ êkâdaśî.

XII. — **Gôvatsa-dvâdaśî** (in Marâṭhî also called Vasû-bârasa), on which the cow and calf are worshipped. [Evening.]

XIII. — **Dhana-trayôdaśî,** on which money-lenders and others worship money.

XIV. — Śivarâtri. [Midnight.]

Naraka-chaturdaśî; bathing, etc., of people who are afraid of falling into hell. [Moonrise.]

XV. — This *tithi* and the immediately preceding and following *tithis* are called **Dîpâvali** (**Divâḷî**), 'a festival with nocturnal illuminations, feasting, gambling, etc., in honour of Vishṇu and in propitiation of Lakshmî.' The principal day is the one on which the moon is in the *nakshatra* Svâti.

VIII. — Kârttika-śuklapaksha.

I. — **Bali-pratipadâ**; Bali-pûjâ, worship of the Daitya Bali. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

II. — **Yama-** or **Bhrâtṛi-dvitîyâ** (in Marâṭhî, Bhâû-bîj). On this *tithi* Yama was entertained by his sister Yamunâ; hence 'sisters (on this *tithi*) give entertainments to their brothers, who make presents in return.' [The day on which the *tithi* commences, if the *tithi* occupies the afternoon part of that day only; otherwise the day on which the *tithi* ends; others differently.]

IV. — Vainâyakî or Gaṇêśa-chaturthî. [Midday.]

VI. — When it falls on Tuesday, feeding of Brâhmans, etc.

VII. — **Kalpâdi.** [Forenoon.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.

Gôp-âshṭamî; worship of cows.

IX. — **Kṛitayugâdi.** [Forenoon.]

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[22] See the same *tithi* of the three preceding months.

XI. — Prabôdhinî êkâdaśî. (According to some, the Prabôdh-ôtsava takes place on this *tithi*; see the following *tithi*.)

Bhîshmapañchaka-vrata commences.

XII. — **Prabôdh-ôtsava**, 'ceremonies for the purpose of awakening Vishṇu';[23] and Tulasî-vivâha, 'the marriage between an image of Vishṇu and the Tulasî plant.'

Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

(According to some, the Châturmâsya-vrata ends here. See below.)

XIV. — **Vaikuṇṭha-chaturdaśî.** [Midnight.]

XV. — **Tripurî-pûrṇimâ**; Tripur-ôtsava, at which lamps are placed on the lamp-pillars in front of the temples. [Late afternoon and evening.]

Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

Châturmâsya-vrata ends. (See the 12th *tithi* of this half, and of Âshâḍha-śuklapaksha.)

Donations on this *tithi* are particularly enjoined.

The *tithi* is very auspicious, when it is joined with the *nakshatra* Kṛittikâ. It is called **Mahâ-kârttikî**, when the moon is in the *nakshatra* Rôhiṇî; or when the moon and Jupiter both are in Kṛittikâ. (When the moon is in the *nakshatra* Kṛittikâ, while the sun is in Viśâkhâ, this auspicious coincidence is called **Padmaka-yôga**).[24]

Kârttika-[or pûrṇimânta Mârgaśîrsha-]kṛishṇapaksha.

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — **Kâl-âshṭamî** or (in pûrn. Mârgaśîrsha) **Kṛishṇ-âshṭamî**; as on this *tithi* Kâlabhairava (a form of Śiva) is worshipped, the *tithi* also is called **Kâla-bhairav-âshṭamî** and **Kâlabhairava-jayantî.** [Midday; others differently.]

XI. — Utpatty-êkâdaśî.

XIV. — Śivarâtri. [Midnight.]

IX. — Mârgaśîrsha-śuklapaksha.

IV. — Vainâyakî or Gaṇêśa-chaturthî. [Midday.]

V. — **Nâgapûjâ-** or **Nâga-pañchamî**,[25] (in Marâṭhî Nâga-divâḷî; according to Molesworth) 'a festival, on which serpents of flour, etc., are made and worshipped.'

VI. — **Champâ-shashṭhî**, 'on which there is a festival of Khaṇḍobâ' (an incarnation of Śiva). [In the choice of the day, the preference is given to the union of Sunday or Tuesday with the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj and the *yôga* Vaidhṛiti or to the occurrence of the greater number of the three.]

Skanda-shashṭhî.[26] [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

According to the *Bhavishyatpurâṇa*, called **Mahâ-shashṭhî.**

VII. — Sûrya-vrata.

According to the *Bhavishyatpurâṇa*, called **Nandâ** and **Jayantî.**

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.

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[23] In an inscription the *tithi* is described as the *puṇyâ utthânî-dvâdaśî-tithi*; see *ante*, Vol. XXV. p. 290.

[24] For another meaning of *Padmaka-yôga* see above.

[25] See the same *tithi* of Śrâvaṇa-śuklapaksha.

[26] See the same *tithi* of Bhâdrapada-śuklapaksha.

IX. — **Kalpâdi.** [Forenoon.]

XI. — Môkshadâ êkâdaśî.

XIV. — According to the *Liṅgapurâṇa*, called **Pâshâṇa-chaturdaśî.**

XV. — **Dattâtrêya-** or **Datta-jayantî**, birth of Dattâtrêya (an incarnation of Śiva). [Evening.]

Donation of salt on this *tithi*, when it is joined with the *nakshatra* Mṛiga, secures beauty of person.

Mârgaśîrsha-[or pûrṇimânta Pausha-]kṛishṇapaksha.

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

Ashṭakâ-śrâddha. [Afternoon part.]

XI. — Saphalâ êkâdaśî.

XIV. — Śivarâtri. [Midnight.]

X. — Pausha-śuklapaksha.

IV. — Vainâyakî or Gaṇêśa-chaturthî. [Midday.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.

When the *tithi* falls on Wednesday, bathing, feeding of Brâhmans, etc., are very meritorious, especially when the moon is in the *nakshatra* Bharaṇî, or, according to others, in Rôhiṇî and Ârdrâ.[27]

XI. — Putradâ êkâdaśî.

Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

Pausha-[or pûrṇimânta Mâgha-]kṛishṇapaksha.

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

Ashṭakâ-śrâddha. [Afternoon part.]

XI. — Shaṭtilâ êkâdaśî.

XIV. — Śivarâtri. [Midnight.]

XV. — When during this *tithi*, on a Sunday in day-time, the *nakshatra* is Śravaṇa and the *yôga* Vyatîpâta, this coincidence is called **Ardhôdaya.** It is a most auspicious occasion for making donations. When one of the particulars enumerated is wanting, the coincidence of the rest is by some called **Mahôdaya.**

XI. — Mâgha-śuklapaksha.

IV. — Vainâyakî chaturthî, Gaṇêśa-chaturthî, Gaṇêśa-jayantî (these three only in calendars); or **Tila-chaturthî.** [Evening.]

Kunda-chaturthî; worship of Śiva with jasmine flowers. [Evening.]

According to the *Bhavishyatpurâṇa*, called **Śântâ.**

V. — **Vasanta-pañchamî;** worship of Rati and Kâma. [The day on which the *tithi* ends, if the *tithi* occupies the forenoon of that day only; otherwise the day on which the *tithi* commences.]

Śrî-pañchamî, according to some. (See the same *tithi* of Chaitra-śuklapaksha.)

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[27] I do not see how the moon can be in Rôhiṇî and Ârdrâ on the above *tithi*; on Pausha-sudi 8 she generally is in Rêvatî and Aśvinî.

VII. — **Ratha-saptamî** (also called **Mahâ-saptamî**). [Rise of the dawn.]
Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.
Bhîshm-âshṭamî. [Midday.]

XI. — Jayâ êkâdaśî.

XII. — **Bhîshma-dvâdaśî.** [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]

XIII. — **Kalpâdi.** [Forenoon.]

XV. — Donations on this *tithi* are particularly enjoined.
When on this *tithi* the moon and Jupiter are both in the *nakshatra* Maghâ, the *tithi* is called **Mahâ-mâghî.**

Mâgha-[or pûrṇinânta Phâlguna-]kṛishṇapaksha.

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]
Ashṭakâ-śrâddha. [Afternoon part.]
Birth of Râma's wife Sîtâ.

IX. — Râmadâsa-navamî (only in Bombay calendars).

XI. — Vijayâ êkâdaśî.

XII. — When joined with the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa, called **Tila-dvâdaśî** (or **Vijayâ**).

XIV. — **Śivarâtri** or **Mahâ-śivarâtri**; is very auspicious, when it falls on Sunday or Tuesday, and is joined with the *yôga* Śiva [Midnight.]

XV. — **Dvâparayugâdi.** [Afternoon part.]
The union of the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj or of Dhanishṭhâ with this *tithi* is particularly auspicious for Śrâddhas.

XII. — Phâlguna-śuklapaksha.

IV. — Vainâyakî or Gaṇêśa-chaturthî. [Midday.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭamî.

XI. — Âmalakî êkâdaśî.

XV. — **Hôlikâ** or **Hutâśanî pûrṇimâ** (in Marâṭhî, Hôḷî). [The day of which the *tithi* occupies the evening; but there are many special rules.]
Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

Phâlguna-[or pûrṇimânta Châitra-]kṛishṇapaksha.

I. — Vasantârambh-ôtsava or Vasant-ôtsava, spring festival.

III. — **Kalpâdi.** [Afternoon part.]

IV. — Saṁkashṭa-chaturthî. [Moonrise.]

V. — Raṅga-pañchamî, 'on which people throw colour, etc., about'; (only in calendars).

VIII. — Kâl-âshṭamî. [*Pûrva-viddhâ.*]
Ashṭakâ-śrâddha. [Afternoon part.]

XI. — Pâpamôchanî êkâdaśî.

XIII. — Is called **Vâruṇî**, when joined with the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj (the deity of which is Varuṇa); **Mahâ-vâruṇî**, when it falls on Saturday and is joined with the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj; and **Mahâ-mahâvâruṇî**, when it is joined, besides, with the *yôga* Śubha. Donations made on such occasions are as meritorious as those made at an eclipse, etc.

XIV. — Śivarâtri. [Midnight.]

XV. — **Manvâdi.** [Afternoon part.]

ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARD.

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(*Continued from Vol. XXV. p. 216.*)

Aorist with Dative Suffix.

172. Subject, a noun.

It was sent		—	to me, مے *me.*	to thee, چھ *tse.*	to him, تَس *tas.*
	by me ...	مے سوز *me suzu*	—	مے سوزی *me sû-zu-y*	مے سوزس *me sû-zu-s*
(a)	by thee ...	—	—	—	—
(a)	by him ..	تمِ سوز *taṃi sûzu*	تمِ سوزم *taṃi sû-zu-m*[7]	تمِ سوزی *taṃi sûzu-y*[7]	تمِ سوزس *taṃi sûzu-s*[7]
(a)	by us ...	اسہ سوز *asi sûzu*	—	اسہ سوزي *asi sû-zu-y*	اسہ سوزس *asi sû-zu-s*
(a)	by you ...	—	—	—	—
(a)	by them..	تمو سوز *timav sûzu*	تمو سوزم *timav sûzu-m*	تمو سوزی *timav sûzu-y*	تمو سوزس *timav sûzu-s*
(b)	by me ...	مے سوزم *me sûzu-m*	—	مے سوزمی *me sû-zu-m-ay*[9]	مے سوزمس *me sû-zu-m-as*
(b)	by thee ...	چھ سوزت *tse sûzu-t*	چھ سوزتھم *tse sû-zuth-am*[8]	—	چھ سوزتھس *tse sû-zu-th-as*
(b)	by him ...	—	—	—	—
(b)	by us ...	—	—	—	—
(b)	by you ...	تُہہ سوزوہ *tohi sû-zu-va*	تُہہ سوزوم *tohi sûzu-va-m*	—	تُہہ سوزوس *tohi sûzu-va-s*
(b)	by them...	—	—	—	—
(c)	by me ...	سوزم *sûzu-m*	—	سوزمی *sûzu-m-ay*[9]	سوزمس *sûzu-m-as*
(c)	by thee ...	سوزت *sûzu-t*	سوزتھم *sûzuth-am*	—	سوزتھس *sûzu-th-as*
(c)	by him ...	سوزن *sûzu-n*	سوزنم *sûzu-n-am*	سوزنی *sûzu-n-ay*	سوزنس *sûzu-n-as*
(c)	by us ...	—	—	—	—
(c)	by you ...	سوزوہ *sûzu-va*	سوزوم *sûzu-va-m*	—	—
(c)	by them...	سوزک *sûzu-k*	سوزھم *sûzu-h-am*	سوزھي *sûzu-h-ay*	سوزھس *sûzu h-as*

7 تمہ *tami*, by her.

8 Also چھ کُرت مے *tse kurut me.*

9 Fem. سوزمي *sûza-m-ay*; pl. سوزمی *sûzi-m-ay*, and so throughout; *e. g.* سوزھِس *sûzi-h-is* (for سوزھِس *sûzi-h-as*, they are sent by them to him.

It was sent		—	to us, اَسِه asi.	to you, تُهِه tohi.	to them, تِمَن tima.
(a)	by me ...	مِه سُوزُ me sûzu	—	مِه سُوزُوَه mi sûzu-va	مِه سُوزُك mi sûzu-k
	by thee ...	—	—	—	—
	by him ...	تَمِ سُوزُ tami sûzu	تَمِ سُوزُ اَسِه tami[10] sûzu asi	تَمِ سُوزُوَه tami[10] suzu-va	تَمِ سُوزُك tami[10] sûzu-k
	by us ...	اَسِه سُوزُ asi sûzu	—	اَسِه سُوزُوَه asih sûzu-va	اَسِه سُوزُك asih sûzu-k
	by you ...	—	—	—	—
	by them...	تِمَو سُوزُ timav sûzu	تِمَو سُوزُ اَسِه timav sûzu asi	تِمَو سُوزُوَه timav suzu-va	تِمَو سُوزُك timav sûzu-k
(b)	by me ...	مِه سُوزُم me sûzu-m	—	مِه سُوزُمَوَه me sûzu-m-ava	مِه سُوزُمَك me sûzu-m-ak
	by thee ...	چِه سُوزُت tse sûzu-t	چِه سُوزُت اَسِه tse sûzu-t asi	—	چِه سُوزُتھَك tse sûzu-th-ak
	by him ...	—	—	—	—
	by us ...	—	—	—	—
	by you ...	تُهِه سُوزُوَه tohi sûzu-va	تُهِه سُوزُوَه اَسِه tohi sûzu-va asi	—	تُهِه سُوزُوَك tohi sûzu-va-k
	by them...	—	—	—	—
(c)	by me ...	سُوزُم sûzu-m	—	سُوزُمَوَه sûzu-m-ava	سُوزُمَك sûzu-m-ak
	by thee ...	سُوزُت sûzu-t	سُوزُت اَسِه sûzu-t asi	—	سُوزُتھَك sûzu-th-ak
	by him ...	سُوزُن sûzu-n	سُوزُن اَسِه sûzu-n asi	سُوزُنَوَه sûzu-n-ava	سُوزُنَك sûzu-n-ak
	by us ...	—	—	—	—
	by you ...	سُوزُوَه sûzu-va	سُوزُوَه اَسِه sûzu-va asi	—	سُوزُوَك suzu-va-k
	by them...	سُوزُك sûzu-k	سُوزُك اَسِه sûzu-k asi	سُوزُهَوَه sûzu-h-ava	سُوزُهَك sûzu-h-ak.

II. — The Compound Tenses.

173. In these the suffixes are attached to the Auxiliary verb: *e. g.*, چھُسَن وُچھان *chhus-an vuchhân*, I am seeing him; مِه تُهِه چھُمَوَه وَنمُت *me tohi chhu-m-ava vonmut*, by me to you it-has-been-by-me-to you said, I have said to you.[11]

[10] by her, تَمِه *tami*.

[11] In the same way the Pluperfect II. can also take the suffixes; *e. g.*, مِه چِه کریامَی *me tse koryâ-m-cy*, by me for you it had-been-made-by-me-for you.

174. The Causal is treated, in regard to the suffixes, in the same way as the simple verb.

175. Similarly, the suffixes are also added to Intransitive verbs: *e. g.*, چلِ *tsali*, 3rd pl. aor. of چلُن *tsalun*, to flee. چلِس *tsali-s*, they flee before him; سمُك *somu-k*, he met them.

So, also, we occasionally meet the Infinitive with a suffix appended: *e. g.*, کرُنی *karun-uy* (to thee).

176. The Verbs دِین *diun*, etc.,[11a] with suffixes.

Imperative.

	Singular. 2nd	Singular. 3rd	Plural. 2nd	Plural. 3rd
Give me, to me ...	دم *di-m*	دیِنم *diyin-am*	دیُوم *diyû*[12a]*-m*	Same as the 3rd singular.
Give thee	—	دیِنت *diyin-at*	—	
Give to thee ...	—	دیِنی *diyin-ay*	—	
Give him, her ...	دن *di-n*	دیِنن *diyin-an*	دیُون *diyû-n*	
Give to him, to her...	دس *di-s*	دیِنس *diyin-as* (?)	دیُوس *diyû-s*	
Give you, to you ...	—	دیِنوٚ *diyin-avạ*	—	
Give them, to them[12]..	دك *di-k*	دیِنك *diyin-ak*	دیُوك *diyû-k*	

Respectful form.

	Singular. 2nd	Singular. 3rd	Plural. 2nd	Plural. 3rd
Be good enough to give me, to me ...	دتم *dita-m*	دتنم *ditan-am*	دتوم *ditô-m*	Same as the 3rd singular.
Be good enough to give you	—	دتنت *ditan-at*	—	
Be good enough to give to you	—	دتنی *ditan-ay*	—	
Be good enough to give him, her ...	دتن *dita-n*	دتنن *ditan-an* (?)	دتون *ditô-n*	
Be good enough to give to him, to her...	دتس *dita-s*	دتنس *ditan-as*	دتوس *ditô-s*	
Be good enough to give you, to you ...	—	دتنوٚ *ditan-avạ*	—	
Be good enough to give them, to them...	دتك *dita-k*	دتنك *ditan-ak*	دتوك *ditô-k*	

[11a] See § 20.

[12] صلیبه دِین *ṣalîba diun*, = to crucify, with Acc. (Matth. xxvii. 22, 23.)

[12a] [Not *diyô-m* as we should expect from § 49 (c).]

177. Present Indefinite or Future.

Will give	Singular. 1st	Singular. 2nd	Singular. 3rd
me, by me	——	دهم *dih-am*	دیم *diyi-m*
thee	دمت *dima-t*	——	دیت *diyi-t*
to thee	دمی *dima-y*	——	دیي *diyi-y*
him, her[13]	دمن *dima-n*	دهن *dih-an*	دین *diyi-n*[14]
to him, to her ...	دمس *dima-s*	دهس *dih-as*	دیس *diyi-s*
you, to you ..	دموه *dim-avạ*	دهوه *dih-avạ*	دیوه *diyi-vạ*
them, to them[13] ...	دمک *dima-k*	دهک *diha-k*	دیک *diyi-k*

Will give	Plural. 1st	Plural. 2nd	Plural. 3rd
me, by me	——	دیوم *diyû-m*	دنم *din-am*
thee...	دیموت *dimô-t*	——	دنت *din-at*
to thee	دموی *dimô-y*	——	دنی *din-ay*
him, her[13]	دمون *dimô-n*[15]	دیون *diyû-n*	دنن *din-an*[16]
to him, to her ...	دموس *dimô-s*	دیوس *diyû-s*	دنس *din-as*
you, to you	دمووه *dimô-vạ*	دیووه *diyû-vạ*	دنوه *din-avạ*
them, to them[13] ...	دموک *dimô-k*	دیوک *diyû-k*	دنک *din-ak*

13 See note 1, § 176.

14 Np. مارس *mâris*, he slew him.

15 But دمونوه *dimô-n-avạ*, we give-him-to-you (Double suff.).

16 We also meet دن تس *din tas* (Cf. Np., Matth. xxx. 19).

178. Aorist.

			to me	to thee	to him, to her
Sg.	(1)	by me ...	—	ديتي *dyutu-y*[17] ديتمي *dyut^u-m-ay*	ديتس *dyutu-s*[17] ديتمس *dyut^u-m-as*
	(2)	by thee ...	ديتذهم *dyut^u-th-am*	—	ديتذهس *dyut^u-th-as*
	(3)	by him ...	ديتنم *dyut^u-n-am*	ديتني *dyut^u-n-ay*	ديتنس *dyut^u-n-as*
Pl.	(1)	by us ...	—	ديتى *dyutu-y*[17]	ديتس *dyutu-s*[17]
	(2)	by you ...	ديتوم *dyut^u-vạ-m*	—	ديتوس *dyut^u-va-s*
	(3)	by them ...	ديتم *dyutu-m* ديتهم *dyut^u-h-am*	ديتى *dyutu-y*[17] ديتهى *dyut^u-h-ay*	ديتس *dyutu-s*[17] ديتهس *dyut^u-h-as*

			to us	to you	to them
Sg.	(1)	...	—	ديتوه *dyut^u-vạ*[18] ديتموه *dyut^u-m-avạ*	ديتمك *dyutu-k*[18] ديتمك *dyut^u-ṃ-ak*
	(2)	...	ديتت اسه *dyutu-t asih*	—	ديتذهك *dyut^u-th-ak*
	(3)	...	ديت اسه *dyut^u asih* ديتن اسه *dyutu-n asih*	ديتوه *dyut^u-vạ*[18] ديتنوه *dyut^u-n-avạ*	ديتك *dyutu-k*[18] ديتنك *dyut^u-n-ak*
Pl.	(1)	...	—	ديتوه *dyutu-vạ*[18]	ديتك *dyutu-k*[18]
	(2)	...	ديتوه اسه *dyut^u-vạ asih*	—	ديتوك *dyut^u-vạ-k*
	(3)	...	ديت اسه *dyut^u asih*	ديتهوه *dyutu-h-avạ*	ديتهك *dyut^u-h-ak*

Many of the above forms are doubtful.

THE ANDAMAN TOKENS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

THE position of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in the Andaman Islands is one of great isolation, even in this year of grace, 1897; and when it was first started, its isolation and the difficulty and uncertainty of communications with the outer world were extreme. Hence arose the Andaman tokens, to meet temporary difficulties as to local currency.

[17] Words similarly spelled are to be distinguished by the pronouns in the Instrumental.

[18] Similarly for the Feminine, after the model of the Paradigm § 133; *e. g.*, دچم *ditsạ-m*; from هين *heun*, هچم *hetsạ-m*; اسه دچي *asi ditsạ-y*, هچي *hetsạ-y*, by us—to you.

In September and October, 1860, Capt. J. C. Haughton, Superintendent of the Settlement, had to face a temporarily depleted treasury with many calls upon it for cash for current wants. He met his difficulties with skill and promptitude, though furnished with the slenderest of mechanical appliances for the purpose. First, "with the aid of a punch and some card-board, tickets were cut out, which, being duly sealed and signed, passed current for one Rupee." This then was **the first token,** and it was all **in MS.,** there being no Press in the Islands at that time.

Trouble with **the card token** began at once, for "some Burmese forgers speedily imitated the mintage, but were detected and punished. I have this month (writing on the 12th October, 1860, to the Government of India) made tickets of a more elaborate sort." Here we have **the second MS. token.**

The Andaman tokens were, therefore, of card at first and were clearly introduced to overcome a temporary failure in currency. Six thousand were issued monthly.

It was almost from the first perceived that the use of tokens in place of cash could be made to be of great advantage in a Settlement, consisting entirely of convicts and those in charge of them, from a disciplinary point of view. It provided a local currency "not easily exchangeable by parties on board ships." And it was this consideration that made the Superintendent recommend the permanent continuance of a token currency for the Andamans. He asked that it might be in copper, because of the worry of preparing his cards and the danger of their being forged. The suggestion was for a first issue of 20,000 **copper tokens,** to be struck at the Calcutta Mint "with any simple inscription such as, Andaman One Rupee Token, with the year on the reverse and a hole in the middle." As an alternative to a new die, Capt. Haughton suggested the use of the die of the double gold *mohur* or any coin or medal not in general use" for one side of the token.

The Government of India fell in with Capt. Haughton's ideas, and at the suggestion of Col. Baird Smith, Mint Master, utilised the design of the Straits Settlements "whole cent" for the new token. And thus came into existence **the third Andaman token bearing date, 1861.** This token was in copper, the obverse being copied from the Straits Settlements Copper Cent, and the reverse bearing Capt. Haughton's inscription. Its full description is:— *Obv.:* Crowned Head of Her Majesty to left, QUEEN VICTORIA. *Rev.:* In wreath, ONE RUPEE; outside, ANDAMAN TOKEN 1861. Round hole through centre. Weight, 144 to 145 grs. Width, 1·15 in. Mr. Rodgers, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum,* Pt. IV. 1896, p. 198, by mistake classes these tokens as silver.

In 1861, 20,000 copper tokens were received at the Port Blair Treasury, and in 1866, 20,800 more were received, which bore **date, 1866,** on them, as can be proved from some forgeries (officially broken) cast in base metal in my possession, but I have been unable to find a genuine copper example.

There were other remittances of these tokens in large numbers, and when they were all finally **called in on the 28th April, 1870,** it was calculated that 17,788 had not been returned to the Treasury. They are rare enough now!

In 1867, the metal currency of the Settlement again became insufficient for the second time, and **a card token** was instituted temporarily between the 8th July, 1867, and the 26th October, 1867, by Col. B. Ford, Superintendent. This was done avowedly while waiting for "the arrival of a supply of 10,000 (copper) tokens indented for from the Calcutta Mint." It was called a "paper currency." The value of these tokens was one rupee and they were printed on both sides. *Obv.:* VALUE ONE RUPEE IN THE PORT BLAIR TREASURY: below, the number in blue ink. *Rev.:* "this office (*i. e.,* the Superintendent's) Royal Arms Stamp crossed by a facsimile of my signature (B. Ford) stamped." The copper tokens came to an end on the 28th April, 1870, by the orders of the Government of India, and they were called in

on, and before, that date by a Circular Notice issued by Col. H. Man, Superintendent, on the 26th March, 1870. Major Nelson Davies, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, during the brief period while the Settlement was placed under the orders of that Government, inspected it in 1867, and reported adversely on the token system as a disciplinary measure; because, while tokens were introduced, the silver coinage which they were to represent was also freely admitted (*vide Inspection Report, Penal Settlement of Port Blair,* 1867, Vol. I. pp. 18, 38, 62; Vol. II. pp. 49, 153, 245). In this *Report* Major Davies, no doubt, hit upon a fatal error in the practical application of the token currency and hastened its extinction.

There were, therefore, in use **in the Andaman Islands** between 1861 and 1870 at different periods **token currencies** issued in the following years :—

I. — 1860 : card token, punched.

II. — 1860-1861 : improved card token, punched.

III. — 1861 : copper token, punched.

IV. — 1866 : copper token, punched.

V. — 1867 : card token.

Of these, the card tokens of 1860, and the copper tokens of 1861 and 1866, were **forged** to a considerable extent.

All the tokens are now rare, and beyond some genuine specimens of the copper token of 1861 and forged specimens of the copper token of 1866, I have never been able to come across them at all.

A JAINA ACCOUNT OF THE END OF THE VAGHELAS OF GUJARAT.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D, C. I. E.

ON going over the **Tîrthakalpa** or **Kalpapradîpa** of **Jinaprabha**, one of Dr. Peterson's acquisitions for the Bombay Collections,[1] I find in the description of **Satyapura**, the modern **Sâchor** in south-western Marvâḍ, a brief account of the conquest of Gujarât by the Mahommedans which, I think, deserves to be made known, though the text is rather corrupt. For Jinaprabha is a contemporary witness of the events, which he mentions. According to Dr. Peterson, Fourth Report, p. xxxvii., his known dates range from (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1349 to Saṁvat 1369. But according to the last verses of the **Satruñjayakalpa**, this portion of the Tîrthakalpa was composed in V. S. 1384 :—

प्रारंभेप्यस्य राजाधिराजसांघ [:] प्रसन्नवान् ।
अतो राजप्रसादाख्यः कल्पो जयताच्चिरं ॥ १३१ ॥
श्रीविक्स[क्र]माष्टे[ब्दे] वर्णाष्टविश्वेदेवमिते[2] शितौ ।
सप्तम्यां तपसः काव्यदिसेयं [?][3] समर्थितः ॥ १३३ ॥

His account is, therefore, worth taking into consideration, especially as the dates of the Mahommedan historians do not agree, some[4] placing the conquest of Gujarât in A. D. 1300 and others, like the *Mirât-i-Ahmadi* and Ferishta three years earlier. What Jinaprabha says,[5] is as follows :—

अह तेरससयछप्पन्नविक्कमवरिसे अल्लावदीणसुरता-
णस्स कणिट्ठो भ[ा]या उलूखाननामधिज्जो ढिल्लीपुराओ
मंतिमाहिवपरिओ गुज्जरधरं पट्ठिओ । चित्तकूडाहिवई[इ]सम-
रसीहेणं दंडं दाउं मेवाडदेसो तया रक्खिओ । तओ

[1] The MS. used is No. 1256 of 1887-8, fols. 139.
[2] The MS. has वर्णाष्ट॰.—
[3] Perhaps काव्यप्रदेशोऽयं.—
[4] See H. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III. p. 74.
[5] Fol. 39a, l. 6 ff. of the MS.

हम्मीरजुवराओ वग्गदेसं मुहज (?) सयाइ नयराणि य भंजिय आसावल्लीए पत्तो । कण्णदेवराओ अ नट्ठो । सोमनाहं च घणघाएण भंजित्ता गड्डुपरोविऊण ढोल्लि[6] वामणथलीए (गंतुं) मंडलिक्कराणयं दंडित्ता सोरट्ठे नियआणं पइट्ठा[इा]वित्ता आसावल्लीए आवासिओ मढमंदिरदेउलाणि ए[प]ज्जालेइ ॥

"Then in the Vikrama year 1356 the youngest brother of Sultan **Allâvadîṇ**, called **Ullû Khân,** started from the town of Ḍhillî for Gujarât, accompanied by the minister [Nusrat Khân] and nobles. The lord of **Cittakûḍa** (Chitor), **Samarasîha,** then protected the **Mêvâḍ** country by paying a fine (?). Then the **Yuvarâja Hammîra,**[7] having . . . . the **Vagga** country and having destroyed hundreds of towns reached **Âsâvallî,**[8] and king **Kaṇṇadeva** (Karṇa II) fled. And having broken (the liṅga of **Sômanâtha** with a strong blow . . . . . [9],' having punished,[10] **Râṇâ Maṁḍalikka** of **Vâmaṇathalî** (Vanthlî) and established his authority in **Soraṭh** (Ulugh Khân) settling in **Âsâvallî,** burnt the monasteries, palaces and temples.

Jinaprabha then goes on to narrate a miracle, performed by the Yaksha **Bambhasanti,** who made the gongs in the temple of **Satyapura** ring, whereupon the army of the Mlêchchhas fled and the Jaina temple was saved for a time. He, however, admits that later the temple was defiled and the sacred image of **Mahâvîra** was carried to Delhi in Vikramasaṁvat 1366 by **Allâvadîṇa's** order and made an *âsâyaṇabhâyaṇaṁ.*

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 11. — *The Old Woman of the Sugar-cane Field.*[1]

ONCE upon a time in a certain country there lived a king. One day he started on an expedition, and, preceding his army and retinue, he became cut off from them, and found himself in the heart of a dense forest. Feeling very thirsty, and not having a single attendant to fetch for him a *lôṭâ* of water, he entered a sugar-cane field hard by. The owner of the field was an old woman. He addressed her thus:—

"Mother, will you kindly give me to drink? I feel very, very thirsty."

"Sir," said the woman, "I have no water here, but there is a well a mile hence. You can go, mounted as you are on your horse, and slake your thirst there."

"But," said the king, "I am exhausted and fatigued, and have not the strength to go so far, even on my charger."

On this the old woman, who was of a compassionate nature, pierced with a thorn one of the sugar-canes and extracted a *lôṭâ*-full of juice and offered it to the king. He drank it, and finding it refreshing asked for more. The woman repeated the process, and obtained another. This he drank also and asked for a third draught, so thirsty was he. This request also she complied with. Refreshed thus, the king, before leaving the field, asked the owner what rent she paid for the ground. He was informed "one rupee," and the ungrateful king thought that the ground-rent levied was too little.

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[6] This passage is corrupt beyond restoration and mutilated, but contains without doubt a reference to the transportation of the idol to Delhi. — Elliot, *op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 44.

[7] I suppose Ullû (Ulugh) Khân is meant; the word मुहज, left untranslated, seems to be corrupt.

[8] Asâval near Ahmedâbâd, where according to this account the battle seems to have been fought.

[9] See the note to the text.

[10] Or "levied a fine from."

[1] Narrated by Jairâm Kunbî, a *chuprâsî* in the Honorary Magistrate's Court, City, Nagpur.

On a future occasion circumstances similar to the above brought the king to the same sugar-cane field in the forest. He asked his old acquaintance for a drink. The obliging woman pierced with thorns ten sugar-canes, but all to no purpose; for not one yielded any juice. The king asked of the cause of this. "Ah!" exclaimed the old woman, "do you not know it? This is caused by the perfidy of the king, for his mean heart has made the soil to lose its fertility."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

AN INSTANCE OF THE POWER OF INDIAN VILLAGERS TO COMBINE FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

THE other day, in visiting an Ahîr village in the Gurgâon district, I had occasion to pass through the dry bed of the village pond, accompanied by several of the villagers, and noticed that each man, as he passed along, stooped down to pick up a clod of earth, which he carried to the margin of the pond and threw down outside. On enquiring the reason of this, I was told that it was a rule in the village, that no inhabitant should pass through the bed of the pond without doing a little in this way to deepen it, and clear it of the sediment that is washed into it every year in the rainy season.

In the Sirsâ District, where owing to the great depth of the wells and the general brackishness of the water in them, the pond is more important than usual to the comfort of the village, it is very common to find that a man is told off daily by rotation, among the different families of the village, whose duty it is to be present at the pond in the morning when the women come to get their daily supply of water for household purposes. He is provided with a spade and a basket or two, and before a woman is allowed to fill her jars with water from the pond, she must carry out a basketful of earth excavated by the man on duty from the bed of the pond and throw it down outside. As this process goes on every day the pond is deepened by slow degrees, and its capacity for holding water thus increased. This is interesting as a simple example of the power of a village community to combine in a sustained course of action for the common good.

J. WILSON, in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

AN ORDEAL.

A WRITER in Blackwood's *Magazine* (June 1883), reviewing Fitzjames Stephen's *History of English Criminal Law*, says:—"In the 23rd Canto of *Il Purgatorio* Dante writes:—'*chi n'ha colpa creda che vendetta di Dio non teme suppe,*' in allusion to an old superstition, according to which it was believed that if the murderer ate a sop of bread and wine on the grave of his (supposed?) victim within nine days of the murder, the right of vengeance was forfeited. To guard this right the relations of the murdered man watch his tomb to prevent the ceremony from being accomplished."

This method of avoiding a blood-feud was evidently of the nature of an ordeal, it being assumed that if the man was the real murderer and had killed the deceased worngfully the sop would choke him. The collocation of bread and wine is apparently connected with Holy Communion. Does any similar method of purging one's self by ordeal from the accusation of blood-guiltiness, and so avoiding a blood-feud, exist among the races of our frontier?

DENZIL IBBETSON, in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE SIDDHANTA DEEPIKA.

THE LIGHT OF TRUTH OR SIDDHANTA DEEPIKA, a Monthly Journal devoted to Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Science, etc. Madras, C. N. Press, 4, Guruvappen Street, Black Town. Nos. 1 and 2.

We must express our pleasure at the appearance of this *Magazine*, though it is, perhaps, somewhat too much imbued with the *perfervidum ingenium* that distinguishes the Dravidian populations to altogether please the more phlegmatic Englishman. But its aim is high and its tone elevating, and there is no doubt that it will do a great deal towards making better known, to the literary world at any rate, the great wealth of Tamiḻ Literature, if it continues as it has begun, by giving the texts with renderings of the greater specimens thereof. It is of value, for instance, to have a reproduction of such texts as the *Śivañana Siddhiyar* of Aruḷ Nandi Śivâchârya, even though the transliterations of the vernacular words are unsteady and not always correct.

We note also a memorandum by the veteran Tamiḻ scholar, Dr. G. U. Pope, on the *Tiruvâchakam* of Manika Vâchâkar, and an advertisement stating that he will publish an Edition of it in full, if funds are forthcoming. Let us hope that they will be forthcoming.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p.* 161.)

4.

The Effect of Bullion Currency.

Of the effects commercially of the Burmese system of specie currency Yule[38] makes the following pertinent remarks:— "Curiously enough our rupees were not merely not current as coin at Amarapoora, but the people were often unwilling to take them at all, except at a greatly depreciated value. So I have known a Scotch shopkeeper to decline "that small thing," a sovereign, preferring the well-thumbed indigenous one-pound note.[39] In 1567, Cæsar Frederick (*Purchas*, Vol. II. p. 1761) says: — 'If he (the merchant) bring money, he shall lose by it.'

"In any case of shop-purchase, before arriving at a price, one is always asked to shew the money.[40] Then a new element of bargaining comes into every purchase; the value of the money has to be ascertained, as well as the value of the goods; and **in all mercantile transactions or other affairs involving considerable payment, an assayer or pwezâ is employed,** who receives one per cent. upon all sales. He is supposed, on this understanding, to be responsible for the quality of all gold and silver received in payment. These *pwezâs* profess to judge by inspection merely and to appraise in this way within half per cent. of the

[38] Ava, pp. 258, 259. See also p. 344. As an instance of how far wrong one can go in generalising without precise knowledge as to the effects on a people of commercial relations novel to oneself, I would note the remarks of Mr. S. Davis, F. R. S. (the hero of Benares in 1798), in his posthumous Paper on the Bhûtiâs (*J. R. A. S.* Vol II. 1830), who says, p. 17, that "there was (in his time) no other coin than the 'Beyhar' rupee," and that in very small quantities. He then proceeds to describe the people as living in a kind of Arcadian simplicity — without money. But a perusal of these pages will shew that it is the possession of 'money,' properly so called, that tends to induce commercial honesty and simplicity in dealings rather than the want of it.

[39] In the Mandalay District the debased *taungbânnî* copper currency, described later on, was in 1887, found to be preferred to the Royal Mint currency. See Sladen's experience in Bhamo in 1837, and Cooper's in Western China in 1838, detailed further on in these articles. For the opposite experience, where British rupees were current in the Siamese Shan States, when the local money was not, see Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 159. Compare with his statement Colquhoun's remark in *Amongst the Shans*, p. 192:—"De Carne found our rupee was a redoubtable rival to the Siamese tical at Luang Prabang, and was accepted at the same value, although it is really worth sixpence less." In Bhamo and thereabouts, as far as Momien, sycee silver has, I am told, disappeared from currency and its place taken by British rupees, and rupees are accepted at much above their intrinsic value in exchange for sycee. In 1833 Csoma de Körös told Prinsep that rupees were everywhere current in Western Tibet: *Useful Tables*, Thomas' Ed. p. 32. Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 145, in 1835 found "Company rupees and pice" everywhere current in Arakan. In Tibet, Macmahon, *Far Cathay and Further India*, p. 237, says:—"According to Mr. Baber, "Those (rupees) which bear a crowned presentment of Her Majesty's head are named *Lama Tob-du* or Vagabond Lama, the crown being mistaken for the head-gear of a religious mendicant." In 1863, an attempt by a British officer to introduce a copper coinage into Manipûr to displace the local bell-metal *sêl* entirely failed. The people would have none of it. See Brown's *Statistical Account of Manipur*, p. 89. In 1824, the Burmans at Prome at once melted down rupees paid to them by the British Forces into local currency in ticals. See *Two Years in Ava*, p. 280. M. Rocher, a French Tongking official, after explaining that dollars are only accepted at 7 % discount and then only in small quantities, gives this advice to travellers in Yunnan:—"Il y a donc tout avantage, pour les négociants qui voudront faire le voyage, à se munir de lingots d'argent." *Toung Pao*, Vol. I. p. 51. The Chinese, in the early Seventeenth Century, melted down all the foreign silver they could get hold of, *vide* Pyrard de Laval's statement (Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. II. p. 174):— "The Chinese, too, never let so much as a testoon [the modern 'tizzy,' worth in Henry VIIIth's reign 6d.] go out again, for they melt all this silver into ingots and keep all their treasure in silver, and not in gold, which is vastly common and cheap there."

[40] Malcom's remarks on this point, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 239 f, are worth quoting in full. "Silver, in passing from hand to hand, becomes more and more alloyed, so that, when a man is asked the price of a thing, he says, 'let me see your money.' He then regulates his charge by the quality of the silver, and a piece is chopped off to meet the bill; change, if any, being weighed in lead." *Cf.* Lockyer, *Trade in India*, 1711, p. 39, as to the Malay Country: p 132, as to China.

real value.[41] Colonel Symes says that in no instance did he hear of a breach of trust committed by one of these *pwezûs*; [42] but Col. Burney with longer and more accurate experience of them, calls them a sad nefarious set, quite unworthy of this high character. Their power of appraising is also much less than they profess. Burney found the valuations of some of those most esteemed as highly skilful to differ as much as ten per cent. among themselves.

"Adding this percentage or brokerage to the loss of frequent melting, including doubtless considerable embezzlement by the operations, which is estimated at from one to two per cent. on each process; and considering that all the silver current in the country is believed to go through the melting-pot on the average twice a year, some idea may be formed of the cost and wastage of this system." [43]

In Burmese times the *pwèzâ* drove a thriving trade, for Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.*, Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 38, tells us that "at the time of the British occupation of Prome, a town having 20,000 inhabitants, there were in it not less than twenty *pwèzâs*, that is, brokers and assayers of silver. They had thier furnaces and crucibles in the corners of streets or under open sheds, like smithies, where they pursued their calling." Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 244 f., says that he found in 1835 "the assayers of the precious metals expert and exact; and as money goes by weight, and is therefore constantly cut to pieces and alloyed, these persons are numerous." And at p. 270, he well explains the general attitude of the people towards currency. "The people are not anxious for coin. They cannot trust their rulers. They love higgling in bargains. They make a profit on their money, as well as goods, by increasing its alloy, and a numerous class of assayers, or brokers, called *pwazahs* (by foreigners *poyzahs*) subsist by melting up silver, to improve or deteriorate it, as they are desired. This they do before the owner's face, and have only the crucible and scoriae for their trouble."

Stretell, in his *Ficus Elastica in Burma Proper*, 1876, a book full of the most valuable information about Upper Burma and the ways of its inhabitants, is disappointing as to currency, as he always quotes transactions and values in rupees.[44] However, he mentions the brokers of the Great Bazaar at Mandalay, the Zêjô, and states that "the rate of exchange from rupees into silver bits was four per cent. and into copper bits Rs. 3-2." The curious expression "silver bits" means, I gather, from pp. 76, 114, 155, 185, of the book, chips from lumps of silver, the smelting and adulterating of which for currency the author found to be the chief employment of the silver-smiths living north of Mandalay. Stretell talks of "legal" qualities of silver, going on Capt. Bower's *Bhamo Expedition Report*, 1868, but he states he did not think that the silver-smiths adhered to the standards and he notes also the waste caused by the system "Buying and selling is both tedious and wasteful: not only do those unfamiliar with the quality of the metal suffer, but great waste occurs in chopping off wee pieces from the ingot, to obtain the required weight at which the article purchased has been valued." Stretell had

[41] See my remarks *ante* on valuation by rough assay. [42] See also Scott, *The Burman*, p. 299.

[43] See also McLeod's opinion in 1836 in his *Journal* (House of Commons, No. 420 of 1869, pp. 57, 60), when writing of Kiang Tung and Ava.

[44] So does the French traveller Flouest, who was in Pegu in 1786. See *Toung Pao*, Vol. I. pp. 203, 215 ff.: Vol. II. pp. 25, 32, 38, 40, 47, 392, 395 But fortunately he quotes (Vol. I. p. 215), "735 ticals ou roupies de 25 pour cent," which shews us that he really meant tickals when he said "roupies." At p. 216 he talks of "roupies de 25 pour cent." Twice he mentions "*piastres*," *i. e.*, dollars, as currency, *viz.*, at Vol. I. p. 203 and Vol. II. p. 41. Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien*, also almost always states payments in rupees, and sometimes even in pounds and shillings. See pp. 204, 233, 362. Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans* is quite disfigured by this habit See pp. 70, 130, 135, 192, 274, 290, etc. The idea, no doubt, is in "popular" works to bring prices home to European readers, but it is apt to do the opposite: *e. g.*, Colquhoun, *op. cit.* p. 253, in quoting a statement of Richardson's, says, "each household paid half a tical of coarse silver (1*s.* 3*d*)." This is quite incorrect: half a Siamese tical was in Richardson's time worth roughly 1s. 3*d.*, when of standard silver, and was certainly worth nothing of the sort when of coarse silver, as Richardson himself knew very well. One would also like to know exactly what was meant by the translator in the English version of the *Voyage de Siam*, published in 1688, when he writes (p. 122) of the "Chineses" of Batavia: — "Some of them are very rich, and we were told that one of them died lately, who left behind him a Million in coined Money."

evidently no greater faith in the *pwèzás* than had Yule, and unless the "silver bits" he bought with rupees at Mandalay at four per cent. exchange were of *b'ò* silver, which was exceedingly unlikely, he was swindled by the Bazaar *pwèzás* of Mandalay.

Yule also says that "besides these pwèzás[45] there is another class so called. They are brokers appointed by the Government, who conduct all purchases made by foreigners of produce for exportation, apparently with some notion of keeping a check on the exportation of precious metals. They receive a half per cent. from the seller in all wholesale transactions." This must be the **tarega**, of whom we hear so much from the oldest of the travellers, and, is probably the **pymon** of Symes (*Ava*, p. 326), though Symes seems to have confounded the *pymon* (equal ? *pwènôn*, *i. e.*, Government bullion broker) with the *pwèzás*.

Flouest, who was in Burma about ten years before Symes, writes thus[46]: — "There is again in Rangoon a class of men very useful to the stranger. They are a species of broker or exchange agent, and are called professionally *poiment* (? *pwèmôn*). They receive and pay for their constituents. In this way one avoids being cheated in the quality and weight of silver. It is necessary to take great care to record documents, and to do it in a manner that they cannot be counterfeited. '*Les poïments*' take one per cent. of all the sums in their charge and are responsible for their full distribution, which they certify by receipts for the sums they have paid away." Flouest, then, evidently had a small opinion of the honesty of the brokers.

They naturally always loomed large in the eyes of the old travellers. In 1796 we find Cox (*Burmhan Empire*, p. 12) congratulating himself that, when he went to view the great pagoda at Rangoon, he found that the "*poyzah* or *sircar*" had a house close by, and so gave him a good view of the place and people unmolested.[47]

We hear of them from time to time when European merchants began trading in Burma and Pegu, and Yule's quotations in *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* **Tarega**, are so fully to the point in this connection, that I give them here in full: — "This (word *tarega*) represents a word for a broker (or person analogous to the Hong merchants of Canton in former days) in Pegu, in the days of its prosperity. The word is from South India. We have in Telugu, *taraga* "the occupation of a broker;" Tamil, *taragani*, "a broker."

"**1568.** — Sono in Pegu otto sensari del Re che si chiamano Tarege li quali sono obligati di far vendete tutte le mercantie — per il prezzo corrente. — *Ces Federici, in Ramusio*, iii. 395.

"**1583.** — E se fosse alcuno che a tempo del pagamento per non pagar si absentasse dalla città, o si ascondesse, il Tarrecà e obligato pagar per lui. — I Tarrecà cosi si demandano i sensari. — *G. Balbi*, f. 107v, 108.

"**1587.** — There are in Pegu eight brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to sell your goods at the price they be woorth and you give them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make your debt good, because you sell your marchandises upon their word. — *R. Fitch in Hakluyt*, ii. 393."[48]

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45 They are referred to in *Two Years in Ava*, in p. 280, as a particular class of silver-smiths. Something of the same system must have existed in Portuguese India in the early Seventeenth Century. See Pyrard de Laval's accounts of the *cherafes* (sráfs) of Goa: Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. II. pp. 37 ff. Part of the E. I. Company's establishment at Madras in 1711 was "two Essay Masters, both at 120 *l.* per An." Lockyer, *E. I. Trade*, p. 14.

46 *Toung Pao*, Vol. II. p. 40: see also Hunter, *Pegu*, p. 85, who was in Rangoon the year before Flouest.

47 Cox, or rather his son and editor, is one of the most perfect coiners of words among Indo-European writers. Thus, poyzah as above becomes poizah at p. 179, and "poizat or shroff" at p. 186.

48 There is a word *tarra*, constantly used by British merchants in Siam and Burma in the Seventeenth Century, but not explained in Yule, which seems to be connected with *tarega*. It meant a written license to trade, or as Hamon Gibbon quaintly puts it "tarraes or lrēs Patents." See Anderson, *Siam*, pp. 54, 113, 117, 124, 123, 127.

There was evidently a custom of the same description prevalent in Siam until quite lately, for in Sir Henry Parkes' "Agreement" consequent on Sir John Bowring's Treaty of 1885 with Siam, we find in the "Schedule of taxes on garden-ground, plantations, and other lands" the following Section: — "Sixty cowries are levied per tical as expenses of testing the quality of the silver on all sums paid as taxes under the the long assessment. Taxes paid under the annual assessment are exempted from this charge." Again under "Customs Regulations" we find a Section :— "The receiver of duties may take from the merchants two *salungs* per catty of eighty ticals for testing the money paid him as duties." [49]

Horace Browne, in his *Account of the District of Thayetmyo*, a high authority on all matters connected with Burma and its people, however, (p. 96), agrees with Symes as to the honesty of the old brokers, for he writes :— "Produce brokers were licensed. They were to take one per cent. on the value of the goods sold from the seller and the same from the buyer, and one half of the amount realised by them they had to pay in as Government revenue. This Governmental supervision of brokers was an institution well suited to the requirements of the country, and its abandonment on the British side of the frontier is one of the points in which our administration contrasts unfavourably in the eyes of the people with that of the Native Government. Under the Native Government dishonesty or peculation on the part of a broker was almost unknown, and on the rare occasions when it did occur was easily detected and punished. Under the British Government ignorant people from the interior are frequently victimised by men who set themselves up as brokers on the river-bank."

It must be remembered, however, that Burney got his information from personal experience and observation, whereas Symes spoke from slight experience and Browne perforce heard only the statements of persons, who were, as likely as not, *laudatores temporis acti.*

The ways of Chinese money-changers and brokers in similar circumstances are well illustrated by Huc,[50] who has no hesitation in setting them all down as rogues. According to their customer, they cheated in weight if they valued fairly, and they cheated in value if they weighed fairly; or they weighed fairly and valued fairly, but cheated the country bumpkin in calculating. But Huc does not lay it to their charge that they doctored the silver, as we shall see below that the Burmese did, though he tells us a story to shew that this was at any rate sometimes done.

M. Rocher, a French Tongking official, writing in 1890,[51] tells us much the same story of the Yünnan traders. He says that the silver tael is the currency of the country, but that the quality of the silver and the currency varies with each place. At "Mong-Tze" the tael weighs 0·037 grammes and is 3 per cent. higher in value than that of Yünnanfu, 10 per cent. better than that of Shanghaï and about 1·45 less than that of Canton. And he then goes on to say that, "It is difficult to give a weight with mathematical exactness.[52] Every dealer has two methods of weighing, according as he pays or receives. The difference between the two varies several points in the tael!"

Gouger, in his own inimitable manner, gives a graphic, and for the present discussion instructive, account of his first dealings at the Burmese Court, at p. 41 of his *Prisoner in Burmah.* The date must have been sometime in 1822 or 1823. After explaining how the various ladies about the Court had each taken from his bales what she fancied, he writes :— "So far everything went on agreeably, but now came the painful duty of telling each of the fair purchasers how much she had to pay, and the still more difficult one of assessing the value of the gold and silver she presented for payment. The king's command, however, must

[49] Bowring's *Siam*, Vol. II. pp. 245, 247.

[50] Nat. Ill. Library Ed., Vol. II. p. 114 ff.

[51] *Toung Pao*, Vol. I. p 51.

[52] Dr. Vorderman, writing in 1890, on Chinese apothecaries' weights in Batavia, remarks, after giving some valuable and remarkable instances, on the total want of uniformity in them. *Toung Pao*, Vol. I. p. 180 ff.

be obeyed. Each lady must again be paraded in turn to make payment for what she had taken. His Majesty remained to see fair play and entered into the spirit of the trafficking, laughing heartily at every dispute which subsequently occurred. Scales and weights were now introduced, but this I could not stand. My *amour propre* rebelled against it. — I insisted on making over this part of the play to Shwai-ee (Shwê Î, a Musalmân servant with a Burmese name). I professed my ignorance of **the touch of gold and the face of silver,** an avowal that no doubt relieved the apprehensions of the ladies, who were looking for a grasping creditor, and who, with all their good-humoured smiles, were not free from a spice of avarice, or it might be only a love of bargaining. Never was a man so baited as the poor Malabaree (the servant). Whenever he gave his honest opinion of the value of the gold, he was instantly assailed, accused of cheating, threatened, coaxed, bullied and called very hard names. When I was appealed to, I always gave judgment in favour of the lady, for finding that the gentle creatures were, by their own unbiassed and voluntary assessment of prices, paying five and six times as much as the goods cost, I could well afford to be generous. The easy indifference I manifested in submitting to what they knew to be attempts at imposition gained me high favour, while it conferred also perhaps the character of a green-horn. — With all their eagerness to take petty advantages, honesty was enforced in the main and no one was allowed to evade the payment of her debt. My *factotum* put up his gold and silver into bags."[53]

Mr. Gouger's subsequent difficulty was that, having amassed thus a weight of silver and gold equal to about £8,000, he could neither legally transport the metal itself, nor goods representing its value, out of the country, except by bribing officials, but he notes that the bribing, though heavy, was worth a merchant's while, considering the prices paid for goods imported (p. 64 f.).

I must clinch my **evidence by a passage from a book by a well known Burmese writer,** Maung Bah Wah. It is in English and is entitled, *The Outward Man and the Inward Man.*[54] At p. 55, the writer gives a reminiscence of his childhood, which is of the first importance for the present subject:— "I remember when I was a child, how I hoped to see my father come back from his trading tour, and my mother from the bazaar, where she went only once a week, or sometimes twice, and brought provisions sufficient for a week. **We had no copper or silver coins** then as you have now (writing for his grand-children), and with which the present-day children know how to buy and sell. **In those days it was not every grown-up person that knew how to properly assay lumps of silver, which were more or less impure and which were then in current use.** Some are preserved in the Phayre Museum[55] here (Rangoon)."

That travellers had to be habitually cautious as to receiving bullion, we have many instances, of which the following is a fair example. Dr. Richardson, in his *Journal of a Fourth Mission to the Interior of the New Settlements in the Tenasserim Provinces,* in 1836,[56] writes of the Mônè State, and says: — "In the meantime he (the military commander) sent me for current expenses 48½ ticals (called 50) of coarse silver, or Rupees 32¼." This shews

[53] At p. 63 he says that the people "came with bags of silver and gold in bullion to pay for their purchases."

[54] A remarkable book by a remarkable man. He was a leading member of an ardent sect of Christians in Rangoon, who have, with an independence of spirit and thought very notable in the conditions, worked out for themselves, and formed without extraneous aid, a dogma and ritual of their own quite worth study. Maung Bah Wah very kindly presented me with the literature of the Sect, and I hope some day to give an account of it. The origin of the Sect is explained in "A Statement of the True Case," 1886, in English. Its ideas are contained in *The Lord's Supper, Pwèdò,* 1887; *The Lord's Day, Ûbôkné,* 1883; *The Fellowship of the Apostles, Thinspwèjins,* 1888; *Hymns,* 1885; *New Spiritual Songs,* 1887. All these books are in Burmese.

[55] I have gathered in conversation with Maung Bah Wah that they were presented by himself and were specimens of *ngwèlôn,* a species of silver currency to be described in its proper place later on.

[56] House of Commons, *Parl. Papers,* No. 240 of 1869, p. 124.

that this cautious traveller both weighed and valued the silver presented, as a matter of course.[57]

Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. I. p. clvi., incidentally proves that the difficulties created by a bullion currency are a very old story in Eastern lands, and has a most interesting quotation from Pliny, shewing that nearly **two thousand years ago the more intelligent rulers of the Far East were quite alive to the value of an exact currency, though unable to secure it.** "We had an opportunity of more correct information in the reign of Claudius, when ambassadors came from the Island (Ceylon). A freedman of Annius Plocamus, who had farmed the customs of the Red Sea from the Imperial Exchequer, after sailing round Arabia, was driven by storms past Carmania, and on the fifteenth day made the port of Hippuri (in Ceylon). Here he was entertained by the king with kindness and hospitality for six months; and when he learned to speak the language, in answer to the king's questions, told him all about Cæsar and the Romans. Nothing that the king heard made such a wonderful impression on him as the opinion of the exactness of our (Roman) dealings, which he formed from seeing, in some Roman money that had been taken, that the coins were all of the same weight, though the heads upon them shewed that they had been struck by different princes." [58]

In 1836, Dr. Bayfield, Assistant Resident at Ava, was sent on a journey from Ava to the Assam frontier, and the observations of this highly qualified observer give us **a fair insight into the monetary system of a country having a lump silver currency of fluctuating intrinsic value.** Throughout his *Report*[59] he uses the tickal, to denominate a fixed weight of the metal and to estimate payments in cash. Thus we find him (p. 138) saying, "the monthly duties of the *chokey* (custom-house) average about seventy ticals, of which forty go to the Queen and the remaining thirty are divided amongst the customs officer and his followers."[60] **But that the quality of the silver entered vitally into all fiscal calculations, the quotations below will shew.**

(Page 158.) "This district was ordered to furnish 25 men for the Myôwun's deputation, and was therefore called upon for 25 viss of silver (one viss equals 100 tickals), each man being supposed to receive one viss for his services. This sum is collected from the district at the rate of two or three ticals per house, more or less, until the amount is paid. Before the men get it, however, it is refined down to about 70 to 75 tickals, previously deteriorated to 50 per cent. money! The Government officers keep the remainder."

I gather that the Government collection was in ywetnî, or standard silver,[61] and that by 50 per cent. silver is meant 50 per cent. of that standard. The next quotation supports this idea (p. 208 f.): — "This evening an officer of the Wuntho force, a poor old man, 61 years of age, applied to me for some cough medicine. He complained bitterly against the Myôwun, who had struck him for presuming to intercede for his men against a demand for two

[57] So Pegolotti, in advising travellers and merchants of his day (early XIVth Cent. A. D.), says: — "You may reckon the *sommo* (ingot of silver) to be worth five golden florins (ducats)" and so on. He is always cautious:— "you may reckon;" "you may calculate." See Yule, *Cathay*, Vol. II. p. 293 ff. Yule, *op. cit.*, has a number of references to the use of gold and silver by weight in the XIIIth and XIVth Cent. A. D. all over the Asiatic Continent: Vol. I. pp. cxcix., ccxix., clxx.: Vol. II. pp. 584, 586, 590.

[58] The following note in the *Athenæum*, No. 3442, Oct. 14, 1893, p. 515, shews that the working of the human mind has in this matter been everywhere and at all times the same:—The place called the "steelyard" (in London) derived its name undoubtedly from *stiliard*, a corruption (through *stalier*, *stadiero*, *stadera*, *statera*) of *στατήρ*, the standard coin. Just as the Easterlings introduced sterling money, so also they introduced the system of weighing by the *statera*, the sterling penny, the standard coin of specific value and definite weight."

[59] *See Bengal Govt. Selections: Hill Tracts between Assam and Burma*, 1873, pp. 134-245.

[60] This was the usual custom in his day. Thus, in 1835, Capt. Hannay, *op. cit.*, p. 103, remarks that "the price of the common or mixed amber is 2½ ticals a vis, or Rs. 4 per 1½ seer:" which must be taken to be merely a rough calculation of relative values. Bayfield, p. 143, values, in 1836, 120 tickals at Rs. 150. Watson, in 1865, had to weigh out 8¼ rupees as the equivalent of 6 tickals in the Shan States. *Records, Govt. of India, Salween Survey*, p. 22.

[61] *Ywetnî* silver will be described under its appropriate head later on.

tickals per man, which the Myôwun had this day ordered to be assessed. This is the third demand that has been made upon them, and considering the excessive price of provisions (4 to 5 tickals per basket (of rice)), it does seem, even for Burma, somewhat unjust. At Mogaung three tickals, at Maingk'un two, and here two, making from the whole force, say 1,500 who pay, out of the 2,000 men, 10,500 tickals. It is true, that with the money thus collected the troops are furnished with rice, but it is probably at the rate of 500 per cent. above what they themselves buy it at, and above what the Myôwun actually pays for it. The peculiar beauty and refinement of the transaction is that the money is paid out of the sum each man received for his services on the present mission, and although they were paid in silver varying from 25 to 60 per cent. alloy, the Myôwun's assessment must be made in *ruetnee* (*ywetnî*), nearly equal to rupee silver.'"[62]

The ways of this exemplary Burman official under the late dynasty are thus clearly explained to us. His escort received something under 40 % of the pay collected for them in the first transaction. Of standard silver each man had received in fact 40 tickals at the outside and of this the Myôwun had extracted from him before the journey was half through 7 tickals for food, for which the Myôwun had paid about 1½ tickals. So that his personal profits at that stage had amounted to 65½ % on the original transaction. It is hard to believe that any "pay-master-general" of forces could make such profits, were the facts not stated in the matter-of-fact diary of an eye-witness.

As to the disastrous effect this particular official's exactions had locally on occasion, Bayfield tells us (p. 164) that the people of Yenkè had to pawn their cattle in order to meet them.

In estimating revenue, Bayfield usually states the sum simply in viss[63] and occasionally in "viss of silver." The silver he meant was evidently *ywetnî*, as he says (*op. cit.* p. 230):— "The total amount of revenue received last year was 220 viss of silver, equal to about 25,000 rupees." This would make a tickal worth about one rupee and a seventh, shewing this estimate to be in terms of *ywetnî*. **Similarly, he estimates large payments in viss and "viss of silver :"** thus, at p. 163, he puts the cost of a monastery at 95 viss, and at p. 224, part of the price of a Kachin Chief's bride at a "viss of silver." **But when talking of commercial prices he is sometimes careful to state the quality as well as the weight of silver:** thus, in Khyangdaung in 1836, rice sold at 50 tickals of 25 % to 30 % money per 100 baskets (p. 158), and paddy sold in the Bhamo market at 15 tickals of 10 % silver per 100 baskets (p. 230). These sums I take to be respectively worth in existing rupees about Rs. 39 and Rs. 13, the latter a price which would make a modern Rangoon rice-miller's fortune in a single year.

Horace Browne, *Account of the District of Thayetmyo*, in giving (pp. 95 ff., 101 ff., 107, 111) a description of the revenue in Burmese times from 1783 to 1852, not only says that the revenue was paid in *ywetnî*, but gives several calculations of the value in rupees of revenue stated in viss of silver, and these calculations shew that it was paid in *ywetnî*. And they, moreover, prove that the ways of Dr. Bayfield's Myôwun were not confined to that official, as the following interesting quotation from Gen. Browne's observations (p. 103) will sufficiently shew:— "The interference of the officials with the standard currency (in King Pagàn's time, 1846 to 1852), and weights of the country caused universal alarm and dissatisfaction. The revenue had always been paid in "*rwetnee*" (5 % alloy)[64] silver. The standard now was raised and 20 to 30 per cent. extra was demanded on the plea of this silver being of too low a value.[65] The revenue collectors, moreover, now claimed the right of attaching pieces of lead to the royal standard weights which were used in receiving revenue."

62 *Ywetnî* is 85 % of Burmese pure silver and modern rupee silver is 96¼ %. In Bayfield's time it was probably of less value.

63 *Op. cit.* pp. 164, 168, 176, 185 : and pp. 157, 230. So does Crawfurd, *Siam*, throughout his book, in catties and piculs. See pp. 331, 579, etc.

64 This is a mistake: see later on under the description of *ywetnî*.

65 Either percentage would have raised the quality beyond the purest silver the Burmese could make!

Practises of this description seem to have been habitual with the Burmese, for Clement Williams, *Through Burma to Western China*, p. 86, tells the following tale :— "I also learned from the Chinese (at Bhamo) that the mines in the Burman-Shan territory, which were formerly worked by the Chinese, who paid duty to the Burmans, had for some time been left unworked, in consequence of the oppression of the Burmese superintendents. These mines yield a rich argentiferous lead, from which silver can be readily extracted, and are said to be easy of access. For the same reason, gold was little sought after, — a fortunate find being always exaggerated and made an excuse for plunder by the officials. Even turning up the ground in the old city was not safe, if anything rare or valuable was found. An inhabitant of the old city of Pagan, for example, came upon five vessels of gold with twelve thousand rupees, for which an equivalent in the new gold was ordered to be given by the King ; the money was sent from the treasury, but very little of it reached its proper owner, as the Myowoon, on various pretences, managed to secure the lion's share."

Badly, however, as the Government officials behaved in the instances above quoted, the Chinese are shewn to have behaved worse not long previous to 1844 ; witness Huc's statement that the tributary Tartar princes had on one memorable occasion received their pensions payable in gold in ingots of copper gilt.[66]

5.

Valuation by Weight.

I have already had reason to refer to payments in tickals and viss, *i. e.*, by weight, when discussing the effect of an uncoined currency on pecuniary transactions. I now propose to consider the point in greater detail.

There is a distinct statement as to valuation by weight in the remarks of a writer who was in Rangoon in 1782 (Hunter, *Pegu*, p. 85) :— "The principal money of this country is silver, which is not coined, but paid by weight. The smallest denomination is the Tycal ; one hundred Tycals make one Viss ; and these are used in weighing goods as well as money."[67]

In continuation of this evidence, we find that during the War of 1824, Burmese property was apparently valued by British officers and others in tickals : *vide* Wilson's *Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War*.[68] Thus, in No. 85, describing the papers taken in the entrenched position of the Burmese on the 15th December, 1824, (p. 102 ff.), he gives all sorts of curious information about the Burmese General Mahâ Bandula.[69] Among other papers, a letter was found, addressed to him, which acknowledged the receipt of "1,000 tickals per order of Mahâ Bandula." A paper was also found describing a number of the general's private expenses. This paper is full of remarkable old Anglo-Indian words, and from amongst the items I select the following as interesting in many ways :—

"Leaves for *choppering* Bundoolah's house	Tickals	1
pawn for Bundoolah		$\frac{1}{4}$
betel for do.		1
a pot for Bundoolah to bath (*sic*) in		1
saddle, bridle, etc.[70]		19

[66] Nat. Ill. Library Ed., Vol. II. pp. 228, 229.

[67] Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 269, distinctly states the same thing in 1835. Three 'cyclists' going round the world wrote to the Calcutta *Englishman* (Oct. 13, 1897, p. 5) from across the Burmo-Chinese border : — "The manner in which we proceeded was to have drafts on Chinese firms in various towns. From these firms we were able to obtain nuggets of silver. The nuggets we carried with us, and in every village we sold them by weight in exchange for 'cash.'

[68] See also *Two Years in Ava*, pp. 195, 201, 245 f., and Alexander, *Travels*, p. 21. Laurie, *Pegu*, p. 53, has a confused reference to the same ideas in the War of 1852, when he writes of Rangoon :— "Juvenile money-changers, as they sat, gave a rupee an occasional ring, tossing it with the air of men well up in their business : they receive one pice or three pie — the fourth of an ounce or three half-pence — for changing a rupee."

[69] For this title, see Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 233, and Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, Vol. II. p. 80.

[70] In a list on p. 104 of property captured, which had belonged to Bandula, we find:—"silver Taleo 1, silver Katorah 1, silver Peck Dawn 1, silver Pawn box 1, A red Ungurka, 4 or 5 plain Pucholes (?'ns ?), a broadcloth Chudder, 4 Cheek (? check) Pacholes, Dhooties."

Again in No. 174 (B).—Deposition of John Laird, Esq. (a prisoner among the Burmese), we have (p. 223) a clear instance of **money valued merely as weight**;[71] there being at that time no coinage whatever:—

"Q. Did you go up (to Ava) in chains?

A. No, I paid a bribe of 60 ticals to the commander of the war boat sent from Ava to convey me and was excused.

Q. With what offence were you charged?

A. With none whatever that I am aware of. I was simply told that the King had called me. Fifty men came to my house to put me in irons. I said, 'Don't put me in irons. I will make you a present.' They demanded 600 ticals, and were finally satisfied with 60."

Mr. Laird also stated he never paid by retail more than one tical a viss for pickled tea, and describing the ransom paid by or for the prisoners he stated it all in ticals (pp. 226 ff.). Nevertheless in valuing Siamese sugar we find:—

"Q. What was the price of this sugar in the market of Ava?

A. From 30 to 36 **sicca rupees**[72] the 100 viss, or 365 lbs. avoirdupoise (*sic*)" (p. 226).

At p. 238 ff., is the deposition of "Agha Mahomed," a merchant, who (on p. 239) states that a bounty of **150 ticals** was given to the Burmese Army because the King saw that the English paid their troops monthly and considered that this was the reason they fought so well.[73] "But few troops obtained" this bounty.

In the Appendix to Wilson's work we find **revenue and fines stated simply in ticals.**[74] *E. g.*, Document No. 21, p. xlv., says:—"The tax on the Karians (Karens in the Bassein District) was rated at about 18 ticals annually per plough or yoke of buffaloes,—the total produce of this was about 45,000 ticals." On p. xlvi. it is stated that "the revenue on law proceedings was divided between the Government and the local authorities, and the latter not unfrequently were obliged to contract for their proportion. They sometimes had, however, to pay instead of receiving, and in case of robbery, where the offenders were not secured, the head men of the

71 There are several passages in De Morga's *Philippine Islands* shewing that the early Spanish merchants valued money by weight as often as by quantity of coin. *E. g.*, "The galloon Santo Tomas, which was expected from New Spain, with the silver of two years belonging to the merchants of the kingdom." (Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 170). This was in 1578. On the 25th April in the next year the Spanish Captain, Francisco de Ibarro, when his ship, the Buen Jesus, was seized by the Dutch, threw all his specie overboard, and all that was taken by the Dutch was "in the pilot's hose, where there was a little bag with just a pound of gold" (p. 177). In 1603 Governor Pedro de Acuñha, gave some mandarins from China "a few presents of silver and other articles" (p. 220). In describing the curious local custom of full, half, and quarter and joint slaves, De Morga says, p. 299, that "the common price of a (complete) slave usually is (*c.* 1609) at the most ten taels of fine gold, which are worth eighty dollars (Spanish)." At p. 302, he says that barter of one thing for another was the usual way of trade, and "sometimes a price intervened which was paid in gold according to the agreement made."

Anderson, *Siam*, quotes many passages from English mercantile documents shewing that the English also in the Seventeenth Century valued money by weight:—*e. g.*, p. 143 f., Capt. Barkin of the *Patani Merchant*, made a claim in 1678 of "1,100 ticals of ready money." In the same year Mr. Sanger, the factor in Siam, received an advance of "200 cattees of silver from the King" (p. 144). See also pp. 160 f., 280.

72 That the term "rupee" was an exceedingly vague one, is graphically pointed out by Mr. Gouger, *Prisoner in Burma*, p. 298, where he shews that a memorandum, attached to the Treaty of Yandaboo (1826), stating that the term "rupee" in the Treaty meant *sicca*, *i. e.*, Bengal rupees, and not Madras rupees, was due to his advice, and made a difference of Rs. 70,000 on the whole agreement in favour of the East India Company, owing to the *sicca* rupee being worth 6½ to 7 per cent. more than the Madras rupee. The mistake arose of omitting to define the term from the British officers drafting the Treaty coming from Bengal, whereas the only rupee known to the Burma Government was the Madras rupee. I ought to remark, however, that the additional article to the Treaty says nothing about *sicca* or Madras rupees. See Wilson, *Documents of the Burmese War*, No. 170, p. 210.

73 Gouger, *Prisoner in Burma*, p. 270, says the amount was 100 tickals, equal £12.

74 In Quedah (Kora or Kala) the Chinese found in 618-906 A. D., that "as taxes the people pay a little silver:" *Indo-China*, 2nd Series, Vol. I. p. 242. In Malacca, in 1416 A. D., tribute was paid in "taels of gold:" *op. cit.* p. 243. *Cf. Govt. of India Records, Salween Survey*, 1865, p. 7.

villages were punished by heavy fines, payable half to the State and half to the Viceroy. The chief punishment of all crimes was fine: as, 15 ticals for abuse without blows, 30 ticals for assault without bloodshed, 30 ticals for adultery, 20 per cent. for debt denied, from 100 to 500 ticals for murder and gang robbery, although they were sometimes capitally punished."

At p. lx. in Document No. 26 **pearls in Tenasserim are valued in ticals, whereas in Mergui we find that as early as 2nd March, 1826, an Officer reporting that the tical had been superseded by the rupee.**[75]

In Document No. 33 is a long account of **money dealings with Siam in 1827** at p. lxxxiii. ff., from which we gather that "the Siamese tical, as assayed lately at the Calcutta Mint, is worth one sicca rupee and about three annas and a half. The sicca rupee is not current in Siam, but the Spanish dollar[76] is very readily received — at the usual market rate of six and a half selungs." At the calculations given, dollars and ticals on these pages work out to 1·625 ticals to 1 dollar.

But on p. lxxxvii. we have an exceedingly interesting note as to **methods of dealing with a currency without coinage.** Opium in Siam was contraband at that date, and "the penalty of late years has been forfeiture of the opium, with **a fine of eight times the weight in silver.**"[77]

Mrs. Leonowens, authoress of those somewhat inflated books, *Siamese Harem Life,* and *English Governess at the Siamese Court,* and who was in Bangkôk from 1862 to 1869, gives several instances, interesting because unconsciously introduced, of the way in which the currency was regarded in her time. In *Harem Life* we find, at p. 20, that "a reward of twenty caties (about 1,500 dollars)" is offered for a runaway girl, and at p. 40 that these "twenty caties" had been expended in articles for the use of priests. **Here we see weight used for money, and by a chance note that the metal was silver.**[78]

Dr. Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien,* p. 90, mentions that a Kachin Sòbwâ demanded **"two bushels of rupees"** as the price of an escort. At p. 432, he noticed that the only way of making a Kachin Chief grasp the amount of silver in a sum of ten thousand rupees was by telling him that he would receive **"three basketfuls of silver."**

Writing a few years previously, Clement Williams (*Through Burma to Western China,* p. 50) states that he found a man washing gold at Singû, near Mandalay, and the payment of this man by weight of silver comes out rather curiously: — "The digger, who was old, somewhat surly and not at all eager, said that he did not earn more than a *moo* (threepence) a day, and he only worked because the Governor wanted gold for presentation to his Majesty." A *mû* is one-tenth of a tickal, which Williams valued at half-a-crown in silver.

In Scott's *Administration Report of the Northern Shân States* for 1892-3, in the remarks, p. 16, on the North Hsen Wi (Theinni according to customary European spelling) State, there is a rough treaty of peace between the Chinese, Kachins and Shâns, which well illustrates the mode of dealing with money and of valuing it. "It appears that there was a compact in Kun Löng, drawn up many years ago, according to the terms of which the Chinese,

[75] In 1846 the rupee seems to have been well understood, for Winter in his intelligent and well illustrated book, *A Trip to Rangoon in* 1846, says that "the charge for a passage in a Burmese boat from Rangoon to Ava was then only about two rupees."

[76] Being the money then current in Penang, Quedah, Singapore, etc. See Crawfurd, *Siam and Cochin-China* Chaps. I., II., and XIX.: also in Cochin-China, see *op. cit.* pp. 225, 517, 582. The term dollar is used also in the great Treaty with China of 1842. See Herstlett's *Treaties and Tariffs, China,* p. 7. Taels are not mentioned in Treaties till 1858. See *op. cit.* pp. 27, 31, and we seem to have again reverted to dollars in Treaties in 1865, *op. cit.* p. 109; and to have stuck to that denomination ever since.

[77] So in Java at the time of the T'ang Dynasty of China (618-906 A. D.) the pay of troops and the price of girls in marriage was estimated in lump gold. See *Indo-China,* 2nd Series, Vol. I. p. 143.

[78] See also *op. cit.* pp. 61, 63, 259. At p. 103 a reference seems to be made clearly to "ticals of gold," there called "pieces of gold," and to a ratio of 16 to 1 between gold and silver. See, too, *Siamese Court,* pp. 106 f., 108, 298.

Kachins and Shâns were to live in amity and unite against whichever party broke the peace. The penalty for failure to obey the terms of the agreement was to be a mule-load of money, one pannier full of gold and the other full of silver. The Kachins broke the treaty by fighting, the Shâns by refusing to fight, and the Chinamen are equally indignant with both,[79] all the more because there is not the remotest chance of recovering the fine from either Kachins or Shâns."

Further on, at p. 25, in the remarks on the Wild Wâs, the author states, with regard to the custom of these peoples of propitiating their spirits by offerings of human heads, that "heads may be bought by unlucky or indolent villages. The prices run from two rupees (no doubt tickals) weight of silver for the head of a Lem, who is as easily killed as a puppy-dog, to a couple of hundred for unusual or fashionable heads."

In 1888 an exceedingly interesting and ethnologically valuable communication was received by the Burma Government from the 'Luttò[80] on the subject of the power of a Burman Buddhist to make a will. Eight cases of unquestionable wills were given, and from these I will now proceed to shew how personalty in cash was stated.

The oldest will quoted in point of date was that of P'ayâtagâ Sayâ Û Mô, his titles of of P'ayâtagâ (Pagoda-builder) and Sayâ (Doctor) shewing him to be a man of much consideration, and at any rate of some wealth. It is dated 7th waning first Wâzô, 1185, (B. E.; July, 1823). His property was practically in land, estimated according to the baskets of rice that could be sown on it. Part of this he wished to have realized, and accordingly it was sold to his son. This sale is the only mention of currency in the will and runs thus:— "Therefore the rice-land mentioned above, together with the trees on the ridges of the said field, is sold to my son Minshwêdaungnaraɓu (a title) for 30 ticals of tamàtkèː silver."[81]

The second will quoted is dated 2nd waning Tòɗalin, 1222, (B. E.; Sept. 1860) and is that of an old lady, the widow of the Yêjî Wun, an official. This will was upheld by both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the same year. It sets forth:— "I therefore bequeath to my eldest daughter Mî Pû 1 viss of gold, 3 viss of silver ornaments, 1 necklace of large pearls worth 7 viss, and 1 ruby necklace worth 3 viss of silver; to my son Maung Myàt Min, Ex-Sin Wundauk (official title), 1 viss of gold, 7 viss of silver ornaments, and 1 necklace of large pearls worth 5 viss of silver;— to my youngest son, Maung P'ô Shwê, 1 viss of gold and the . . . . fields bought with 10 viss of silver, and presented to him, on the occasion of his ears being bored, during the lifetime of his father, the Yêjî Wun." Taking the tickal at 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the gold value of silver at the period at 16 to 1, we get a total amount of £925 as the value of the property thus left. It will be observed that the money is all reckoned by weight. The silver was probably meant to be *ywetnì* in quality.[82]

The third will is dated 12th waxing Tòɗalin, 1224, (B. E.; Sept. 1862) and is that of the Mônè Sitkèjî (General). He declares his personal property to consist of "gold, silver, rings, badges, clothes, etc.," and proceeds to dispose of it without mentioning specific amounts. He also sets forth that "my mother possesses property consisting of a piece of *mayin* paddy-land called *lèpadôk*, and an enclosure bought with her money." The words translated "bought with her money" are, however, in the original text, *amì pissìː 'mâo yû wè ɗìo*, *i. e.*, "bought with (my) mother's property."

[79] This reads very like the history of the treaty for the preservation of the integrity of Denmark in much more civilised times and places.

[80] Council of State, maintained for a while after the annexation of Upper Burma. It is the Lotoo, Hlutdaw, etc., of writers on Burma. It is very disappointing that the *Customary Law of the Chins*, by Maung Tet Pyô, an old Government official, which was written in 1882, is useless in the present connection, because it states all money values in R. A. P.

[81] See *post*, where this quality of silver will be explained.

[82] The shares mentioned in the will were very fair, being respectively 29 viss, 28 viss and 26 viss of silver.

Next comes a will drawn up in the 3rd waxing Wâgaung, 1242, (B. E.; **8th August, 1880**) by Sayêdòjî (high official title) Kyî Maung Galê, and in this we find rupees introduced. He says: — "The moneys (debts) owing to me shall be sued for, the costs being equally borne by the co-heirs. If any of them cannot afford to bear the costs, and if a decree for the said moneys (debts) is obtained by the remaining co-heirs, the party bearing the costs shall deduct 20 per cent. (*ngwê* 100 *'lyin* 20 *kya 'nôk pyîḥ 'ma*, deducting 20 in 100 silver) of the sum awarded, and the balance shall be equally divided amongst them all. The two diamond rings worth over rupees (*ngwê*, silver) 2,000 shall be sold, and the proceeds applied to the cost of copying palm-leaf MSS. at a cost of rupees (*kyàt*) 272, and presenting them to the Majîdò Sadò (Bishop), after having these MSS. gilt in a proper manner. The balance I bequeath as follows :— To Shwê Bû, Rs. 200, Mî Pû, Rs. 200, Mî 'Nin, Rs. 100, and Ma Minbò, Rs. 100. The remaining money (*ngwêmyâḥ*) shall be devoted to my funeral expenses."

There are two wills of 1884, that of the Pagàn Minjî (Minister) and of the widow of the Myinzûjî Wun (official). The former is dated the 6th waning Wâgaung, 1246, (B. E.; **12th Aug. 1884**): — " On their (two little girls and a little boy) attaining their 17th year, my elder daughter shall give five pairs of gold wristlets, weighing 20 ticals, formerly worn by her, and 10 ticals of gold, 30 ticals in all, to Ma Kyîdò, 20 ticals of gold to Sòbwâjî (the boy, a title), and 20 ticals of gold to Ma Êkyû, provided that the said legatees live with my daughters, Shin Ma Jî and Shin Mè Pû and my younger brother, the Sayêdòjî (an official). Should these children leave the household with their respective mothers, let them receive only 5 ticals of gold each.[83] — If the sum of **Rupees** (*ngwê*) **5,460,** advanced by me to purchase commissariat stores for the Royal troops, is repaid,[84] Rupees 100 each shall be given to Shwê Nyun and Shin Hinδâ (both wives). I have given to Shwê Ḍin, Shwê Nyun and Shin Hinδâ ear-rings, necklaces, rings and money (*ngwê-myâḥ*)."

The latter is dated 5th waxing Tazaungmôn, 1246, (B. E.; **4th Nov. 1884**) and says:— "My property, animate and inanimate, consisting of **gold, silver**, ornaments, clothes, rice, and garden lands and *kaing*-lands, still remains. On my death my eldest son the Letpetyêdò ex-Wun of Kalê Ḍòumyô, (an official), shall retain in his possession — a diamond ring valued at **Rupees** (*dingâ*, coins) **1,000.** — He shall also receive **Rupees** (*ngwêdingâ*, silver coins) **3,000, as an equivalent for the viss of gold,**[85] the emerald ring valued at **Rs. 500** and the ruby ring valued at **Rs. 500,** which were included in the presents. — To my grand-daughter Kinkinjî I bequeath 20 ticals of gold — to Mè Ḍit 10 ticals of gold, — to my niece Myadaung-wungadò (wife of the Myadaung Wun) Mè Sô Rupees (*ngwêdingâ*) 1,750 in Shwêpaukpin Village, and a paddy-field valued at Rs. 500 — ; 50 ticals of gold — shall be equally divided between —."

Of 1887 there are three wills quoted. First that of "Her Royal Highness, the wife of His Excellency, the Pak'àn Minjî," dated 2nd waxing Tòδalin, 1249, (B. E.; **19th Aug. 1887**), who leaves everything to her adopted son Maung P'ô Kàn. This conservative lady goes back to the old system and describes her personalty as consisting of **gold, silver,** diamonds, etc., and debts.[86]

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83 Described as "still young and will probably marry again."

84 This is a delicious reference to the uncertainty of Royal repayments under the Kings of Burma.

85 This is an exceedingly valuable statement, because it fixes the account rate of exchange between gold and silver; thus:—Rs. 2,000 = 1 viss or 100 ticals of gold; 1 tical = 1¼ rupee: therefore the ratio is 2,000 to 125 or 16 to 1. However, I think by 1884 the *kyàt* had come to signify the weight of the Burmese silver coin (*dingâ*), which is a *tôlâ* and not a tickal: so that what is meant is that exchange between gold and silver was then 20 to 1, or somewhere about the real rate of exchange, as understood in Europe. In Lower Burma *dingâ* has long meant a rupee: *vide* Spearman's *B. B. Gazetteer*, 1870, Vol. I. p. 407: — "The rupee (*deng-ga, lit*, a circular piece of metal, stamped, whether a coin or medal) is in universal use."

86 I paid this identical lady, on behalf of the British Government, a large sum in rupees on the 31st March, 1888, for some property situated near what was then the East Gate of the Palace at Mandalay; but quite lately I discovered in conversation that all knowledge of the old East Gate of the Palace itself had disappeared, as far as the ordinary British residents were concerned, by 1895

The other two are by the same person, "Her Royal Highness, Her Ladyship of the Western Palace, Queen of the Convener of the Fifth Synod (King Mindôn)," who made two wills, dated, as a sign of the British supremacy, in dates A. D. and B. E. Both wills speak of rupees.

The first is dated, "This day, **the 12th February,** 1887, of the Christian Era (*K'ayit*[87] *Ɗekkayit 1887 k'u P'ep'oyî*[88] *lâ 12 yet*) and 13th waning Tabôdwè, 1249, B. E., and says:—"The land now bequeathed measures 350 feet from east to west and 222 feet from north to south, and comprises masonry houses, kitchens, stables and trees situated thereon, the whole property being valued at about **Rupees** (*ngwêdingâ:*) **4,000."** The second is dated, "This day, **the 23rd December, 1887,** of the Christian Era (*K'ayit Ɗekkayit 1887 Dîzimb'â*[89] *lâ 23 yet*) and the 10th waning Pyâð̂ô, 1249, B. E.," and says:—"He (nephew) moreover gave me **Rs. 315** (*ngwê 315 kyàt*) to defray the costs of a suit in which I had to establish my proprietary rights over my enclosure and lands."[90]

There is also a quantity of very valuable **evidence on the valuation of property, etc., in later Burmese times** of the same nature in Taw Sein Ko's *Selections from the Records of the Hlutdaw*, 1889, which is unfortunately still untranslated from the original Burmese.

The following quotation from Crawfurd's *Ava*, Appx., p. 27, will further throw much light on **the practical methods of valuing property among the Burmese in pre-currency days**:—

"Registry and Conveyance of Land:—Year 1156, **(1794 A. D.)** 12th day of the increase of the moon Nat-dau, (Nadò, December) the Governor of Akharaing (Ak'âyin, an old Burmese township[91] in the Rangoon District) and wife say, the mortgage of our inheritance of, and rightful authority over, the town of Akharaing, from Moung Po Tan, let Meng Chau Dagongnakyanten (a title) and wife receive — according to the saying of Governor B'hodaukalo (a title) and wife Me Aong, the original mortgage of Moung Po To, amounting by weight of silver of 5 per cent. alloy, 650 ticals; also, law expenses in the redemption of the town, silver of ten per cent. alloy, 550 ticals. Also, in payment of old debts demanded, silver of 5 per cent. alloy, 185 ticals — on account of the Governor of the town Shwepyi Nantw'hathaongyan (? Prome) receives of silver, 25 per cent. alloy, by weight 308½ ticals. Also an Atwengwun (Secretary of State) beneath the sole of the golden foot has a demand, to pay which, B'hodaukalo and Me Aong received silver, 25 per cent. alloy, weight 150 ticals:—the sums collectively amounting to 2,293½ ticals:—the silver to B'hodaukalo and Me Aong, Meng Chau Dagongnakyanten and wife pay, and purchase the right of possession of the town Akharaing"

The mortgagor in this transaction, grandiloquently described in the translation as "Governor," signs himself by the much humbler title of Myô-thûgyî, or hereditary head of a township under a Governor, and it is clear from the deed that the mortgagee paid his 2,293½ tickals in varying quantities of no less than three different standards of silver, differing so much as to contain 5 per cent., 10 per cent., and 25 per cent. alloy. Calculation will shew that the amount of pure silver paid over was 1,734¼ tickals:—this, taking the currency of the period to be *ywetnî* silver of 10 per cent. alloy at half-a-crown a tickal,[92] amounts to a payment of

[87] Christian. [88] February. [89] December.

[90] As an addition to the interesting dates above quoted, I may add that the signature to the original document forwarding these wills runs thus:—Kin:wun Min:jî: ‖ 1888 k'u ‖ Mê la 14 yet ‖ 1250 ‖ Nayôn làzân: 15 yet ne ‖ *i. e.*, Kinwun Minjî (Prime Minister), 14th May, 1888, 15th waxing Nayôn, 1250 (B. E.).

[91] See Horace Browne's *Transliteration of Names of Places in British Burma*, 1874, p. 22.

[92] See Symes, *Ava*, pp. 326, 502: Crawfurd, *Ava*, p. 440. At p. 444, however, he values it at two shillings only. See also Crawfurd, *Siam*, pp. 108, 331. The author of *Two Years in Ava*, p. 90, makes the rupee go eight to the £ in 1824, which seems, however, to be a mistake, unless he means by "rupee" a "tickal of silver." But at p. 195 he says that 100 tickals equal £12. And at p. 201, 150 tickals equal nearly £20. At p. 280 he has another rate. Malcom, *Travels*, seems always to mix up the tickal and the rupee: Vol. II. pp. 99, 112, 137. A century earlier than Symes the tickal weighed half-a-crown and was worth three and threepence: Loubère, *Siam*, E. T., Vol. I. p. 72. Bock in 1884 values the tickal at half-a-crown: *Temples and Elephants*, p. 4. Wilson, *Documents*, Appx., p. lxxxviii., states that 1 tickal equals in *sicca* rupees about Rs. 2 as. 3½ in 1827. *Two Years in Ava*, p. 280, makes 1 tickal equal *sicca* Rs. 2 as. 5½, or 2*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{10}$*d.* Clement Williams, *Burma to Western China*, 1864, p. 33, makes a tickal equal 2*s.* 6*d.*

£238-2-0 sterling. But of course no Burman would think of making such a calculation as this.

In making presents, the quality of the silver was discreetly omitted, and merely the weight was given. Thus, in Symes, *Ava*, p. 493, we find the chief Queen of King Bôdòp'ayâ presenting the Governor-General with "a silver box weighing 90 tackall, and a silver cup of 11¾ tackall. Also another silver box weighing 44 tackall and another cup weighing 6 tackall, and two silver trays, one weighing 66 tackall, the other 77." The "tackall" on this occasion was "a little more than half an ounce," as Symes tells us.

From the Kalyâṇî (Pegu) Inscriptions, **dated 1476, A. D.,**[93] we have some very interesting evidence on this head, as it not only shews that **at that time gold, silver and jewels were valued by weight,** but also that **the tickal of silver was then, as now, the standard of value.**[94]

King Dhammachêtî of Pegu sent emissaries to Ceylon, and offered, among other things, to the Holy Tooth Relic, "a stone alms-bowl, embellished with sapphires of great value and having for its cover a pyramidal covering **made of gold weighing 50 phalas**; an alms-bowl with stand and cover complete made of gold weighing 60 *phalas*; a golden vase weighing 30 *phalas*; a duodecagonal betel-box made of gold weighing 30 *phalas*; a golden relic-receptacle weighing 33 *phalas*." He also sent "for presentation to Bhûvanêkabâhu, King of Sînhaladîpa (Ceylon): — two sapphires **valued at 200 phalas of silver**; two rubies valued at 430 *phalas*." Also "200 *phalas* of gold were given to the emissaries for the purpose of providing the 22 *thêras* (monks) and their disciples with the "four requisites."

Now, the Pâḷi *phala* is the Sanskṛit *pala*, for which the modern Burmese equivalent is *bô(l)*,[95] a weight equal to 5 tickals (*kyàt*), or 20 to the *pêkbâ* (*vissa*), *i. e.*, 20 to the viss. The old *pala*, however, as far as I can at present calculate, was about half the modern *bô(l)*, or weight of 5 tickals.[96]

That **the old priests of Burma intended to calculate weights in the old familiar Indian style of pala and tulâ,** whatever weights they may have meant by these denominations, is clear from the statement in the same Kalyâṇî Inscriptions, that King Dhammachêtî presented to the *chêtiya* at Tigumpanagara, *i. e.*, to the Shwêdagôn Pagoda at Rangoon, "a large bell made of brass, weighing 3,000 *tulâs*."[97] Taking the *tulâ* at about 145 oz. troy, *i. e.*, about 10 lbs. av., we get the weight of this bell to be about 11 2/5 tons. A weight, I may say, more than doubled by the Mahâghaṇṭa, or Great Bell, of the same Pagoda, cast in 1842 by King Dârâwadî, and usually said to weigh over 25 tons; while King Bôdòp'ayâ's (1781-1819) bell at Myingun weighs about 80 tons.[98]

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93 *Ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 41.

94 In 1436 A. D. and 1618 A. D., we find the Chinese valuing gold coins by weight. *Indo-China*, 2nd Series, Vol. I. pp. 215, 222.

95 Latter's *Burmese Grammar*, p. 170.

96 *Viz.*, 1·59 oz. av. against 2·92 oz. But the point will be discussed later in its appropriate place. So the Siamese catty is double the Chinese catty. See Crawfurd, *Siam*, p. 331.

97 *Ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 45, where *tulâ* is unfortunately misprinted *tola*.

98 Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 219. King Dhammachêtî's bell, I am told by the Trustees of the Shwêdagôn Pagoda, never reached the Pagoda, having been dropped in the stream, near Rangoon, known as the Pazundaung Creek. It may be there nevertheless, as the second large bell in the North-West corner of the Pagoda platform was "the great bell" of the War of 1824, and was then estimated to weigh 18,000 lbs., or about 8 tons. See Laurie, *Second Burmese War, Rangoon*, p. 126. There is a valuable note on the two great bells in Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, Or. Ser. Ed., Vol. I. p. 74. The Bishop makes the weight of the Mahâghaṇṭa to be 94,682 lbs. plus 25% to be added for copper, gold and silver thrown into the mould by the devout, during the process of casting. This gives two weights of about 42¼ tons and 50½ tons respectively. The Bishop also says that the Myingun Bell is supposed to exceed 200,000 lbs. in weight, *i. e.*, to exceed 89 tons. The measurements he gives of the two bells show that his statement of 42 tons for the weight of the Mahâghaṇṭa must be nearer the truth than the 25 tons. See also Yule, *Ava*,

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Evil of Bullion Currency.

Enough has already been written and quoted to shew that the actual monetary condition of a country without a definite and settled currency is not by any means of that desirable simplicity, which civilized man is so apt to attribute to savages and semi-savages. The truth appears to be the other way, *viz.*, that simplicity in dealings can only exist, where money consists of a recognized coinage and where wealth is expressed in terms of that coinage. In fact, Ovid's famous line should, so far as regards accuracy, have properly run: — "*Effodiuntur opes irritamenta bonorum.*"[99]

We have, however, such quaint testimony in an observer so acute as De Morga, as to what he considered the evil effects of an exchange of currency for barter in the case of Orientals, which he saw going on before his own eyes, (1598-1609), that I cannot forbear to quote it here:[100] —

"**The tributes which the natives pay to the collectors** were fixed by the first Governor, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi (1571-1574) in the provinces of Bizayas and Pintados, and in the isles of Luzon and its neighbourhood, **at a sum of eight reals**[1] as the whole yearly tribute of each tributary. **This they paid in the produce** which they possessed, gold, wrappers, cotton, rice, bells, fowls and the rest of what they possessed or gathered, a price being fixed and a certain value of each thing, in order that when making payment of the tribute with any one of these articles, or with all of them, it should not exceed the value of the eight reals. In this manner it has gone on till now, the Governors raising the prices fixed and valuations of the produce as has seemed expedient to them at different times. **The tax collectors have derived very great profits from collecting in kind; because after the produce came into their possession, they used to sell it at a higher price,** by which they largely increased their incomes and produce of their collectorates, until a few years previously (to 1609) when, at the petition of some monks, and the instances, which they made upon the subject to His Majesty, orders were issued that the natives should pay their tributes in whatever they chose, either in kind or in money, without being compelled to anything else: so that having given their eight reals they would have fulfilled their obligation. This has been carried out, and

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p. 171: Stretell, *Ficus Elastica*, p. 48: Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 247. *Cf.* Colquhoun's mythical bell at Zimmé, *Among the Shans*, p. 138, said to weigh 183 tons.

As to the hopelessness of collecting local historical information accurately, I may mention that my attempts at finding out the history of the lost bell above-noticed have resulted in this: — In 1468 Dhammachêtî had the bell cast at the Pagoda itself, but before he could put it up Maung Zingà (Philippe de Brito) removed it in a steamer, when it got lost in the Pazundaung Creek. Dhammachêtî flourished 1460-1491, A. D., and Maung Zingà was in Burma 1600-1613, A. D.! This point is further illustrated in Hesketh-Biggs' *Shwêdagôn Pagoda*, 1895, pp. 21, 29, 46, 53 ff., and in the controversy that his remarks on the bells on the platform thereof gave rise to in the *Rangoon Gazette* between Feb. and May, 1896. I may add that Staunton's great bell of Pekin, *Embassy*, 1797, p. 450, works out to 58 tons in weight.

[99] The Hakluyt Society's editor of De Morga constantly intrudes into the footnotes his firm belief in the villainy that lies in gold, and is quite delighted when he finds (p. 284) that the natives of the Philippines hid their gold mines. "*Et sic melius situm quum terra celat,*" he exclaims. So writes Ovid also in the line following that mentioned in the text: — "*Jamque nocens ferrum, ferroque nocentius aurum Prodierant.*" But such sentiments seem to me, however, to be the result of superficial observation, or of incorrect reasoning from the facts observed. Captain Trant, the anonymous author of (see Laurie, *Pegu*, p. 237) *Two Years in Ava*, obviously a thoughtful observer in many ways from his book, puts the result of the want of regular money very well: —"Commerce cannot flourish without the extraneous aid of money: but in this country the precious metal is melted into bars and ingots and merely kept to look at; and the value of bullion is completely paralyzed" (p. 251). Also Dr. Anderson, *Selungs of the Mergui Archipelago*, p. 4 f., accounts for the poverty of the Selungs "by the system of barter, by which they dispose of their goods and which gave to dishonest traders the opportunity to fleece them. This state of things, however, is now much improved, but so long as the barter system exists — and it is still prevalent — and so long as their love of strong drink is pandered to by the traders who deal with them, the Selungs will remain poor." See also the remarks of the traveller Flouest as to the state of commercial affairs in Pegu in 1786, *Toung Pao*, Vol. II. p. 41 f.: also Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, pp. 11, 269.

[100] *Philippine Islands*, Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 324 f.

[1] Eight Philippine reals were equal to one Spanish dollar.

experience has shewn that, though this appears to be a compassionate ordinance, and one favourable to the natives, it does them a great injury, because, being, as they are, of their natural disposition inimical to labour, they neither sow, nor weave, nor work the gold, nor rear fowls, or other provisions, as they used to do when they had to pay tribute in these things: and they easily, without so much labour, acquire the sum of money with which they acquit themselves of their tribute. From this it follows that the natives, from not working, possess less property and substance, and the country, which was very well supplied and abounding in everything, commences to feel a want and scarcity of them, and the holders of the collectorates, both His Majesty, as well as the individuals who held them, have experienced great loss and reduction in their value." [2]

On the other hand, of the infinite trouble which the obligation to barter constantly brought on the old English merchants in the East,[3] we have many instances in that very excellent book, Dr. Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*. *E. g.*, at p. 136, a Mr. Sanger reports in 1676 of the tin in Siam, *i. e.*, Mergui, that the King's price was "₱ 8/8 (dollars). 50 *p* (per) Bahr:[4] of 3 Pecll: in bartr: of goods wch: is possible wth: ready money may bee pchased at or about 45 ₱ *p* Bahr: and it is soe much ye: better if it can bee soe reduced wth: goods in bartr:" Here we have the barter value of goods clearly stated to be higher than the cash value.

In 1678 the President and Council at Fort St. George objected to Burneby's invoice of goods from Siam. "He had 'invoiced the copper at three several prices, *viz.*, at 12, 10, and at 8 tayle p. chest,' which they believed represented 'the rates he had received in barter for other goods and bought for ready money.' It was therefore difficult they said 'to know the losse or gains upon it here'; therefore they presumed it would be 'a more plain way to charge it all at ye: ready money price, for otherwise the gaines is made upon ye: copper in the goods in which it is bartered, and soe in other goods received in Barter.' "[5]

In a *Report on the Trade of Siam* written in 1678, Anderson quotes, p. 421, the following:—"Copp(er) of them whose occasions necessitate an immediate sale to negociate their Returnes, may att first arrivall bee bought for :6: Taell :1: Tecall p. Pecl: for Cash, but at ye: same time tis currt: for :8: Taell in Barter." Here again the barter value of goods differed from the cash value.

A little thought will shew how great the uncertainty and difficulty in making up accounts of loss and gain must have been under such a system. There was a double appraising:—of the goods to be bought and of the goods to be given in return. Then, the value of goods when bought by barter varied in an indeterminate manner from their value when bought for cash, *i. e.*, apparently for coin. The quotations shew the variations to have been as 45 to 50, as 12 or 10 to 8, and as 6 to 8, almost in the same year. And lastly, in rendering accounts all these varying values had to be reduced down to a cash value. Truly one perceives what a blessing a fixed currency in coin of the realm really is, when one comes to realise the difficulties that beset our ancestors in the East only two hundred years ago.

(To be continued.)

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2 The whole passage reads suspiciously like special pleading, but, if it be not, and given that the practical result of changing payment of taxes in kind to an optional payment in cash had actually the result of reducing the products of the country, it is odd that a trained lawyer like De Morga should not have seen that his statements amount to this: the collectors undervalued the payments in kind, which the people naturally looked on as unfair, and the tax in cash was so light that the people had not to work in order to pay it.

3 They used to barter with each other. In 1683 Potts at Ayuthia bartered a "chest of copper" for "a butt of beer" with a Captain Heath. Anderson, *Siam*, p. 199.

4 *Cf.* also *op. cit.* p. 139.

5 *Op. cit.* p. 147. *Cf.* also p. 192.

THE VAJASANEYA UPANISHAD.

BY HERBERT BAYNES, M.R.A.S.

Vâjasanêya or Îsa Upanishad.

Vâjasanêya Upanishad.

This 'rahasya' of the **Vâjasanêyins,** which is one of the shortest of these ancient treatises, forms the last chapter of the later collection of the **Yajurvêda** called **Sukla,** 'white,' and may be said to be the companion to the **Katha** *Upanishad*, which belongs to the earlier collection or the same Vêda called **Krishna,** 'black.' The *Vâjasanêya Samhitâ* is ascribed to Rishi Yâjñavalkya and called Sukla because the Mantra portion is kept distinct from the Brâhmana, whereas in the older *Taittirîya-Samhitâ* of Vaisampâyana the separation between the Mantras and the Brâhmanas is greatly obscured, if not altogether lost. Hence its name Krishna.

Like the Talavakâra of the *Sâma Vêda* our *Upanishad* is also known by the first word of the first Mantra, which in this case is Îsa. There is great uncertainty about the text, not only as to the *number*, but also as to the *order* of the Mantras, and even as to the Sânti-pâtha. The text I have used, and which I subjoin, is that of the Allahâbâd edition (*Samvat* 1945).

Of all the *Upanishads* the *Vâjasanêya* is perhaps the most spiritual. It has been more than once translated into English prose, but I venture to think that, excellent as these translations often are, notably those by Dr. Röer amd Prof. Max Müller, we shall never rightly appreciate such majestical Mantras of the aspiring Spirit until we strive to render them into verse.

After invoking the divine blessing upon the reverent aspirations of both master and pupil, the Rishi begins by boldly stating the sublime truth, so familiar to us in the words of the Hebrew poet, that 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein.' This is all the more remarkable because the word used is not Brahman or Âtman but the far more personal Îsa. It is the very secret of **Bhakti-jijñâsa.** A very similar thought, though with a more pantheistic tendency, is exquisitely expressed in the *Gîtâ*:—

Samam sarvêshu bhûtêshu tishtantam Paramêsvaram
Vinasyatsvavinasyantam yah pasyati sa pasyati.

Samam pasyan hi sarvatra samavasthitamîsvara
Na hinastyâtmanâtmânam tatô yâti parâm gatim.

In all things dwells the Lord supreme,
Undying, when they cease to be.
Whoso can look beyond the dream
And know Him — he indeed can see:
The Self within he cannot wrong
But treads the Path serene and strong!

Then we are told how the traveller on the Path must know the secret of *vairâgya*, of action without attachment. Having once seen that the world is in the Lord, we must not set our affection upon things that pass, but rather strive after the Heart of things and find that He is our Pearl. Rishi and Sûfî agree in this, that

Kullu Shejin halikun illâ vajhu-hu,
'All things shall perish save His face;'

and can exclaim together:—

Turâ si Kungara-i-arsh mî-sanand safîr:
Na dânamat ki dar în Khâkdân che uftâdast.

'From God's high throne in love to thee they call,
This dust-heap and thy goods abandon all!'

The *Bhagavad Gîta* says that there are four classes of men who seek refuge in God: the oppressed, those who seek truth, such as are impelled by good, and the wise. Of these, it says, the wise man who in uninterrupted devotion consecrates himself wholly to the One, is the best, for he loves God above everything, and God loves him. So here, the man who by **âtma-sanyama yôga,** *νοερα ἐπαφῇ* as Plotinus hath it, has found the vanity of this passing world, gives up wealth and earthly enjoyment for the deep, quiet gladness of a soul set free in God.

With the great poet of the Middle Age he feels

La sua voluntade e nostra pace,
Cio ch'ella cria e che natura face!

His will having become one with the supreme Will, he discovers the Divine in all his fellows and can never again look with contempt upon any member of the human race. Indeed, to the true *yôgin* it must ever be a matter of profound sorrow, that any of God's creatures should so put out the light that is in them, as to be fit for nothing but those depths of sunless gloom where dwell those of whom Dante used to say: *non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa!*

And so the seer passes from Purusha to Prâna, from Skambha to Ucchishṭa until the goal is reached — Îśa, Lord of all, in whom he lives and moves and has his being. He discovers the meaning of Creation and sees how, from the foundation of the world, the All-Father has been assigning to His children their stations and duties.

But the materialists, who see nothing in the dawn upon Himâla peaks, in the brooding blue of the star-strewn sky, but a chance concatenation of a congeries of atoms; who can behold, unmoved, the abundance of Nature in the tropical forest at noonday, who can watch the flight of a swallow, the play of the breeze in the summer-grass or the dainty dance of a shining sea and still proclaim: 'No God!' are of all most men miserable. We can almost hear the Ṛishi weep as he utters these sorrowful *ślôkas!* And, indeed, if this were the last word of Indian wisdom we too might shed the tear for Âryâvarta. But it is not. As in the Kabbâla the devout Hebrew finds **Anî** to be the secret name of God, so here the Ṛishi rests at last in the great Aham, and the *Upanishad* ends with the exquisite thought of the unfolding of the infinite Spirit — **Ôm, Kham, Brahma** — whose face is hidden in the golden veil of Truth!

By Ôm protected may we be;
'Mid all our study, till it cease,
Be softly chanted: peace! peace! peace!
Illumined in serenity!

O dweller 'neath these nether skies,
To see how all things in accord
Proclaim: 'the world is in the Lord'
Abandon wealth and lift thine eyes!

For life, if thine a hundred years,
Must be naught else but faithful deed
Without a thought of praise or meed,
Escaping penitential tears!

To sunless regions 'neath the ground,
Where dark and lonesome spirits hide,
Go slayers of the soul, who slide
From depth to depth without a sound!

More hidden, more soul-piercing far
Than sight or hearing, taste or touch
Is He, the great first Spirit, such
As only sages know, fixed as the primal Star!

He wandereth not, yet moves about,
Is far, but still for ever near:
The world within is His, and clear
His traces in the world without!

Beholding all things in the Soul,
The Self in all the world around,
We know no Sorrow, nor are found
To look with scorn on Nature's scroll!

He ev'rywhere is seen to be
All-knowing Prophet, Poet pure,
To each assigning, to endure,
Reward of works eternally!

Ah! truly to be pitied they
Who worship what they do not know,
But most of all are full of woe
Who grope in darkness through the day.

For wisdom's life is of the heart,
But folly's ever one of sense;
So say the sages, and the whence
To them is known: they live apart.

And he who truly masters these,
In ignorance sees naught but death,
In knowledge life, ay, lasting breath
That to the spirit leads with ease!

O ye who find in atoms all
The first and last of Nature's law,
Ye worship blindly, and the awe
Of things unseen — beyond your call!

For spirit's life is of the heart,
But that of matter one of sense:
So say the sages, and the whence
To them is known: they live apart.

And he who realises this,
Who dies to matter and who lives
To spirit, he it is who gives
Himself to everlasting bliss!

O Soul, sustained by ether free,
Undying part of man's estate,
Seed-sower, thou, ere 'tis too late,
Just think: what shall the harvest be?

O Fire divine, by those fair ways
That lead to good, us truly guide,
And ward all evil from our side,
That we may yield thee lasting praise!

O Ôm, O Spirit infinite
Whose face within the golden veil
Of truth is hid: to thee all hail!
Thou art our refuge, our delight!

ओम् ।

वाजसनेयोपनिषत् ।



सह नाववतु सह नौ भुनक्तु सह वीर्यं करवावहै । तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु माविद्विषावहै ॥ ओम् शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ॥

ईशा । वास्यम् । इदम् । सर्वम् । यत् । किम् । च । जगत्याम् । जगत् । तेन । त्यक्तेन । भुञ्जीथाः । मा । गृधः । कस्य । स्वित् । धनम् ॥ १ ॥

कुर्वन् । एव । इह । कर्म्माणि । जिजीविषेत् । शतम् । समाः । एवम् । त्वयि । न । अन्यथा । इतः । अस्ति । न । कर्म्म । लिप्यते । नरे ॥ २ ॥

असुर्य्याः । नाम । ते । लोकाः । अन्धेन । तमसा । आवृताः । तान् । ते । प्रेत्य । अपि । गच्छन्ति । ये । के । च । आत्महनः । जनाः ॥ ३ ॥

अनेजत् । एकम् । मनसः । जवीयः । न । एनत् । देवाः आप्नुवन् । पूर्वम् । अर्षत् । तत् । धावतः । अन्यान् । अत्येति । तिष्ठत् । तस्मिन् । अपः । मातरिश्वा । दधाति ॥ ४ ॥

तत् । एजति । तत् । न । एजति । तत् । दूरे । तत् । उ । अन्तिके । तत् । अन्तः । अस्य । सर्वस्य । तत् । उ । सर्वस्य । अस्य । बाह्यतः ॥ ५ ॥

यः । तु । सर्वाणि । भूतानि । आत्मनि । एव । अनु । पश्यति । सर्वभूतेषु । च । आत्मानम् । ततः । न । विजुगुप्सते ॥ ६ ॥

यस्मिन् । सर्वाणि । भूतानि । आत्मा । एव । अभूत् । विजानतः । तत्र । कः । मोहः । कः । शोकः । एकत्वम् । अनुपश्यतः ॥ ७ ॥

सः । परि । अगात् । शुक्रम् । अकायम् । अव्रणम् । अस्नाविरम् । शुद्धम् । अपापविद्धम् । कविः । मनीषी । परिऽभूः । स्वयम्भूः । याथातथ्यतः । अर्थान् । वि । अदधात । शाश्वतीभ्यः । समाभ्यः ॥ ८ ॥

अन्धम् । तमः । प्र । विशन्ति । ये । अविद्याम् । उपासते । ततः । भूय इव । ते । तमः । ये । उ । विद्यायाम् । रताः ॥ ९ ॥

अन्यत् । एव । आहुः । विद्यया । अन्यत् । आहुः । अविद्यया । इति । शुश्रुम । धीराणाम् । ये । नः । तत् । वि । चचक्षिरे ॥ १० ॥

विद्याम् । च । अविद्याम् । च । यः । तत् । वेद । उभयम् । सह । अविद्यया । मृत्युम् । तीर्त्वा । विद्यया । अमृतम् । अश्नुते ॥ ११ ॥

अन्धम् । तमः । प्र । विशन्ति । ये । असम्भूतिम् । उपासते । ततः । भूय इव । ते । तमः । ये । उ । सम्भूत्याम् । रताः ॥ १२ ॥

अन्यत् । एव । आहुः । सम्भवात् । अन्यत् । आहुः । असम्भवात् । इति । शुश्रुम । धीराणाम् । ये । नः । तत् । वि । चचक्षिरे ॥ १३ ॥

सम्भूतिम् । च । विनाशम् । च । यः । तत् । वेद । उभयम् । सह । विनाशेन । मृत्युम् । तीर्त्वा । सम्भूत्या । अमृतम् । अश्नुते ॥ १४ ॥

वायुः । अनिलम् । अमृतम् । अथ । इदम् । भस्मान्तम् । शरीरम् । ओम् । क्रतो । स्मर । क्लिबे । स्मर । कृतम् । स्मर ॥ १५ ॥

अग्ने । नय । सुपथा । राये । अस्मान् । विश्वानि । देव । वयुनानि । विद्वान् । युयोधि । अस्मत् । जुहुराणम् । एनः । भूयिष्ठाम् । ते । नम उक्तिमिति नमः ऽउक्तिम् । विधेम ॥ १६ ॥

हिरण्मयेन । पात्रेण । सत्यस्य । अपिहितम् । मुखम् । यः । असौ । आदित्ये । पुरुषः । सः । असौ । अहम् । ओम् । खम् । ब्रह्म ॥ १७ ॥

NOTES ON THE NICOBARESE.

BY E. H. MAN, C. I. E.

No. 1.

Numeric System and Arithmetic.[1]

IN consequence, no doubt, of the long-established trade in cocoanuts and their acquaintance with foreign traders, the Nicobarese possess **an adequate system of numeration,** more than sufficient for their own requirements. Especially is this the case with the Car Nicobarese, who, having a word (*viz.*, *lâk*)[2] denoting 20,000 (really 10,000 pairs), are able to express any multiple of that number.

Travellers tell us in reference to the art of counting, "which is the foundation of science," that it is common to find the primitive method of counting by fingers and toes still in practical use, while in many languages some of the very terms employed in numeration are traceable to this peculiarity. That the **Nicobarese system of numeration originated in the practice of counting by means of the fingers,** is evidenced by the fact that, while *tai* and *kane-tai* denote the hand (or[3] finger); *oal-tai* the palm; *ok-tai* the back of the hand; we have *tanai* indicating 5; *inai* a score; and *dòktai* 200 (also, in certain circumstances, 10). When, however, a modern Nicobarese counts he **never make use of pebbles,** cowries, grains, or other objects, and only occasionally, or for emphasis, of his fingers. Usually he names the numeral which he desires to express without any such aid. But, when a Nicobarese, possessing more than three or four **children, brothers, sisters,** etc., is asked their number, he will, before committing himself to a reply, almost invariably **enumerate them on his fingers** by turning down the fingers of one hand with the fore-finger of the other, commencing with the little finger.

In his transactions with ship-traders the Nicobarese **keeps a tally** of the quantity of cocoanuts promised or delivered, by means of strips of cane or bamboo, called *lenkòk-ngoât.* At intervals of about one-third of an inch along these strips, nicks are made by bending the fibre over the thumb-nail, each nick thus formed representing a score (really 10 pairs) of nuts either due or delivered.[5] As this is the only system of keeping tally which they possess, they have **no method of recording any lower numeral than a score of nuts.** I have, too, known a Nicobarese in enumerating from memory the huts in a village employ a similar strip of cane, making a nick for each hut he called to mind, and, on noting the last, count all the nicks he had made. It is hardly necessary to add that no figures or cyphers are in use. The Car Nicobarese also on certain occasions maintain a **calendar of wood** (styled *kenrāta*),[6] resembling in most cases a sword-blade, on which incisions are made, each of which signifies a day.[7]

The Nicobarese **system of numeration** is that known as **the vigesimal,** the peculiarities and irregularities of which, are soon mastered. A striking peculiarity is that, in counting cocoanuts, money, and edible birds'-nests, the natives of the Central and Southern Groups (both coast and

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1 It should be borne in mind that, except where otherwise stated, the remarks and Nicobarese words in these papers refer to the dialect spoken by the natives of the Central Group of islands (*viz.*, Camorta, Nancowry, Trinkut, and Katchal), where the Indian Government established a station in 1869.

2 This is doubtless derived from the Malay *laksa* (10,000) which has its source in the Sanskrit *laksha* (100,000). The more extensive individual transactions in cocoanuts with ship-traders at Car Nicobar — the exports from which probably exceed the aggregate of the rest of the group — accounts for the employment at that island alone of a term of such magnitude. [Derivatives of *laksha* are common all over the Far East with senses varying between a thousand and a million. — ED.]

3 There is no specific word distinguishing the "hand" from the "finger." 4 *Ante*, Vol. XXIII. p. 109.

5 At Car Nicobar notches are cut in a stick in sets of five, each notch indicating a score of nuts. This tally stick is styled *linkal-kok*.

6 *Ante*, Vol. XXIII. p. 133.

7 Another practice of reckoning time by days is to be observed in the use of the knotted cane strip, styled *tinlōata* (*ante*, Vol. XXIII. p. 109).

inland communities) reckon by pairs,[8] scores, and four-hundreds, the corresponding terms employed bearing to some extent a family resemblance; while other objects (with a few exceptions shortly to be mentioned) are reckoned by scores. In the remaining three dialects the systems somewhat differ:—Car Nicobar reckons by pairs, scores, two-hundreds, four-hundreds, two-thousands, and twenty-thousands; Chowra by pairs, scores, two-hundreds, two-thousands, and four-thousands; Teressa and Bompoka, by pairs, scores, two-hundreds and two-thousands.

Another point to note is that (in the Central Group) the term **dòktai**[9] when referring to cocoanuts, money, and edible birds'-nests signifies 200, but it can be employed only with *momchīama* signifying 400: it cannot, therefore, be used in reference to the above objects for any less number than 600 (*Ex.*:—*hēang-momchīama-dòktai* = 1 × 400 + 200). Employed, however, with other objects, *e. g.*, men, huts, paddles, etc., *dòktai* denotes 10 only; but, as in the former case it can be used only with *momchīama*, which then signifies 20, and therefore the lowest number for which it can be employed is 30 (*Ex.*:— *hēang-momchīama-dòktai-yūang-paiyūh*[10] = 1 × 20 + 10 (*lit.*, fruit)-men.

Two only of the six dialects — and these the most widely apart — *viz.*, the Car Nicobar and the Shom Peṅ (*i. e.*, the inland tribe of the Great Nicobar) adopt the **Malay system of counting** from 11 to 19 inclusive, *viz.*, 1 (and) 10, 2 (and) 10, 3 (and) 10, etc., whereas the four other dialects have **the Burmese system,** *viz.*, 10 (and) 1, 10 (and) 2, 10 (and) 3, etc.[11]

None of the numerical terms employed in the dialect of the Central Group express a second meaning except *tafūal* (6), which also signifies "pair, couple;" but when employed in the latter sense no confusion is possible, as it is invariably preceded by one or other of the numerals from *hēang* (1) to *heäng-hata* (9) inclusive. *Ex.*:— *tafūal-tafūal-hēang* = 13 (*lit.*, 6 pairs + 1).

With the exception of the term *lâk*, the only numeral which appears to be of foreign derivation is that denoting 7 (*issât* in the Central Group and *sât* at Car Nicobar), which resembles the corresponding equivalent in the Indian languages proper (*sât*), but this, doubtless, in the absence of any more satisfactory evidence, is a mere coincidence.

In order to exhibit, by way of contrast, two of the somewhat diverse systems of numeration employed in these dialects the terms used in the Central Group and at Car Nicobar will now be shewn in parallel columns. With reference to the foregoing explanations the terms preceded by (*a*) represent those that are employed in relation to cocoanuts, money, and edible birds'-nests, while the terms preceded by (*b*) represent those that are used in speaking of other objects, *e. g.*, men, animals, huts, canoes, baskets, spears, etc.

Table of Comparative Numeration.

		CENTRAL GROUP.		CAR NICOBAR.
1	(*a*)	hēang	(*a*)	heng
	(*b*)	hēang	(*b*)	kahōk
2	(*a*)	hēang-tafūal (*lit.*, one pair) ..	(*a*)	heng-tahòl (*lit.*, one pair)
	(*b*)	âṅ...	(*b*)	neät
3	(*a*)	hēang-tafūal-hēang (*lit.*, one pair (and) one).	(*a*)	heng-tahòl-heng (*lit.*, one pair (and) one)
	(*b*)	lōe (or lūe)	(*b*)	lūe

[8] This is due to the Nicobarese practice of tying two cocoanuts together by means of a strip of the husk of each, the object being for convenience of carrying them on a pole over the shoulder, or of allowing a quantity to be carried together in either hand.

[9] This diverse use of the terms *momchīama* and *dòktai*, when the context is known, causes no confusion. [Perhaps the simplest explanation would be that *dòktai* when used with *momchīama* signifies "half plus." — ED.]

[10] The use of this and other numeral co-efficients will shortly be explained.

[11] [This use of what have been called the direct and inverse methods of enumeration concurrently on one group of Islands is most interesting: *vide* Knott, the Abacus, in *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, Vol. XIV. p. 40. — ED.]

		Central Group.		Car Nicobar.
4	(a)	ân-tafūal	(a)	neät-tahòl
	(b)	fōan	(b)	fän
5	(a)	ân-tafūal-hēang	(a)	neät-tahòl-heng
	(b)	tanai	(b)	tanī
6	(a)	lōe-tafūal	(a)	lūe-tahòl
	(b)	tafūal	(b)	tafūal
7	(a)	lōe-tafūal-hēang	(a)	lūe-tahòl-heng
	(b)	issât	(b)	sât
8	(a)	fōan-tafūal	(a)	fän-tahòl
	(b)	enfōan	(b)	hēo-hare
9	(a)	fōan-tafūal-hēang	(a)	fän-tahòl-heng
	(b)	heäng-hata	(b)	maichūa-tare
10	(a)	tanai-tafūal	(a)	tanī-tahòl
	(b)	shòm	(b)	sam
11	(a)	tanai-tafūal-hēang	(a)	tanī-tahòl-heng
	(b)	shòm-hēang	(b)	kahōk-sīan
19	(a)	heäng-hata-tafūal-hēang ...	(a)	maichūa-tare-tahòl-heng
	(b)	shòm-heäng-hata	(b)	maichūa-tare-sīan
20	(a)	hēang-inai	(a)	heng-anai (also sam-tahòl)
	(b)	hēang-momchīama	(b)	kahōk-michāma
36	(a)	hēang-inai-enfōan (-tafūal)[12] ...	(a)	heng-anai-hēo-hare(-tahòl)[12]
	(b)	hēang-momchīama-dòktai-tafūal	(b)	kahōk-michāma-tafūal-sīan
112	(a)	tanai-inai-tafūal (-tafūal) ...	(a)	tanī-anai-tafūal(-tahòl)
	(b)	tanai-momchīama-dòktai-ân ...	(b)	tanī-michāma-neät-sīan
202	(a)	shòm-inai-hēang (-tafūal) ...	(a)	sam-anai-heng(-tahòl); heng-ngòng-[13] heng-tahòl (*lit.*, 1 × 200 + one pair)
	(b)	shòm-momchīama-ân	(b)	sam-michāma-neät
600	(a)	hēang-momchīama-dòktai ...	(a)	lūe-yòng
	(b)	hēang-inai-dòktai-momchīama...	(b)	heng-anai-tanī-tahòl-michāma
2,000	(a)	tanai-momchīama	(a)	sam-mòng; heng-kaiñe
	(b)	tanai-inai-momchīama[14] ...	(b)	tanī-anai-michāma
40,000	(a)	tanai-inai-momchīama	(a)	heng-anai-kaiñe ; neät-lâk
100,000	(a)	shòm-ân-inai-tanai-tafūal-momchīama.	(a)	tanī-lâk
200,000	(a)	hēang-inai-tanai-tom-momchīama.	(a)	sam-lâk

When it is intended to convey the meaning that a **round number** is referred to, the term *yūh-ngare* (indicating "whole," or "no more and no less") is added. *Ex.*:— *ân-momchīama-dòktai tâk rupīa yūh ngare*, Exactly one thousand rupees.[15] When the number referred to falls short by a little of some round number it is sometimes expressed by employing the word *tangla*

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12 Where *tafūal* and *tahòl* (indicating "pair") are shewn within brackets it denotes that it is optional to express them.

13 It is interesting to note, how, in the Car Nicobar dialect, from considerations of euphony, the term denoting "200" varies, as to its initial letter, according to the last letter, of the preceding numeral. *Ex.* :— 200 . . *heng-ngòng*; 400 . . *neät-tòng*; 600 . . *lūe-yòng*; 800 . . *fän-nòng*; 1,000 . . *tanī-yòng*; 1200 . . *tafūal-lòng*; and so on up to 2,000 . . *sam-mòng*.

14 Note that, for the reasons explained in the foregoing, the numeral used to denote 2,000 (*lit.*, 5 × 20 × 20) in referring to men, animals, huts, etc., is the same as that signifying 40,000 (*lit.*, 5 × 20 × 400) when referring to cocoanuts, etc.

15 [Compare the Taungthū (Phaô) numeral suffix *pâ*, and the Shân numeral suffix *mäng* or *läng*, which is written

ႁ.— Ed.]

(to reach), as follows :— *lōe tare tangla áṅ-momchīama hen ñi*, 37 (*lit.*, 3 more reach two-score) huts.

From the foregoing examples it will be seen that no conjunctions are employed in expressing numbers involving the use of several numeral terms.

By prefixing, infixing, or suffixing, the particles *m'*, *ma*, *em*, *am*, or *om* to a numeral the sense of "only" such a number is conveyed. *Ex.* :— *hemēang*, only one ; *áṅma*, only two ; *lamūe*, only three ; *fomōan*, only four ; *tamanai*, only five ; *tamafūal*, only six ; *missát*, only, seven ; *menfōan*, only eight ; *hemeäng-hata*, only nine : *shamòm*, only ten.

The processes of **addition and subtraction** of simple quantities are accomplished on the fingers, or by means of the *lenkòk-ngoát*. Supposing, for example, that A owed B 200 cocoanuts and incurred a further debt of 350 cocoanuts, he would express the fact by turning down, in the presence of B, one finger after another of each hand — commencing in each case with the little finger —, and on reaching the thumb of the second hand he would close both fists and bringing the knuckles together, open both hands simultaneously, as though throwing something from each on to the ground, at the same time exclaiming — "*shòm*" (10) — the word "*inai*," indicating "score," being understood — thereby signifying 200, and adding the words "*hēang-momchīama*" (400), *i. e.*, by taking the previous debt of 200 into account. He would then recommence, and after counting the fingers of one hand and the little and third fingers of the second hand, he would say "*issát*" (7), and, crossing the next (*i. e.*, middle) finger with one of the other hand, he would say "*tanai*" (5) — the word "*tafūal*," indicating "pair" being understood —, following this up by again closing both hands, bringing the knuckles together and opening them simultaneously in a downward direction and exclaiming "*hēang-momchīama-issát-inai-tanai(-tafūal)* which denotes 550.

Multiplication[16] **and division are never attempted.** They do not seem to experience the need for any such calculations, sufficiently at least to stimulate whatever faculty they possess for devising some practicable methods.

The necessity for expressing **fractional numbers** or quantities is experienced to so slight an extent, that but few seem to agree as to the exact meaning of the few terms that are on rare occasions employed for the purpose. These terms are :—

hēang-molkáṅla = one-half.
hēang-mishēya = one-third (? also one-fifth, one-sixth, etc.).
hēang-shēi-tô = one-fourth.
áṅ-mishēya = two-thirds (? also two-fifths).
lōe-shēi-tô = three-fourths.
hēang-hēang-molkáṅla = one and one-half.
áṅ-hēang-mishēya = two and one-third (or thereabout).

The terms denoting **ordinals** are very limited, and from the absence of uniformity in their use it is evident that they rarely have occasion to employ them. In order to express the order in a row of objects or in a race they cannot reckon beyond the 7th, the term denoting which also signifies "the last." The two sets of terms in use are here given :—

(1st) *orēh ; ongēh ;* or *morēh*	(1st) *morēh*
(2nd) *tanōe-ok*	(2nd) *tanōe-ok-morēh*
(3rd) *mong-yūang-ñe*	(3rd) *mong-yūang-ñe*
(4th) *menyáh*	(4th) *tanōe-ok-mong-yūang-ñe*
(5th) *tanōe-ok-mēnyáh*	(5th) *menyáh*
(6th) *menyáh-ka*	(6th) and } *menyáh-ka*, also
(7th) *maná(k)-nga-shīan*	last } *maná(k)-nga-shīan*

[16] The word for 8 (*enfōan*) apparently composed of *áṅ* (2) × *fōan* (4), seems to be a solitary instance of an attempt in this direction.

The only explanation — such as it is — given for this paucity of terms by those who have been questioned on the subject is that there are never more than 7 "moons" in a Nicobarese "year" (*i. e.*, monsoon), and that, although they have specific names for each "moon," they associate each in their mind as either the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc., of the "year." In their canoe-races, moreover, there would rarely be so many as 7 competitors.

In order to express a certain date since any event, such as the 9th, 15th, 23rd since new moon or since some one's arrival, departure, death, etc., the suffix "*she*" added to the cardinal, denoting the number of days, is all that is needed. *Ex.* :— *linheṅ hēang-momchīama-lōe-she dâm na leät kaiyīnga*, this is the 23rd night since his departure.

Collective numbers. — In order to indicate pairs or sets of four or more of certain objects the following terms are employed :—

tafūal, in reference to a pair of cocoanuts, rupees, or edible birds'-nests.
tâk, in reference to a pair of bamboo utensils containing shell-lime.
amok, in reference to two pairs of (*i. e.*, 4) bamboo utensils containing shell-lime.
amok, in reference to a pair of cooking-pots.
kamintap, in reference to a set of four or five of the smallest size of cooking-pots.[17]
nōang, in reference to a set of ten pieces of tortoiseshell. *Ex.* :— *lōe nōang ok-kâp* three sets (*i. e.*, 30) pieces of tortoiseshell.

Such phrases as "by pairs," "by scores," "by four-hundreds" are rarely used, but would be expressed as follows :—

by pairs, *hēang-tafūal-hēang-tafūal.*
by scores, *hēang-inai-hēang-inai.*
by four-hundreds, *hēang-momchīama-hēang-momchīama.*

Recurrent time. — *Shuâ* is the term most commonly employed as the equivalent for the English "times." *Ex.* :— *tanai shuâ*, five times ; but several other terms are in use, each of which, however, in a restricted sense. *Ex.* :—

lōe kota-tai, 3 times (in reference to hammering or other hand-work).
âṅ ko-chat, twice (in reference to jumping).
fōan ko-nga-lâh, 4 times (in reference to going).
tanai ko-ñe-ngē, 5 times (in reference to talking, singing, etc.).
fōan ko-shī-chakâ, 4 times (in reference to eating, etc.).
issât ko-shī-âṅha, 7 times (in reference to washing, etc.).

Numeral co-efficients. — One of the many proofs of the affinity existing between the Nicobarese and the Indo-Chinese races is the presence in full force in all their dialects — including even that of the isolated and degraded inland tribe of Great Nicobar — of the system, which necessitates, in the enumeration of objects, the employment of a term — known to grammarians as numeral co-efficients — descriptive of the particular object referred to.

Contrary to the practice, generally (if not always) adopted in both Burmese and Malay, these co-efficients are invariably inserted between the numeral and the object designated and not after the latter.

(1) *yūang*[18] (fruit) ; *kōi* (head); *tat* ; *tat-yūang* ; *tat-kōi* are used in referring to human beings,[19] *e. g.*, *fōan yūang Pigu* (4 Burmese) ; *âṅ kōi kōan* (two children); *hēang tat ilū* (one bachelor); *tanai tat-yūang Maláyu* (five Malays).

[17] *Vide ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 111, item 103.

[18] The Car Nicobarese equivalents of these are respectively as follows :—
(1) *taka* ; (2) *nòng* ; (4) *tâk* ; (5) *momii* ; (6) *mâ* ; (7) *nòng* ; (8) *kâhà* ; (9) *lamnâha* and *tum* ; (11) *chumvi* ; (14) *milima.*

[19] Also to the carved wooden figures, called *kareau* (*vide ante*, Vol. XXIV. p 133).

(2) *nōang* (cylinder) is applied to animals, birds, fishes, insects, eggs, spears, boxes, baskets, ropes, legs, fingers, lips, nose, eyes, teeth, *dhās*, fish-hooks, rings, seeds, etc. *Ex.* :— *lōe nōang kāa* (three fishes).

(3) (*nōang-*)*yūang*[20] is applied to fruits only, *e. g.*, *āṅ inai* (*nōang-*)*yūang oyàu* (40 cocoanuts).

(4) *tāk* (wide); in connection with flat objects, such as planks, paddles, coins, tortoiseshells, edible birds'-nests, finger-nails, leaves, feathers, cloth, clothes, thatch; also, however, cooking-pots and fishing-nets, *e. g.*, *fōan tāk pōwah* (4 paddles).

(5) *hen*,[21] when referring to dwellings and other buildings, *tanai hen ñi* (5 huts).

(6) *chanang*,[21] to trees, posts, hairs, etc., *issāt chanang oñīhaṅ* (7 trees).

(7) *danòi*,[21] to ships, boats, and canōes; *lōe danòi chông* (3 ships).

(8) *hinle*,[21] to bamboo utensils containing shell-lime.

(9) *tōm* (bunch), to bunches of plantains, betel-nuts, *Pandanus*, etc., or to single pineapples and papayas.

(10) *manoal* (also *mokôṅha*), to bundles of prepared *Pandanus* or *Cycas* paste.

(11) *pomāk* (bundle), to large bundles of split cane, also to the large trimmed bundles of imitation firewood offered by mourners at the grave.

(12) *mekūya*,[21] to small bundles of cane, ten of which equal one *pomāk*.

(13) *minôl* (bundle), to small bundles of firewood.

(14) *lamem*,[21] to bundles of Chinese tobacco.

(15) *amoka*,[21] to books only.

(16) *chaminkūa*,[21] to ladders only.

(17) *shamanap*,[21] to pieces — of, say, 40 yards — of calico, etc.

(18) *kamilāng*,[21] to cords and fishing-lines.

To the above may be added the following expressions for **distance** :—

het-nōang[22] (used with *ñī-nàu*, green cocoanut) in order to express distance by sea, *e. g.*, *lōe het-nōang ñī-nàu hē tang* (we could arrive (there) in three green cocoanuts' time).

kohòt[23] (used with *maiyá*, take a betel-quid), in order to convey an idea of distance by land or time spent on a visit; *e. g.*, *fōan kohòt inā maiyá tang* (you two could reach (that place) in four betel-quids' time).

MISCELLANEA.

DERIVATION OF SAPÈQUE.

Sapèque is the ordinary form in French writers of the commercial term " **cash** " now used for the lowest denomination of modern Chinese currency. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*, could only guess at its derivation from a **Malay word sapaku**, but the following quotations settle the point, proving him to be right in his guess.

1639. — " It (*caxa*, cash) hath a four-square hole through it, at which they string them on a Straw; a **String of two hundred Caxaes, called Sata**, is worth about three farthings sterling, and **five Satas tyed together make a Sapocon**. The Javians, when this money came first amongst them, were so cheated with the Novelty, that they would give six bags of Pepper for ten **Sapocons**,

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20 The bracket denotes that it is optional, though more correct, to express *nōang* with *yūang*.

21 The original meaning of this term is not known to the present inhabitants.

22 The meaning of this is that Nicobarese invariably carry green (*i. e.*, unripe) cocoanuts when going any distance, or when likely to be absent some time, in their canoes in order to refresh themselves when thirsty; one or more cocoanuts would be drunk by each person according to the distance travelled.

23 The practice of chewing betel-quids being universal among them the approximate time ordinarily occupied shewing one or more is well known and serves the purpose shewn in the text.

thirteen whereof amount to but a Crown. But they have had leisure enough to see their error; for in a short time, the Island was so filled with this stuffe, that they were compelled to absolutely prohibit all trading, which so disparaged this money, that at present two Sacks of Pepper will scarce come for one hundred thousand *Caxaes*." — Mandelslö, *Voyages and Travels into the East Indies*, E. T., 1639, p. 117.

1703. — "This is the reason why the *Caxas* are valued so little: they are punched in the middle, and string'd with little twists of Straw, two hundred in one Twist, which is called **Santa**, and is worth nine Deniers. Five **Santas** tied together, make a thousand **Caxas**, or a **Sapoon** (? misprint for Sapocon)." *Collection of Dutch Voyages*, p. 199. This passage gives the same story as Mandelslö, interpolated, I gather, in the account of the first voyage, 1595-7, by the anonymous editor.

1813. — "The only currency of the country (Cochin-China) is a sort of cash, called **sappica**, composed chiefly of **tutenague**,[1] 600 making a **quan**." — Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Ed. 1825, pp. 444-5, in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v. sapeca*. Yule adds that mace and *sappica* are equally Malay words.

1821. — "The proper coined money of Tonquin and Cochin-China is called a **Sapek**, or **Sapèque**, and consisted formerly of brass, but now of zinc. . . . . Sixty **sapeks** make a *mas* . . . . Six hundred **sapeks**, which make a *kwan*, are commonly strung upon a filament of ratan, and in this manner kept for use." — Crawfurd, *Embassy to Siam*, p. 517.

1830. — "The money current on Bali consists solely of **Chinese pice** with a hole in the centre, which have been introduced into Bali from time immemorial. They value them at half a cent, and 600 may be obtained for a silver dollar. They however put them up in hundreds and thousands; two hundred are called **satah**, and are equal to one rupee copper, and a thousand called **sapaku**, are valued at five rupees." — *Singapore Chronicle*, June, 1830, in Moor, *Indian Archipelago*, 1837, p. 94.

1852. — "**Pâku**, a string or file of the small coins called *pichis*." — Crawfurd, *Malay Dict.*, *s. v. satu*: in comp. *sa*, is "one" in Malay: *pichis* or *pitis* is a cash.

1876. — "From **sapek**, a coin found in Tonquin and Cochin-China, and equal to about half a pfenning (1/300 Thaler), or about one-sixth of a German Kreutzer." — Giles, *Glossary of Reference*, p. 122, in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v. sapeca.*

1880. — "He (Da Cunha) seems to imply that the smallest denomination of coin struck by Albuquerque at Goa in 1510 was called **cepayqua**, *i. e*, in the year before the capture of Malacca, and consequent familiarity with Malay terms. I do not trace his authority for this; the word is not mentioned in the *Commentaries of Albuquerque*, and it is quite possible that the *dinheiros*, as these small copper coins were also called, only received the name **cepayqua** at a later date, and some time after the occupation of Malacca." — Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s v. sapeca*, commenting on Da Cunha, *Portuguese Numismatics*, 1880, pp. 11, 12, 22.

1886. — "**Sapeca, Sapèque.** This word is used at Macao for what we call **cash** in Chinese currency; and it is the word generally used by French writers for that coin . . . . We can hardly doubt that the true origin of the term is that given in a note communicated by our friend Mr. E. C. Baber: — "Very probably from Malay *sa*, one, and *păku*, a string or file of the small coins called *pichis* . . . . *păku* is written by Favre *peku*, (Dict. Malay-Français, 1875-80) and is derived by him from the Chinese *péko*, cent."[2] . . . . **Sapeku** would then properly be a string of 100 cash, but it is not difficult to perceive that it might through some misunderstanding . . . . have been transferred to a single coin." — Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v. sapeca.*

1890. — "Le taël d' argent est la monnaie courante du pays. La qualité et le cours varient selon les lieux. Les **sapèques** en laiton ont aussi cours; le change moyen est de 1,500 pour un taël." — Rocher, *Notes sur un Voyage au Yunnan*, in *Toung Pao*, Vol. I. p. 51.

1892. — "This is a brief history of the **sapec** (more commonly known to us as the **cash**), the only native coin of China, and which is found everywhere from Malaysia to Japan." — Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 157.

R. C. TEMPLE.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(*Continued from p.* 168.)

XXXVII.

THERE was a king at **Anantapur**, **Kunthibhôja** by name. While he was holding his *darbâr*, being seated on his throne, and surrounded by

[1] *I. e.*, spelter.

[2] This should be a mistake — *vide* quotation from Crawfurd. It is not in Schlegel's "Chinese Loan-words in the Malay Language," in *Toung Pao*, Vol. I. p. 391. ff.

a host of pundits, ministers, and others, a Kshatriya came and bowed and said that he was an expert in archery, and that he came there to serve the king as he was not able to get a living elsewhere. The king engaged his services at one hundred rupees per month. From that day forwards he kept a vigilant watch over the king's palace. On a certain midnight, while the king was sleeping comfortably upstairs, he heard the cries of a woman, called his attendant and asked him what it was. The archer said that he, too, had heard the same cries for ten days past, but could not say why it was, but that he would make enquiries, should the king command him to do so. The king consented, and followed him *incognito* to see whither he went. He went outside the town, and there saw a woman with dishevelled hair, seated near the temple of Durgâ, crying at the top of her voice. He asked her who she was and why she was crying. She replied that she was the tutelary goddess of Kunthibhôja's kingdom, and that as the king was to breathe his last in two or three days more, she was crying—for, who would protect her then? The archer then asked her if there were any means by which the king's life could be saved. Whereupon she said that if the archer's son were offered as a sacrifice to Durgâ, the king would live for a very long time. The archer thereupon consented to the proposal, went home, and informed his son of what had transpired. The son asked him to perform the sacrifice instantly and save the life of the king, for, by the king a good many people lived. The archer then took his son to the temple, drew his sword from the scabbard, and was about to slay him, when Durgâ appeared before them, and said that she was so pleased with his bravery that he must desist, and said moreover that she would confer on him any boon he might ask. The archer then requested Durgâ to spare the life of king Kunthibhôja, and to bless him with long life and prosperity. Durgâ gave him the boon sought for and disappeared. The archer, overcome with joy, sent his son home, and went to the king's palace. The king, who witnessed *incognito* everything that had transpired, quietly reached his palace, went upstairs, and pretended to be asleep. The archer went to the king and said that a woman who had had a quarrel with her husband was weeping bitterly, and that he had pacified her and sent her home. The king feeling grateful to the archer, raised him to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of his forces.

Moral :— Honest servants will not fail to risk their own lives when calamities befall their masters.

XXXVIII.

Three fish lived in the bed of a river. One of these perceived that the water would dry up in the ensuing summer, informed its other companions of the same, and said, further, how they would run the risk of being carried off by the fishermen at the time, and that they should therefore seek a habitation elsewhere. It wanted, therefore, that all of them should go into the current and settle in the sea or in the bed of another river. The other two laughed at the words of their companion. The clever fish, therefore, went and settled in another quarter unaccompanied. Not long after, summer set in, and the waters of the river dried up. A fisherman threw his net into the bed, caught the two fish and put them on the bank. One of them was possessed of some sense and appeared to be dead, remaining motionless, while the other began to jump. The latter therefore was dashed to the ground and smashed to pieces. The former, perceiving the fisherman going away with his net, crawled unperceived and jumped into the waters and lived comfortably.

Moral :— Whoever perceives coming events and tries to avert danger shall surely be happy; and the person who tries to extricate himself from difficulties, even after they happen, may also consider himself lucky, but the man who remains idle will surely come to grief.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BEDSTEADS AS SPIRIT HAUNTS.

Spirits are said to upset the bedstead (*chârpâe*) of men sleeping in them, and to throw the mortals on the ground. Many simple people have related stories to me of this, as a well-ascertained fact. Brides and bridegrooms must not sleep on *chârpâes* for several days before and after marriage. The number of days fixed varies with their tribe. This is doubtless done to avoid the evil that might be worked through witchcraft.

Gurdyal Singh, in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

HINDU TITLES OF MUSALMANS.

The Musalmân Gakkhar family of Khânpûr in the Hazârâ district (held by Cunningham to be the ancient Taxila) still retain the Hindû title of Râjâ, — *e. g.*, Râjâ Jahândâd Khân, a leading member of the family formerly an Extra Assistant Commissioner in that district. The reason is, I believe, given in Wace's *Hazârâ Settlement Report.*[1]

T. C. Plowden, in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] [See Wace, pp. 26 and 57. — Ed.]

THE CASTLE OF LOHARA.

BY M. A. STEIN, PH.D.

THE following notes on an ancient stronghold of the mountains enclosing Kaśmîr have been prepared for my annotated translation of **Kalhaṇa's Râjataraṅgiṇî** now passing through the press.* Their publication in this place may be useful as supplying a specimen of the commentary which accompanies that translation. They may also serve to illustrate the results which a closer study of the Chronicle and a series of antiquarian tours have furnished as regards the **ancient topography of Kaśmîr** and the adjacent territories.

The whole of these results has been embodied in the detailed **maps of Ancient Kaśmîr** which with the assistance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal I have been able to prepare, as a supplement to my work, at the Survey of India Offices. I hope soon to publish these maps with a separate memoir in the Asiatic Society's *Journal*. Until then I must refer for any of the topographical details discussed below to the maps shewing the modern topography of the territory, as contained in the "Atlas of India" and other publications of the Survey of India.†

§ 1. **Lohara** or **Loharakoṭṭa**, the 'Castle of Lohara,' has played an important part in Kaśmîr history as the ancestral home and stronghold of the dynasty whose narrative fills the last two cantos of Kalhaṇa's **Râjataraṅgiṇî**. In view of the very frequent references which Kalhaṇa makes to this locality, its correct identification is essential for the full understanding of the events related in that portion of the Kaśmîr Chronicle.

It may justly be doubted whether Wilson who first proposed to identify *Lohara* with **Lahore** (*Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir*, p. 47), would have hazarded this suggestion if the text of Books vii. and viii. had then been accessible to him. Notwithstanding, however, the evident impossibility of making this assumed position of Lohara agree with the numerous passages in which Kalhaṇa speaks of it as a hill-fortress and as situated in close proximity of Kaśmîr,[1] Wilson's conjecture has been accepted with implicit faith by subsequent interpreters. It has thus found its way too into numerous works not directly dealing with Kaśmîr.[2] With some other topographical misunderstandings of this kind, it has helped to create greatly exaggerated notions as to the political power and territorial extent of the Kaśmîr kingdom at that late period.

§ 2. The local indications furnished by the passages to be discussed below, had led me for some time back to look for Lohara in the mountain districts which adjoin Kaśmîr immediately to the south of the Pîr Pantsâl range. But it was only in the course of a tour specially undertaken in August, 1892, in search of this locality, that I was able to fix its position in the valley now called **Lohᵃrin**, belonging to the territory of **Prûnts** (Parṇotsa). A brief account of this identification has been given in the '*Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse*' of the Imperial Academy of Vienna, 14th December 1892, and in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society (see *Academy*, 1893, Nov. 24).

§ 3. Referring for some further topographical and ethnographical details to the remarks given below, it will be sufficient to note here that **Lohᵃrin**, marked **Loran** on the maps, comprises the well-populated and fertile mountain district formed by the valleys of the streams which drain the southern slopes of the Pîr Pantsâl range between the Taṭakûṭî Peak and the Tôśᵃmaidân pass. The Lohᵃrin River which is formed by these streams, receives at Maṇḍî the stream of the Gâgrî Valley which adjoins Lohᵃrin to the N.W. Some eight miles further down it flows into the Sûran River with which together it forms the Tohî (Taushî) of Prûnts.

* To be published in 1898 by Messrs. Constable & Co., London, in two volumes quarto.

† See "*Atlas of India*," Sheets 28 and 29, scale four miles to one inch; also *Map of Kashmir with part of adjacent mountains surveyed during* 1855-57, scale two miles to one inch.

1 Comp. *e. g. Râjat.* vii. 140, 703, 862, 939; viii. 203, 379, 567, 739, 831, 1227, 1630, 1794 sqq., 1875 sqq., 1997, etc.

2 Comp. Troyer's note on iv. 177 and Vol. iii. p. 570; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iii. pp. 1042, 1119; also Dr. T. H. Thornton's excellent monograph "*Lahore*," 1876, p. 107.

The broadest and best-cultivated part of the **Valley of Lohᵃrin** lies about 8 miles above Maṇḍî, at circ. 74° 23′ long. 33° 48′ lat. The cluster of large villages situated here (distinguished after the tribal names of their inhabitants as *Tântrᵃvand*, *Gêgᵃvand*, and *Dôivand*) are jointly known by the name of *Lohᵃrin* and may be regarded as the centre of the district. Through Lohᵃrin proper and then through a side-valley descending from the mountains on the N. leads the path to the Tôśᵃmaidân Pass which since early times to the present day has formed one of the most frequented and best routes from the Western Panjâb to Kaśmîr. The importance of this route and the easy communication thereby established explains the close political relations of Lohara with Kaśmîr as well as the prevalence of a Kaśmîrî population in the present Lohᵃrin.

§ 4. In examining the main passages of the Râjataraṅgiṇî bearing on Lohara with a view to proving its identity with the modern Lohᵃrin, it will be most convenient to follow the order of Kalhaṇa's narrative.

The prominent place occupied by Lohara in the historical events related in Books vii and viii., is chiefly due to the close connection which the marriage of King Kshemagupta with **Diddâ**, the daughter of **Siṁharâja of Lohara**, established between the royal families of Kaśmîr and Lohara. This union as well as the fact that Siṁharâja was himself married to a daughter of Bhîma Śâhi, the mighty ruler of Udabhâṇḍa (Vaihand) and Kâbul,[3] proves that the territory of the former could not have been restricted to the Lohᵃrin Valley alone. It probably comprised also other neighbouring valleys to the south of the Pîr Pantsâl such as Maṇḍî, Sûran, Sadrûn, perhaps also Prûnts itself.[4] Diddâ who after the death of Kshemagupta and after disposing of her son and grandsons ruled Kaśmîr in her own name (980-1005 A. D.), adopted as her successor Saṁgrâmarâja, the son of her brother Udayarâja.[5] Lohara remained in the possession of her nephew **Vigraharâja** of whom we do not know whether he was a son of Udayarâja or another of Siṁharâja's numerous sons.

§ 5. **Vigraharâja** had already in Diddâ's lifetime appeared as a pretender.[6] After the death of Saṁgrâmarâja (A. D. 1028) he made a second unsuccessful attempt to seize the Kaśmîr throne. He marched from Lohara for Śrînagar, burnt on the way the Kaśmîrian frontier-station (*dvâra*), and appeared after two and a half days' hard marching before the capital where he was defeated and slain.[7]

Vigraharâja's expedition took place soon after the death of Saṁgrâmarâja which fell at the commencement of the month Âshâḍha (June-July). At that season of the year the shortest route of the invader lay over the **Tôśᵃmaidân** Pass. This, notwithstanding its height (circ. 13,500 feet above sea level), is open for traffic of all kinds from May till November. The practical possibility of covering the distance within the above time was tested by me in 1892 on the tour referred to. Leaving Lohᵃrin on the morning of the 19th August with baggage animals and load-carrying coolies I reached without difficulty on the evening of the following day the edge of the Tôśᵃmaidân plateau above the village of Drang (see note 7). From there half a day's march across the level Valley would suffice to bring one to Śrînagar.

Vigraharāja's son and successor **Kshitirâja** whom we find also mentioned as ruler of Lohara in Bilhaṇa's Vikramâṅkadevacharita,[8] resigned his throne in favor of **Utkarsha**, the grandson of King Ananta and younger brother of Harsha.[9] When Utkarsha on Kalaśa's death (A. D. 1089) was called to rule over Kaśmîr, he united with his new kingdom the territory of Lohara,[10]

[3] Comp. vi. 176 sqq. and my paper '*Zur Geschichte der Çâhis von Kabul*,' Festgruss an R. von Roth, pp. 200 sq.

[4] See vi. 176 where Siṁharâja is called *duryâṇâṁ Loharâdînâṁ śâstâ*; vii. 1300 and viii. 914 sqq., where *Parṇotsa* (Prûnts) seems to be referred to as within the confines of Lohara territory; also viii. 1945, 2277.

[5] Comp. vi. 355; vii. 1284.

[6] vi. 335 sqq.

[7] See vii. 140 sq. The *dvâra* referred to in this passage can be safely identified with the *draṅga* or frontier watch-station which was situated on the Kaśmîr side of the Tôśᵃmaidân Pass above the present village of *Drang*. It is mentioned under the name *Kârkoṭadraṅga* in viii. 1997, 2010. Compare my note on iii. 227.

[8] Comp. *Vikramâṅkad.* xviii. 47, 67.

[9] Comp. vii. 251 sqq.

[10] Comp. vii. 703 sqq.

which henceforth became the mountain fastness and place of safety for the Kaśmîr rulers in the troubled times of the succeeding reigns.

§ 6. In the time of **Harsha** we hear of an expedition sent against Râjapurî, the modern Rajaurî, which took the route *viâ* Lohara, *i. e.*, over the Tôśᵃmaidân Pass.[11] When subsequently the pretender **Uchchala,** the descendant of a side branch of the house of Lohara, made his first irruption into Kaśmîr, from Rajaurî, he led his small band of followers through the territory of the Governor of Lohara. After defeating the latter's forces at Parṇotsa, he surprised the commandant of the *Dvâra* and reached safely the rebel camp in Kramarâjya, the western portion of the Valley.[12] Kalhaṇa's special reference to the consternation caused by the sudden appearance of the pretender is significant.[13] It is clearly connected with the fact that Uchchala's invasion took place at the beginning of the month Vaiśâkha, *i. e.*, in April, when the Tôśᵃmaidân Pass, according to the information collected by me at Lohᵃrin, can be crossed only on foot and with some difficulty.

§ 7. After the death of King Harsha, who to his own disadvantage had neglected the advice of his ministers councelling a timely retreat to the mountains of Lohara,[14] the rule over Kaśmîr and Lohara was again divided. The latter and the adjoining territories[15] fell to the share of **Sussala,** whereas Uchchala, his elder brother, took Kaśmîr. From Lohara Sussala made an attempt to oust his brother, but was defeated on the march to Śrînagar near Selyapura[16] and forced to flee to the country of the Dards. From there he regained Lohara by difficult mountain tracks.[17]

When Uchchala fell the victim of a conspiracy, his brother received the news within one and a half days,[18] and started at once for Kaśmîr to secure the throne. The murder of Uchchala took place on the sixth day of the bright half of Pauṣa of the Laukika year 4187. This date corresponds to the 8th December A. D. 1111. So late in the year the Tôśᵃmaidân route must have been closed by snow. It is therefore probable that Sussala marched by one of the more western and lower passes which lead from the valley of Sadrûn to the valley of the Vitastâ below Vârâhamula.[19] It agrees fully with this supposition that we find subsequently Sussala encamped above **Hushkapura** (Ushkür) opposite Vârâhamûla which would be the natural goal for an invader using one of the above routes.[20] Foiled in his endeavour on this occasion Sussala retreated with difficulty to Lohara over paths on which the snow lay deep and under continual fighting with marauding *Khaśas.*[21]

§ 8. Sussala some months later succeeded in wresting Kaśmîr from his half-brother Salhâṇa, and subsequently used the stronghold of Lohara for the custody of his dangerous relatives and as the hoarding place of the treasures he accumulated by an oppressive rule.[22] When threatened in the summer of 1120 A. D. by the rebel forces of the pretender Bhikshâchara he sent his son and family to Lohara for safety and followed them himself in the month of Mârgaśîrsha of that year *viâ* Hushkapura.[23] In the following spring the usurper Bhikshâchara despatched a force *viâ* Râjapurî in order to attack Sussala in his mountain fastness. These troops on their advance from the south were met by Sussala at Parṇotsa and there utterly routed. During the remainder of Sussala's reign we hear of Lohara only once more when Jayasiṁha is brought back to Kaśmîr after three years' residence at Lohara and met by his father at Vârâhamûla.[24]

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11 See vii. 939 sqq. 12 Comp. vii. 1298 sqq. 13 See vii. 1303.

14 vii. 1386, 1568, 1598. 15 See viii. 8, *Loharasaṁbandhaṁ maṇḍalântaram.*

16 viii. 192 sqq. — *Selyapura* is probably the present village of *Silpûr* in the Dûnts Pargaṇa, situated on the direct route from Drang to Śrînagar. 17 See viii. 207. 18 See viii. 379.

19 To the present day the people of Lohᵃrin, when obliged to proceed to Kaśmîr during the winter months, use the routes leading over the mountains from Sadrûn. Of these the *Hajji Pîr* Pass (8,500') is never closed entirely. The *Pajja* Pass, though somewhat higher, is certainly still open in December. A route leading from the latter along the lower ridges down to *Ushkür* is actually marked on the Survey maps, and this would have been the most convenient one for Sussala's expedition. 20 See viii. 390. 21 Comp. viii. 411.

22 Comp. viii. 519, 437, 639. 23 viii. 717, 819 sqq. 24 Comp. viii. 1227 sqq.

§ 9. Fuller details regarding the topography of Lohara are to be found in the narrative of the events which took place there during the rule of **Jayasiṁha**, *i. e.*, in Kalhaṇa's own time.

Of the princes whom Sussala on his accession to the Kaśmîr throne had confined at Lohara, **Loṭhaṇa** with five of his relatives was in A. D. 1130 still in captivity there. A conspiracy of some of the officers in charge of the Lohara garrison (*koṭṭabhṛitya*) utilized the opportunity offered when Preman, the commandant of the castle, had gone down to the neighbouring **Aṭṭâlikâ** on business, and set free the prisoners in the night of the 10th Jyaishtha *vati* of that year.[25] Loṭhana was proclaimed king, and before daybreak the stronghold and the treasures which Sussala had deposited there, were in his possession. Preman on receipt of the news hurried back on the morning from Aṭṭâlikâ, but was met by the conspirators at the approach to the castle and forced to retreat.

The expressions used by Kalhaṇa in the passages recorded below make it clear that **Aṭṭâlikâ** must be the name of a locality situated below Lohara and in comparative proximity of the castle.[26] In view of this evidence and of what will be said below regarding the position of the force sent for the recapture of Lohara, I do not hesitate to recognize the name *Aṭṭâlikâ* in that of the present village **Aṭôlî**, situated close to the point where the valley of Lohᵊrin meets that of Gâgrî, some eight miles below Lohᵊrin proper.

At the actual junction of the two valleys lies **Maṇḍî.** This place consists entirely of shops, some eighty in number, and these account for its name, which means 'market' in Pahârî as well as Panjâbî. Maṇḍî is now the commercial centre of the whole district and has probably occupied the same position in earlier centuries. I see a distinct reference to it in the passage viii. 1991 where Kalhaṇa relates the looting of *Aṭṭilikâpana*, *i. e.*, 'the market of Aṭṭilikâ (Aṭṭâlikâ).'

§ 10. The news of this rebellion was carried by a messenger to King Jayasiṁha and reached him on the following day at Vijayeśvara (Vijᵊbrôr).[27] He at once despatched a force for the recovery of Lohara. The Kaśmîrian leader took up his position at Aṭṭâlikâ from where he endeavoured to close all approaches to Lohara.[28] While the besieging troops suffered from the great summer heat and the consequent fevers,[29] Somapâla, Râjâ of Râjapurî, who was instigated by Sujji, a disaffected minister of Jayasiṁha, approached from the south to attack them.

The Kaśmîrians wished then to retreat to their own country, and finding the route by **Sârambara** closed by the enemy, were obliged to take to a difficult mountain pass called **Kâlenaka.** They started from Aṭṭâlikâ on a path leading along the precipitous side of a defile and were followed on the opposite side by the enemy. The Kaśmîrian troops and their followers reached that day without opposition a mountain village called **Vanikâvâsa** and camped there and in the neighbouring hamlets. At midnight they were surprised by Sujji's force and thrown into confusion. In the general stampede which followed, the Kaśmîr army are destroyed and its leaders captured. The fugitives were plundered in the mountains by the Khaśas.[30]

The situation of the Kaśmîrian troops at Aṭṭâlikâ and the route taken by them on their disastrous retreat can be fully understood by a reference to the map. When threatened from the south by Sujji who advances from Parṇotsa, the Kaśmîrians wish to regain their own territory, but cannot use the direct route over the Tôśᵊmaidân Pass as it is blocked by the rebels at the Lohara castle. The other main route up the Gâgrî valley which would open to

[25] Comp. viii. 1794 1831.

[26] See viii. 831, 1819, 1994. — I believe *Aṭṭâlikâ* to be the correct form of the name; it is written thus by A in viii. 831, 1819, 1945. *Aṭṭalikâ* is found twice (viii. 1842, 1994) and *Aṭṭilikâ* also twice (viii. 581, 1991) in that Codex. L agrees with these readings.

[27] Comp. viii. 1779, 1793-93.

[28] Comp. viii. 1836-1843.

[29] See viii. 1865, 1873, 1839. — *Maṇḍî*, which lies at an elevation of probably not much over 4000′, is, as I found myself in August 1892, a hot place even in the rainy season. Its inhabitants suffer a good deal from the dangerous fevers to which all the lower valleys to the south of the Pîr Pantsâl are subject at certain seasons; comp. my notes on viii. 1873, 1632. Rice-cultivation flourishes about Maṇḍî, whereas at Lohᵊrin, which lies at an altitude from six to seven thousand feet and consequently has a climate colder than the Kaśmîr Valley, rice does not grow and Indian corn is the chief product.

[30] Comp. viii. 1873-1906.

them the approach to the Firôzpûr Pass or to any of the other passes leading over the mountains to N. W. of the Tôs*maidân, is closed by the enemy stationed at *Śârambara*. This place I identify with the large village of **Châmbar** situated about 5 miles above Maṇḍî in the Gâgrî Valley.[31]

There remains thus for their escape only the route through the side valley which opens to the S. W. at the village of Palêra, some three miles above Maṇḍî on the way to Loh*rin. A difficult path, marked on the larger Survey map, leads through this valley, past the village of **Van** to an alp called **Kuliyan** from which a valley leading down to Sûran is gained. From the latter place the Kaśmîr force might have retired in safety over the Pîr Pantsâl Pass.

Van I identify with Kalhaṇa's **Vanikâvâsa**[32] and Kuliyan with **Kâlenaka.** The dangerous defile through which Jayasiṁha's troops retreat to Vanikâvâsa, is clearly the narrow gorge of the Loh*rin River which must be passed before reaching Palêra. For about two miles the road leads there high above the river along precipitous cliffs, and in many places it appears to have been artificially cut into the face of the latter.

§ 11. The conclusive evidence furnished by the above narrative as to the position of Lohara permits us to note more briefly the remaining references in the Chronicle. A temporary absence of Loṭhana from Lohara gave an opportunity to another pretender, **Mallârjuna,** to take possession of the stronghold[33] and the territory attached to it. Loṭhana turned out of the '*Koṭṭarâjya*' harassed his rival from Aṭṭâlikâ and other places,[34] but made subsequently peace with him and proceeded to invade Kaśmîr with the help of powerful allies among the rebellious Ḍâmaras. He crossed the mountains and took up a position at **Kârkoṭadraṅga,** *i. e.*, the modern Drang below the Tôs*maidân plateau.[35] Eventually Lohara was reoccupied by Jayasiṁha's troops and Mallârjuna forced to flee.[36] On the way he was plundered of the treasures carried away from Lohara and ultimately captured at the village of **Sâvarṇika.** The latter is distinctly designated as belonging to the territory of Lohara and can hence be identified with the village of Sûran in the Tohî Valley already mentioned.[37] Finally Kalhaṇa relates to us the installation of Gulhaṇa, Jayasiṁha's eldest son, as ruler of Lohara during the life-time of his father.[38]

The references to Lohara in the **later Chronicles** are few and do not add to our knowledge regarding to its situation.[39] As a stronghold it had evidently retained its importance for Kaśmîr only as long as the dynasty which had its home there, remained in power. That trade continued to pass through Lohara, can, however, be concluded from an allusion to the customs revenue levied there in the reign of Muḥammad Shâh about A. D. 1530.[40]

§ 12. Of far greater interest and importance are the references to the fortress of Lohara which we meet in **Albêrûnî's Indica.** We owe them indirectly to the unsuccessful expedition which Maḥmûd of Ghazna had led against Kaśmîr. Albêrûnî at the close of his account of Kaśmîr geography[41] mentions to the south of the capital the high peak '**Kulârjak**' resembling by its copula shape the mountain Dunbâvand (Demâvand). "The snow there never melts. It

31 Analogies in the phonetic conversion of other Kaśmîr local names which have been discussed by me in notes i. 100, viii. 176 and permit us to trace back the modern name *Châmbar* to *Śârambara* through *Ś(a)râmbara > *Śrâmbar*. Initial Skr. *ś* which otherwise is regularly replaced in Kaśmîrî by *h*, is preserved, as *ś* or *ch*, in cases where this initial consonant was protected by immediate contact with a following consonant; comp., *e. g.*, Kś. *Chirâth* < Skr. *Śrîrâshṭra*.

32 In *Vanikâvâsa* we have probably the simple name *Vanikâ* with the addition of *âvâsa* 'habitation,' see note viii. 1877. *Van* is the Kś. form of the name which on the map is marked '*Ban*' according to the Pahârî pronunciation.

33 Comp. viii. 1941 sqq. — Lohara is designated here and elsewhere (*e. g.*, viii. 1631, 1966, 1969, 1971, 1994, 2008, 2022, 2029) by the simple term *Koṭṭa*, 'castle,' an abreviation for *Loharakoṭṭa*.

34 Comp. viii. 1989 sqq.

35 Cop. viii. 1993 sqq., 1910, and above note 7.

36 viii. 2022.

37 See viii. 2275 sqq. with note viii. 2277.

38 viii. 3301, 3372.

39 See *Jonarâja*, 464 sqq.; *Śrîvara*, iii. 482; iv. 137; Fourth Chronicle, 131, 294 sqq.

40 See Fourth Chron. 294 sqq.

41 Comp. Albêrûnî's *Indica*, Vol. i. p. 207 sq.

is always visible from the region of *Tâkeshar* and *Lauhâwar* (Lahore). The distance between this peak and the plateau of Kashmîr is two *farsakh*. The fortress *Râjâgirî* lies south of it, and the fortress **Lahûr** west of it, the two strongest places I have ever seen. The town Râjâwarî (Râjapurî) is three *farsakh* distant from the peak."

It can scarcely be doubted that Albêrûnî refers here to Mount **Taṭakûṭî** which rises to an elevation of 15,524 feet in the central part of the Pîr rantsâl range and is the highest peak in the whole chain of mountains to the S. of Kaśmîr. Its bold form and isolated position make Mount Taṭakûṭî most conspicuous, in particular for an observer from the south. It is surrounded by extensive snowfields which remain throughout the year,[42] and bears on its S. face a small glacier. Mount Taṭakûṭî has the shape described by Albêrûnî and can be seen through the greatest part of the year from the districts of Siâlkôṭ and Gujrânwâla to the E. of the Chinâb (Tâkeshar). Its snowy dome has occasionally in very clear weather been sighted by me even from Lahore.[43]

The position of the fortress *Râjâgirî* (recte Râjagiri), which is referred to also by Kalhaṇa, vii. 1270, as in possession of the Râjâ of Râjapurî, must be looked for at some point of the upper Sûran valley, *i. e.*, to the south of the Mount Taṭakûṭî.[44] Finally the 'fortress *Lahûr*' which Albêrûnî places west of Mount Kulârjak, can be no other than our Lohara. The entrance of the Lohᵃrin valley lies almost due west of the Taṭakûṭî, at a distance of about 13 miles as the crow flies.

The identity of Albêrûnî's second fortress with Loharakoṭṭa is shewn yet more clearly by another passage of the *Indica*,[45] where its name is given as **Lauhûr** and its distance from the capital of Kaśmîr estimated at 56 miles, "half the way being rugged country, the other half plain." Without examining the question as to what measure is meant by the "miles" of the text, it may be noted that the actual length of the route from Lohᵃrin to Śrînagar *viâ* the Tôśᵃmaidân Pass can be put at about 60 English miles. Of these circ. 20 miles lie in the level plain of the Kaśmîr Valley. Adding to this distance that portion of the route which leads over the flat grassy slopes of the Tôśᵃmaidân plateau on the Kaśmîr side of the pass, and which is almost equally easy, we approach very closely to the proportion indicated by Albêrûnî.

But Albêrûnî has left us yet another indication for testing the correctness of our identification. In the last quoted passage of the *Indica* he informs us that he had himself made an observation of the latitude of the fortress '*Lauhûr*,' and shews it there as 34° 10′. In his *Canon Masudicus*, however, as Prof. Sachau's note ii., p. 341, informs us, the latitude of Lauhûr is given as 33° 40′. Whichever figure we may adopt, the result of Albêrûnî's observation agrees closely enough with the actual latitude of Lohᵃrin which is about 33° 48′ according to the Survey maps.[46]

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[42] Compare Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 205, and the panoramic view of the Pîr Pantsâl range in Dr. Neve's *Guide to Kashmir*. See also my account of an ascent of Tatakûṭi in *Reisebriefe aus Kashmir*, Münchener Allgem. Zeitung, Aug. 1889.

[43] The *Tâkeshar* of Albêrûnî corresponds to Kalhaṇa's *Ṭakkadeśa*, and Hiuen Tsiang's *Tseh-kia* (Ṭakka); comp. my note on Râjat. v. 150.

Cunningham, *Anc. Geogr.* p. 151, is certainly mistaken in identifying Albêrûnî's peak with the great *Nanga Parvat* (26,629 feet above the sea) which lies in Astôr to the *north* of Kaśmîr. On account of the intervening ranges it is more than doubtful whether Nanga Parvat can ever be seen from any point of the Panjâb plains.

I am unable to explain the name *Kulârjak* given to the peak by Albêrûnî.

[44] Compare my note on vii. 1270.

[45] See *Indica*, i. p. 317, and Prof. Sachau's note thereon, ii. p. 341.

[46] The fair accuracy of the other Indian latitudes observed by Albêrûnî is shewn by Prof. Sachau's comparative table, ii. p. 341. — Inasmuch as the *Canon Masudicus* was written after the author's *Indica* and is preserved in more than one MS., its figure, perhaps, deserves greater consideration. It must also be noted that Albêrûnî in the same passage of the *Indica* gives the latitude of Kaśmîr from a Hindu authority as 34° 9′. From his knowledge of the relative geographical position of the two localities he must have considered this observation as incorrect, if the latitude of *Lauhûr* was really taken by him as 34° 10′. Yet he makes no remark regarding this difference.

§ 13. Albêrûnî's personal acquaintance with the fortress 'Lauhûr' can only date from the unsuccessful expedition which **Maḥmûd of Ghazna** undertook against Kaśmîr. The Muhammadan historians extracted by Elliott assign varying dates to this expedition, but agree in relating that Maḥmûd's invasion was brought to a standstill at the siege of the fort of '**Lôh-Kôt**' which as Ferishta tells us, "was remarkable on account of its height and strength." "After a while when the snow began to fall, and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kaśmîr, the Sultân was obliged to abandon his design and to return to Ghazni."[47] The description here given agrees so well with what Albêrûnî says of 'Lauhûr' (Lohara) and its position on the confines of Kaśmîr, that we cannot hesitate to recognize in *Lôh-Kôt* the *Loharakoṭṭa* of the Chronicle. Considering the endless corruptions to which Indian proper names are exposed in the works of Muhammadan authors, we may rest satisfied with the form in which the name of a little-known locality has in this instance been preserved for us.

§ 14. In modern times it fell once more to the share of Lohᵃrin to witness the failure of an invader. **Raṇjit Singh** who in the summer of 1814 had led in person a portion of the Sikh army into the Valley with the object of entering Kaśmîr by the Tôśᵃmaidân Pass, met here with a reverse to which the natural difficulties of this mountain region had contributed quite as much as the resistance of his Paṭhân opponents.[48] Similarly we may suppose that the ancient Loharakoṭṭa derived no small portion of its vaunted strength from the natural advantages of its situation.

The valley of Lohᵃrin from the defile of Palêra upward offers a series of excellent defensive positions which would need but comparatively little fortification to be rendered almost impregnable for an enemy not possessed of guns. At several places cross ridges with precipitous cliffs descend into the Valley and reduce it to a gorge. Barriers are thus formed from which the route on either side of the river is completely commanded.

§ 15. In Lohᵃrin proper distinct **traditions of an ancient 'Killa'** or fortress cling to the isolated ridge which projects, in the direction from N. W. to S. E., towards the right bank of the Lohᵃrin River just above the village of Gêgⁱvand (shewn on the Survey map as 'Gajian'). At its S. E. extremity this ridge falls off abruptly with a rocky face. On the N. E. and S. W. sides its slopes descend with equal steepness to the beds of the streams which flow through the Tântrⁱvand and Gêgⁱvand villages. The top of this ridge lies about 300 feet above the level of the Valley and forms a narrow plateau about a quarter of a mile long. At the S. E. end of this plateau rises a small hillock. This was pointed out to me by old villagers as the site of a fort which is supposed to have stood there long before the time of the Muhammadan Râjâs of Prûnts.

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[47] Comp. Elliott, *History of India*, ii. pp. 455, 466 sq. Firishta's account places the expedition in A. H. 406 (A. D. 1015); according to the Tabakât-i-Akbarî it took place in A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021). As Albêrûnî's residence in India as an involuntary follower of Maḥmûd's court falls after the capture of Khwârizm, A. D. 1017, the later date would be preferable.

[48] The pious legend of the Lohᵃrin people attributes the Mahârâja's defeat to the miraculous intervention of the Saint 'Saiyid Chanan' who lies burried near the village of Tântrⁱvand in Lohᵃrin proper. Mysterious noises and 'alarms' proceeding from his Ziârat are said to have thrown the Sikh army into confusion and to have brought about its precipitous flight.

In reality Raṇjit Singh's retreat was due to far more natural causes. His troops had suffered already great losses by sickness and desertion on the advance to the Tôśᵃmaidân plateau. When the latter was reached by his advance-guard, the Sikhs found themselves without supplies and confronted by a strongly posted force of Azîm Khân, the Afghân Governor of Kaśmîr. After a few days spent in inaction Raṇjit Singh received news of the defeat which his general Râm Dyâl, sent with a second column by the Pîr Pantsâl Pass, had suffered before Supiyaṇ.

Raṇjit Singh then felt obliged to order a retreat. This developed into a complete deroute when the hillmen of the Râjâ of Pûnch (Prûnts) attacked the Sikhs from the mountains about Lohᵃrin. On the 30th July 1814 Raṇjit Singh himself had to flee to Maṇḍî after the complete loss of his baggage and a great portion of his army. The best account of this expedition I have been able to trace, is that given by Baron Hügel, *Kaschmir und das Reich der Siekh*, ii. pp. 141 sqq.

No remains are now visible overground except traces of rough walls on the sides of this hillock and stone-heaps at various places. As the whole ridge has been used for a long time back as a burial ground, many of the large stones placed over the tombs may have originally been carried away from the site of the 'Killa.' A large treasure is believed to be buried there. The ridge itself is accessible only by a narrow neck which connects it on the north with the hill-side behind. The approach to this point appears to have been guarded by two smaller forts which the tradition of the Lohᵃrin people places on spurs projecting from the mountain, one to the west and the other to the north of the commencement of the ridge. Quite close to the latter point is a fine spring.

§ 16. Though the traditions and scanty remains here indicated do not by themselves admit of any certain conclusion, it may be safely asserted that the ridge described would have afforded an excellent position for a hill castle designed for barring the route up the valley. The actual road leading to the Tôśᵃmaidân Pass winds round the foot of the ridge on the S. and E. On account of the proximity of the deeply cut river-bed the road could never have followed a different direction. On the left side of the valley and opposite to the ridge, a high mountain spur descends with rugged cliffs to the river-bed. The difficult path which leads along this bank towards the Nûrpûr Pass, is unfit for laden animals and could have been easily defended in case of any attempt to turn the ridge.

In view of the topographical facts here indicated I am inclined to look upon the ridge in the centre of Lohᵃrin as the most likely site of **Loharakoṭṭa.** The absence of more conspicuous remains over-ground can scarcely be considered an argument against this assumption, if we keep in view the time-honored fashion in which forts are constructed in and about Kaśmîr. The walls are built of rough unhewn stones set in a framework of wooden beams and are liable to rapid decay, if once neglected.[49] This fact is sufficiently illustrated by the wholly ruinous condition of many of the forts which the Sikhs erected on the routes to Kaśmîr in the early part of this century.

Adding to this fact the destructive action of the heavy monsoon rains and the equally heavy snowfall to which the southern slopes of the Pîr Pants̲âl are exposed, we cannot well feel surprised if a once famous stronghold can now, after seven centuries, be traced only in shapeless heaps of stones and a lingering tradition.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 212.*)

7.

Age of Bullion Currency in Burma.

As to the age of metal currency in Burma, the oldest reference I can find is from the *Han History,* Chapter on the T'an (Burma) State, kindly supplied by Mr. E. H. Parker:— "In the year **A. D. 97,** the king of T'an by name Yung Yu (unidentified as yet in Burmese)[6] selected and sent interpreters to offer precious things from his country. The Emperor Ho rewarded him with a golden seal and a purple vest, **adding money** and clothes for the smaller chieftains."

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[49] For the description of a fort built on the above system see *e. g.* the accounts of the recent siege of the Chitrâl Fort (1895).

[6] Sammudarâja, the reputed founder of the Sakkarâj Era, in Burma, lived traditionally at this time in Tagaung, or old Pagân. Crawfurd, *Ava,* Appx., p. 32: Phayre, *Hist. of Burma,* pp. 19, 278: *B. B. Gazetteer,* Vol. I. p. 239 f.: Parker, *Burma,* p. 9 f.

What was actually meant by "money" at that period seems to be difficult to determine. According to Terrien de la Couperie, *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, p. 25, the *wu-tchu* copper cash were current from B. C. 40 to A. D. 190, but he shews at p. 395 ff. that there was great confusion in the currency after A. D. 25, and again about A. D. 147. At any rate, he says that, after A. D. 25, "silk, clothes, **metal in lumps**, and corn were again resorted to (for currency), as in the olden time." He says, however, that in A. D. 40 "5-*tchu* cash were regularly brought into circulation."

In any case, whatever this T'an "money" may have been, **it was not indigenous ; and as to the age of the uncoined currency of the Burmese**, Parker, *Burma Relations with China*, p. 11 ff., gives a very interesting fact. Quoting from the *Annals of the T'ang Dynasty* he shews that the Piao (Pyû) Kingdom mentioned therein was undoubtedly Burma, and then goes on to quote :— "gold and silver are used as money, the shape of which is crescent like[7] : it is called *têngk'at'o* and also *tsuh-t'an-t'o*." The period of the T'ang Dynasty was 618 - 907 A. D. and the year referred to in the question was apparently 832 A. D.

Professor Terrien de la Couperie, in his *Catalogue of Chinese Coins in the British Museum*, with his usual boldness, takes us, in describing similar currency in China itself, into periods usually[8] held to be at best semi-historical, when dating the various kinds of it ; but, as regards Burma until something older turns up **we may take this date, 832 A. D., as the oldest known.** Thence the story is carried on by Marco Polo[9] and the many early European explorers of the regions of Further India, and, when the Burmese native annals shall have been well explored, probably more definite information will be forthcoming.

But I may as well add here a couple of facts in support of the general statements from Chinese sources not usually accessible and supplied by Mr. E. H. Parker.

In the year 1297, Kublai's successor gave Tih-lih-p'u-wa-na-a-tih-t'iya a patent as King of Burma, and recognised his son Sin-hoh-pah-tih, as heir apparent. This Sin-hoh-pah-tih, or Sinhopadi, had been sent to congratulate the new Emperor (Ch'eng Tsung), who fixed the annual tribute (of Burma) at 2,500 **ounces of silver,** 1,000 silk *sarangs*, 20 tame elephants, 10,000 measures of grain.[10]

In A. D. 1556, the Mang (Burmese) "chieftain" and the Chinese authorities in the Shân States had a quarrel, and the Chinese led the Burmese into a successful ambush at Kah-sa, which appears to be Kathâ on the Irrawaddy. Here they starved the Burmese army, in whose camp the famine was so great that "a gill of rice was sold for a **pinch of gold.**" [11]

[7] This is referred to by de la Couperie in his *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, p. xx., as the "crescent silver money of Ancient Pegu." Unless there are specimens existing to prove the contrary, it may be pretty safely assumed that this "crescent silver" consisted in reality of chips from lumps of *ywetnî* or *dain*, *i. e.*, "flowered silver." These lumps, as they come from the crucible, are generally flat and circular.

[8] See Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 338 ff.

[9] Exceedingly valuable and interesting references on this point are to be found in Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. I. pp. cxxv., cxcvi., cxcix., ccviii., 116 ff., 222, 224, 240 n.

[10] In the present real confusion of names and dates in Burmese history, it is difficult to say positively who are meant by these titles, for the Chinese words are not equivalents for names. They represent the Skr. titles Śrîpavanâditya and Siṅhapati, and from the context we may take it that the Burmese King meant by the latter title is Nàyàþìhàpadè (Narasiṅhapati), whose well-known nickname is Tayòkpyè, or "Fled from the Chinese."

[11] See de Morga's almost contemporary statement that, among the independent tribes of the Philippines, rough gold (*i. e.*, unrefined gold just as found) was bartered for food. (Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 284.) I may add here that the Kadôs of Kathâ in Burma behave much in the same manner to the present day. *Cf. Indo-China*, Second Series, Vol. I. p. 228. Maxwell, *Journey on foot to the Patani Frontier*, p. 43, says that gold dust was the currency in 1875 at the Belong Gold Mines. Compare Pyrard de Laval's account of Malacca, Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. II. p. 173. A very interesting and still earlier reference to the use of gold dust as currency occurs in Sarat Chandra Dâs' *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 70, where the death of Gyatson Sengé, the Tibetan worthy, at Buddha Gayâ, is attributed to failure to pay for a *charan*, thus :—" I learnt a mystic charm called the *Nava Sandhi*, or the Nine Conjunctions, from a certain black Tîrthika named Râhu. In return for it I promised to remunerate him with an ounce of gold. I offered him gold dust of that weight, but he, thinking it was less by a small measure, wished me to bring the gold after melting it, which I did not do." Gyatson was a contemporary of Atiśa, = Dîpankara Śrîjñana, who was born in A. D. 980. *Cf.* also Strettell, *Ficus Elastica*, p. 135 : Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, p. 2.

The story is carried on by a Burmese record quoted by Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 137, who says that in 1658 the pseudo-emperor Yunhli, in his distress upon being driven out of Yunnan by the Manchus, desired refuge in Burma and offered one hundred viss of gold[12] to the King.

One can hardly expect in such a work as the *Life and Legend of Gaudama* to find any trustworthy evidence as to the use of money in the days of the Buddha; and, in any case, one would most likely come across the ideas of comparatively modern Burmese writers in statements as to money made therein. I therefore only note here that in five instances of payment I have found in Bishop Bigandet's version,[13] taken from a Burmese translation of 1773 A. D., every mention of a payment or value is in "pieces of silver." Similarly, in the few instances in which Hiuen Tsiang (629 A. D.) mentions money, he seems, in relating stories, to refer to the currency used according to his own ideas: *e. g.*, Vikramâditya's and Manôrhita's benefactions are stated in "*lâkhs* of gold coin;" a professedly prohibitive fee for visiting a shrine is fixed at "a great gold piece;"[14] "gold pieces" in greatly exaggerated amounts are several times mentioned. It is worth remarking, however, that he only once mentions silver as a currency or standard of value, and then only in describing Persia by hearsay. From this last statement,[15] "in commerce they use large silver pieces," one may gather that by "pieces" he generally meant ingots or lumps.

Money and values are pretty frequently met with in the Jâtakas, or Zàts as they are called in Burmese, and it is interesting and historically useful to trace the forms and expressions employed for money in the stories, as the forerunners of the ancient and modern terms. From Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Vol. I.,[16] I extract the fact that the following *Jâtakas* contain references to pecuniary translations or values, Sêri-vâṇija, Chullaka-sêṭṭhi Nandi-visâla, Nanda, Khadiraṅgâra.[17] In the *Nidânakathâ*, as given by Rhys Davids, there are also several mentions of money,[18] always in the same terms as in the *Jatâkas*, but, as this last appears to be a comparatively later Siṅhalese compilation, I need not further notice it here.

Now for the benefit of English readers Rhys Davids translates small sums by "halfpennies" and "pennies," and larger sums by "pieces" and sometimes simply by numbers, as "worth a hundred thousand," and also uses the expressions, "money" and "cash."

However, in the original Pali text the expression in the *Sêri-vâṇija Jâtaka* translated "halfpenny" is *addhamâsakô*,[19] and in the *Chullakasêṭṭhi Jâtaka* the expression translated "penny" is *kahâpaṇam*;[20] while the expression in the *Sêri-vâṇija Jâtaka* translated,[21] "the Bodisat gave them all the cash he had in hand (five hundred pieces) and all his stock-in-trade worth five hundred more," is in the text:— *Bôdhisattô tasmiṅ khaṇê hatthagatâni pañcha kahâpaṇasatâni pañchasatagghaṇakañ cha bhaṇḍaṁ sabbaṁ datva.* In the *Chullakasêṭṭhi Jâtaka*, again, the word in the text for "farthing" in the translation is *kâkanikâ*.[22] As for the expression for "money," in the *Nanda Jâtaka* it is simply *dhanaṁ*, which is also translated "treasure" in the same text, and elsewhere "property."[23]

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12 Say £25,000.

13 Or. Ser. Ed., Vol. I. pp. 26, 127: Vol. II. pp. 78, 183, 247.

14 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. pp. 103 f., 222, 232, in which last instance Beal's translation would seem to be loose; Vol. II. pp. 5, 168, 187, and (?) 263.

15 Vol. II. p. 278.

16 Pages 155 f., 169 ff., 267 ff., 322 f., 327, 331 f.

17 In the commentary only; *vide* Fausböll, *Jataka*, Vol. I. p. 226 ff.

18 Pages 3, 37, 71, 91, 133. The Burmese Ex-ministers, when quoting authorities for the making of wills by Buddhists, gave an ancient reference to the use of lump currency in the following quotation from the "*Khumbhaghôshaka Vatthu Appamadavaga*, 2nd Chapter of the *Dhammapadâtthakathâ*, a commentary by Mahâthêra Buddhagôsha on the *Dhammapadâ*, one of the books of the *Khuddakanikâya*":—"Go to such and such a place, where we have hidden 40 *kôṭîs* (crores) of treasure, which you may dig up and maintain yourself with."

19 Fausböll, Vol. I. p. 111 f.

20 *Op. cit.* p. 120 f.

21 *Op. cit.* p. 112. *Kahâpaṇaṁ* is also on the same page translated "penny."

22 *Op. cit.* p. 120.

23 *Op. cit.* p. 225 f., and p. 193, *Nandivisâla Jâtaka.*

Now, as far as I can understand, the *másakô* (Skr. *máshaka*) was a weight of gold, the *kahápaṇam* (Skr. *kárshápaṇa*) was a weight of various metals, *i. e.*, a bullion weight, pure and simple, and the *kâkaṇikâ* (Skr. *kákiṇiká*), was a very small weight, an atom. I would, therefore, take it that values were, when these *Játakas* were put together,[24] simply expressed by weight, leaving the audience to gather the metal referred to from the context or from their imaginations.

8.

Dinga and Tickal.

In an enquiry of the present kind, the words **diṅga, a coin, and tickal, the standard fiscal weight**, must necessarily be of frequent occurrence. Their origin is, therefore, a point of importance, and it will be found on investigation to be exceedingly interesting in every way. I have, therefore, here collected most of the information regarding them that has come my way.

The very numerous quotations which follow prove that **the Burmese word diṅgâ, a coin, and the Anglo-Indian word tickal, the standard weight, are, curiously enough, both direct descendants of the same Indian word, ṭaṅka,** and have come to express respectively the two senses in which that word was used, *viz.*, the standard weight and the coin which expressed that weight.

In order to make good the above statement it will be necessary to trace, century by century, the history of the word *diṅgá*, and then the history of the word *tickal* in the same way. **The great difficulty in the identification of tickal with ṭaka = ṭaṅka lies in the final l,** and in order to shew how this letter came to be introduced into it, it will be necessary to consider the history of the many curious forms that **the Burmese words sitkè and yôngdò** have assumed in the writings of Europeans about the Far East.

To proceed first to consider the derivation of *diṅgá* from *ṭaṅka* :—

DINGA.

In my quotations I have followed the wide-spread word **ṭaṅka**, in its many forms, in over 100 quotations extending over 1,000 years and throughout the entire Eastern World from Russia and Hungary to China, through Persia, Turkestan, all India and Tibet and through the Indian Archipelego as far as the Moluccas, the Malay Peninsula, Burma and the Shân States. And there can be no doubt that the Burmese, in their word **diṅgâ**, have merely adopted one form of the universal **ṭaṅka**, a word of ancient Indian origin and usage for a weight and coin. There can also be little doubt that **ṭaka** and **ṭaṅka** are essentially the same word and often used to express the same meaning. Later on I will shew that **ṭaka** and **tickal** have the same derivation, hence it follows that **diṅga** and **tickal** are but variant forms of one original word.

With the Indian word **ṭaṅka**, in its forms of **ṭaṅk, ḍaṅk, ḍaṅgh** and so on, have been confounded, naturally enough, another series of words of analogous sense and usage derived from the Arabic **danaq**, a small weight; while at least one Prakritic word, **ṭôk** or **ṭhôk**, a measure of land, seems to have been confounded with **ṭaka**.

c. 832. — "Gold and silver are used as money, the shape of which is crescent-like: it is called **têng-k'a t'o** and also tsuh-t'an-t'o." — *Hist. of the T'ang Dynasty* in *Parker, Burma Relations with China*, p. 15

1027-28.— Y.[25] *s. v. tanja.* — "In the Lahore coinage of Mahmûd of Ghaznî, A. H. 418-419, we find on the Skr. legend of the reverse the word **tanka** in correspondence with the dirham of the Arabic of the obverse." — *Thomas, Pathan Kings*, p. 49.

[24] That is (?) previous to 350 B. C.

[25] By Y. is meant a reference to Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*.

1201. — "That kind-hearted king awarded him from his treasure a large dish-full of gold and silver **tankas** worth about 10,000 silver **tankas.**" — *Tabakât-i-Nâsirî* in *Elliot,* Vol. II. p. 318.

1236. — "He (Ruknu'ddîn Fîrôz) would ride out drunk upon an elephant through the streets and bazaars, throwing **tankas** of red gold around him for the people to pick up and rejoice over." — *Tabakât-i-Nâsirî* in *Elliot,* Vol. II. p. 332.

1259. — "A silver **tanka** was offered for every head and two **tankas** for every man brought in alive." — *Tabakât-i-Nâsirî* in *Elliot,* Vol. II. p. 381.

1302. — "On the following day, contrary to his expectation, the King [Alâu'ddîn Khiljî] sent for the Kazy and received him with great kindness. He conferred on him a handsome gold embroidered vest, and a purse of 1,000 **tunkas.**" — *Briggs, Ferishta,* Vol. I. p. 353.

1325. — "Nizamooddeen Ahmud Pukhshy surprised at the vast sums stated by historians to have been lavished by this Prince [Muḥammad Tughlaq] took the trouble to ascertain, from authentic records, that these **tunkas** were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each **tunka** only exchanged for 16 copper pice." — *Briggs, Ferishta,* Vol. I. p. 410.

1330. — *Y. s. v. Bargany in Supplt.* — "Thousands of men from various quarters, who, possessed thousands of these copper coins, now brought them to the treasury, and received in exchange gold **tankas** and silver **tankas,** shashgânîs and dûgânîs, which they carried to their homes." — *Târîkh-i-Fîrôz Shâhî* in *Elliot,* Vol. III. p. 240 f.

1335. — *Y. s. v.* **tangas.** — "According to what I have heard from Shaikh Mubarak, the red lak contains 100,000 golden **tankahs,** and the white lak 100,000 (silver) **tankahs.** The golden **tanka,** called in this country the red **tanka,** is equivalent to three mithkâls and the silver **tanka** is equivalent to 8 hashtkânî dirhams, this dirham being of the same weight as the silver dirham current in Egypt and Syria." — *Masâlik-al-Abṣâr* in *Notices et Extraits,* Vol. XIII. p. 211.

c. 1340. — *Y. s. v.* **tanga.** — "Then I returned home after sunset and found the money at my house. There were 3 bags containing in all 6,233 **tankas,** *i. e.,* the equivalent of the 55,000 dînârs (of silver), which was the amount of my debts, and of the 12,000, which the Sultân had previously ordered to be paid me, after deducting of course the tenth part according to Indian custom. The value of the piece called **tanka** is 2½ dînârs in gold of Barbary."[26] — *Ibn Batuta,* Vol. III. p. 426.

c. 1350. — "Sultân Fîrôz issued several varieties of coins. There was the gold **tanka** and the silver **tanka.**" — *Târîkh-i-Fîrôz Shâhî* in *Elliot,* Vol. III. p. 357 f.

c. 1350. — "When the Sultân had issued these many varieties of coins, it occurred to his benignant mind that a very poor person might buy an article in the market and a half or a quarter jîtal might be due to him in change, but, if the shopkeeper had no **dângs,** no change could be given . . . . so the Sultân accordingly gave directions for the issuing of a half jîtal, called âdhâ, and quarter jîtal called bîkh." — *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

1404. — *Y. s. v.* **ṭaṅga.** — "vna sua moneda de plata que llaman **tangaes.**" — *Clavijo,* f. 46 b.

1447. — "Tirhût tribute of the Tirhûtî Râjâ: 250,000 silver **ṭaṅkas** and 2,750,000 black **ṭaṅkas.**" — *Erskine, Baber and Humayun,* Vol. II. p. 54, in *Thomas, Pathan Kings,* pp. 117, 387.

[26] Yule adds, "here the gold tanga is spoken of."

c. 1470. — "Shabait,[27] on the Indian Sea, is a very large place; a tribute of one **tenka** a day is paid there to each Korosanee, big and small." — *Nikitin* in *India in 15th Cent.* Vol. III., p. 20.

c. 1470. — "The seaports of Cheen and Machin[28] are also large. When a woman conceives a child by a stranger, the husband pays him a salary. If the child is born white, the stranger receives a duty of eighteen **tenkas**: if it is born black he gets nothing, but is welcome to what he ate and drank." — *Nikitin* in *India in 15th Cent.* Vol. III. p. 21.

1511. — "The Mîrzâ complained that his losses amounted to six lakhs of **tankahs** of Gujarât currency, that **tankah** being worth eight Murâdî **tankahs** — at the present time this **tankah** is still current in Khândêsh and in the Dakhin." — *Mirât-i-Sikandarî* in *Bayley, Gujarat*, p. 246.

1516. — *Y. s. v. tanga.* — "A round coin like ours, and with Moorish letters on both sides and about the size of a fanon of Calicut . . . . and its worth 55 maravedis, they call these **tanga**, and they are of very fine silver." — *Barbosa*, p. 45.

1525. — *Y. s. v. Tincall in Supplt.* — "tymquall [borax] small, 60 **tangas** a maund." — *Lembranças*, p. 50.

1525. — "2 fules = 1 dinar; 12 dinars = 1 **tanga**; 3 tangas 10 dinars = 1 new larin; 3 tangas 9 dinars = 1 old larin . . . . at Cambaye 1 **tanga** larin = 60 reis." — *Lembranças* in *Subsidios*, Vol. III. pp. 38, 53.

1535. — *Y. s. v. copeck.* — "It was on this that the grand Duchess Helena, mother of Ivan Vassilievitch and regent in his minority, ordered, in 1535, that these **Dengui** should be melted down and new ones struck, at the rate of 300 **dengui**, or 3 roubles of Moscow *à la* grivenka. in kopeks. From that day accounts have continued to be kept in Roubles, Kopeks and **Dengui**." — *Chaudoir, Aperçu sur les Monnaies Russes.*

c. 1541. — *Y. s. v. tanga.* — "Todar . . . . fixed first a golden ashrafî as the enormous remuneration for one stone, which induced the Gakkhars to flock to him in such numbers that afterwards a stone was paid with a rupee, and this pay gradually fell to 5 **tankas**,[29] till the fortress (Rohtâs) was completed." — *Tárîkh-i-Khán-Jahán-Lôdî*, in *Elliot*, Vol. V. p. 115.

1551. — "The value of both of which is 35 rupees, 12½ **tangahs**." — *Aîn-i-Akbarî, Blochmann's Trans.* p. 37.

1551. — "The dâm weighs 5 **tânks**, *i. e.*, 1 tolah, 8 mashas and 7 surkhs; it is the fortieth part of a rupee. At first this coin was called paisah [we may now add "and last"] and also Bahlôlî; now it is known under this name [dâm]." — *Aín-i-Akbarí, Blochmann's Ed.* p. 31.

1551. — "Fâzil of Khujand [? 1059-1071] says that in former days dirhams had been of two kinds; *first*:— full ones of eight and six **dángs** (1 **dáng** of his = 2 qiráts; 1 qirát = 2 tassuj; 1 tassuj = 2 habbah) . . . . the dínár is a gold coin, weighing 1 misqál, *i. e.*, 1 3/7 dirhams, as they put 1 misqál, = 6 **dángs**; 1 **dáng** 4 tassuj; 1 tassuj = 2 habbahs; 1 habbah = 2 jaus (barley-corns)." — *Aîn-i-Akbarî, Blochmann's Ed*, p. 36.

1554. — "*Nunez* in his *Tables* does not mention these (cruzados or patacões) by either name, but mentions pardaos, which represented 5 silver **tangas** or 300 reis." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. pardao in Supplt.*

1534 — *Y. s. v. bargany in Supplt.* — "E as **tamgas** brancas que se recebem dos foros, são de 4 barganis a **tamga**, e de 24 leaes o bargány." — *A. Nunez* in *Subsidios*, p. 31.

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27 Shabait = Shabat = Samudra, the Port of Sumatra: see *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v., Sumatra*, and *Cathay*, p. 323.

28 By the coast of Cheen and Machin, Nikitin meant that of Siam, Cambodia and Cochin China.

29 Meaning, says Yule, Bahlûlî or Sikandarî *tankas* of copper.

1554. — *Y. s. v. Budgrook.* — "Bagarucos at Maluco (Moluccas) 50 = 1 **tanga**, at 60 reis to the **tanga**, 5 **tangas** = 1 pardao." — *A. Nunez*, p. 41.

1554. — *Y. s. v. jeetul.* — "In Sunda, ... the cash (caixas) here go 120 to the **tanga** of silver." — *A. Nunez*, p. 42.

1554. — *Y. s. v. bargany in Supplt.* — "Pay in land revenue according to ancient custom 36,474 white **tanguas**, 3 barguanis and 21 leals, at the tale of 3 barguanis to the **tangua** and 24 leals to the barguanim, the same thing as 24 bazarucos, amounting to 14,006 pardaos, 1 **tangua** and 47 leals, making 4,201,916 2/5 reis." — *Botelho, Tombo* in *Subsidios*, p. 46 f.

1559. — *Y. s. v. tanga.* — "The old Muscovite money is not round, but oblong or egg-shaped, and is called **denga**.[30] . . . . 100 of these coins make a Hungarian gold piece: 6 **dengas** make an altin; 20 a grifna; 100 a poltina; and 200 a ruble." — *Herberstein* in *Ramusio*, Vol. II. p. 158 *v*.

1571. — "Gujarâtî **tankchahs** at one hundred **tankchahs** to the rupee. At the present time the rupee is fixed at 40 dâms . . . . As the current value of the **tankchah** of Pattan, etc., was less than that of Gujarât." — *Mirât-i-Aḥmadî* in *Bayley, Gujarât*, pp. 6, 11.

1580. — "We learn from Balbi that there were at Goa **tangas**, not only of good money worth 75 basarucchi, and of bad money worth 60 basarucchi, but also of another kind of bad money used in buying wood, worth only 50 basarucchi." — *Yule, Hobson Jobson, s. v. pardao in Supplt.*

1580-1589. — "Later in the century, however, we learn, from Balbi (1580), Barrett (1584) and Linschoten (1583-1589), that the principal currency of Goa consisted of a silver coin called xerafin or pardao-xerafin, which was worth 5 **tangas**, each of 60 reis." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. pardao in Supplt.*

1584. — *Y. s. v. pardao in Supplt.* — "This kind of money is called basaruchi and 15 of these make a vinton of naughty money, and 5 vintons make a **tanga**, and 4 vintenas make a **tanga** of base money . . . . and 5 **tangas** make a seraphine of gold,[31] which in marchandize is worth 5 **tangas** good money; but if one would change them into basaruchie he may have 5 **tangas** and 16 bazaruchies, which matter they call cerafaggio, and when the bargain of the pardaw is gold, each pardaw is meant to be 6 **tangas** good money." — *W. Barrett* in *Hakluyt*, Vol. II. p. 410.

1584. — *Y. s. v. pardao in Supplt.* — "The ducat of gold is worth 9 **tangas** and a halfe good money, and not stable in price, for that when ships depart from Goa to Cochin, they pay them at 9 **tangas** and three-fourth partes, and 10 **tangas**, and that is the most that they are worth." — *W. Barrett* in *Hakluyt*, Vol. II. p. 410.

1592-3. — "At the present, namely, A. H. 1002, Hindustân contains 3,200 towns, and upon each town are dependent 200, 500, 1,000 or 1,500 villages. The whole yields a revenue of 640 krors murâdî **tankas**." — *Tabakât-i-Akbarî* in *Elliot*, Vol. V. p. 186.

1598. — *Y. s. v. tanga.* — "There is also a kinde of reckoning of money which is called **tangas**, not that there is any such coined, but are so named only in telling, five **tangas** is one pardaw, or xeraphin badde money, for you must understande that in telling they have two kinds of money, good and badde, for foure **tangas** good money are as much as five **tangas** badde money." — *Linschoten*, ch. 35.

1598. — *Y. s. v. pardao in Supplt.* — "They have a kind of money called pagodas which is of Gold of two or three sorts and are above 8 **tangas** in value . . . . There is yet another kind of golde called S. Thomas, because Saint Thomas is figured thereon and is worth about

[30] This refers says Yule to the copper *tânka*.

[31] Translating, however, from Balbi *serafinno di argento*.

7 and 8 **tangas** . . . . For when they buy and sell pearls, stones, golde and silver and horses, they name but so many pardawes, and then you understand that one pardaw is sixe **tangas**: but in other ware, when you make not your bagain beforehand, but plainly name pardawes, they are pardawes xeraphins of 5 **tangas** the piece." — *Linschoten*, ch. 35.

1599-1602. — "**Tankah** Akbar Shâhî struck at Bairâtah, (year) Ilâhî 44 (month) Amardâd. . . . . Akbar Shâhî one **tânkî**, (year) Ilâhî 47 (month) Tîr, struck at Agrah . . . . **Tankah** Akbar Shâhî 16th part, (year) Ilâhî [?] (month) Khurdâd." — *Lane-Poole, Coins of the Moghuls*, p. 54 f. [legends translated].

c. 1609. — "So we could not get our money till next six days before we left the place; and for fear lest any should take it from us, we gave it to the goaler's wife to keep for us, my companion and I contracting with her to be fed for one **tangue** a day each. This **tangue** is worth seven sous and a half there (Goa) or five sous here (France)." — *Pyrard de Laval, E. T.* Vol. II. p. 21.

c. 1610. — *Y. s. v. Budgrook.* — "Il y en a de plusieurs sortes. La première est appellée bousuruques dont il en faut 75 pour une **tangue**. Il y a d'autre bousuruques vieilles, dont il en faut 105 pour le **tangue**." — *Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. II. p. 39.

c. 1610. — "The silver money of Goa is perdos, larins, **tangues**, the last named worth 7 sols 6 deniers a piece." — *Pyrard de Laval, E. T.*, Vol. II. p. 69.

1615. — *Y. s. v. tanga.* — "Their moneys in Persia of silver are the . . . . the rest of copper, like the **tangas** and pisos of India." — *Richard Steele* in *Purchas*, Vol. I. p. 543.

c. 1621. — "Mîrzâ Jânî Bêg Sultân [in Sind] made this agreement with his soldiers, that every one of them who should bring in an enemy's head should receive 500 gabars, every one of them worth 12 mîrìs, called in the Mîr's time pôstanìs, of which 72 went to one **tanka**." — *Târîkh-i-Tahirî* in *Elliot*, Vol. I. p. 287.

1636. — "The Mony of Muscovy . . . . The greatest piece is worth but a peny and is called a Copec or **Denaing**."[32] — *Olearius, Travels*, p. 97.

1638. — "Their [at Surat] ordinary way of accompting is by lacs, each of which is worth 100,000 ropias, and 100 lacs make a crou or carroa [karôṛ], and ten carroas make an areb [arba]. A Theil of silver [? read gold] makes 11, 12 or 13 ropias, current money. A massas [masha] and a half make a Theil of silver, ten whereof make a Theil[33] of gold. They call their brass and copper-money **Tacques**." — *Mandelslö, Travels*, p. 86.

1639. — "[At Goa] they are made of Tinne and Latin [? of Spelter : *latin* being for brass = French *laiton*] mixt together, and eight of these Basarucques make a ventin, whereof five make a **tanghe**. . . . . Five **Tanghes** make a serafin of silver . . . . and six Tanghes make a pardai . . . . They have also santemes [= S. Thomas] of 16 **Tanghes** and Pagodes of 14, 15 and 16 **Tanghes**." — *Mandelslö, Travels*, p. 107.

1653. — *Y. s. v. Xerafine in Supplt.* — "Monnoyes courantes à Goa. Sequin de Venise, 24 **tangues** . . . . Reale d'Espagne, 12 tangues. Abassis de Perse, 3 tangues, Pardaux, 5 tangues. Scherephi, 6 tangues. Roupies du Mogol, 6 tangues. **Tangue**, 20 bousserouque." — *De la Boullaye-le-Gouz*, p. 530.

1659. — "Professor Wilson gives a plate of some specimens of 397 larins found at Sangamêśvara, in the Ratnagiri Collectorate, in 1846 . . . . read the legend of one side as 'Sultân 'Alî 'Âadal Shâh' and of the other 'Zarb Lârî **Dângh** Sikka,' *i. e.*, 'Struck at Lârî' (or rather 'a Lârî' as Mr. Thomas suggests — 'stamped **tanga**'), and of the date A. H. 1071, *i. e.*, A. D. 1659. Notwithstanding this legend, the probability is that the coins were struck at Bîjâpur." — *Gray, Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I. p. 233 f.

[32] This may, however, merely go to prove Yule's assertion in *Hobson-Jobson, s. v. copeck*, that the copeck = *dînâr kôpakî*, the word *denaing* being taken as a misprint for *denarij*.

[33] *Theil* here seems to be *tola* and may at last give a derivation for the much disputed *tael*.

c. 1675. — *Y. s. v. Xerafine.* — "Coins and weights in Goa . . . . The Cruzado of gold, 12 Zeraphins. The Zeraphin, 5 **Tangoes**. The **Tango**, 5 Vinteens. The Vinteen, 5 Basrooks, whereof 75 make a **Tango**. And 60 Rees make a **Tango**." — *Fryer*, p. 206.

1676. — "Fryer's statement of equivalents (1676) enables us to use the stability of the Venetian sequin as a gauge; we then find the **tanga** gone down to 6 *d.* and the pardao or xerafin to 2 *s.* 6 *d.*" — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. pardao in Supplt.*

1688. — "They (the Siamese) are not more exact as to their weights; in general, they call them **ding**." — *La Loubère*, p. 72.

c. 1750-60. — *Y. s. v. tanga.* — "Throughout Malabar and Goa, they use **tangas**, vintins, and pardao xeraphin." — *Grose*, Vol. I. p. 283.

1760. — *Y. s. v. budgrook.* — "At Goa, the seraphim is worth 240 Portugal reas, or about 16 *d.* sterling. 2 *reas* make a basaraco, 15 basaracos a vintin, 42 vintins a **tanga**, 4 **tangas** a paru, 2½ parues a pagoda of gold." — *Grose*, Vol. I. p. 282.

1805. — "1 hubba = 1 barleycorn . . . . 1 **dâng** = 8 barleycorns; 1 dirhum = 48 barleycorns . . . . 1 dirhum = 6 **dângs**. 1 **dâng** = 2 hubbas." — *Majma'u'l Akhbâr* in *Herklots*, vi.

1815. — *Y. s v. tanga.* — "One **tungah** . . . . a coin about the value of fivepence." — *Malcolm, Hist. of Persia*, Vol. II. p. 250.

c. 1820. — "At the present day in Persia the **tanga** seems to be worth only 6 *d.*" — *Fraser, Tour*, p. 81.

1827. — "A silver **tickal** or **dinga** is nearly the weight of a Madras rupee . . . . Rice was abundant and cheap, thirty-six seers for a **dinga**." — *Alexander, Travels*, pp. 21, 29.

1828. — "The words in the original (for the form of assessment) are **ṭakâ** and hon [pagoda]. These are names of coins that seem to have no connection with the tenure in question. They perhaps found their way in, instead of the less known **ṭôkâ** and hundâ, meaning lump or mass." — *Campbell, Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., *Thana*, p. 565.

1829. — "Making a **tunka**[34] worth only about 4 *d.* instead of 2 *s.* [in Muḥammad Tughlaq's time]." — *Briggs, Ferishtâ*, Vol. I. p. 410.

1832. — "Weights (apothecaries). From the *Ulfâz-Udwiyeh* [date ?] N. B. (a) signifies Arabic, (p) Persian, (h) Hindoostanee . . . . mâshâ (h), 8 Rutties; tolâ (h), 12 mâshâs; **tâng** (h), 4 mâshâs; **dâng** (h) **dâng** (h) or **dânuq** (h) [?] 4 1/6 rutties; dirrum (p) or dirhum (a) 4 mâshâs and 1 rutty." — *Herklots, Qanoon-e-Islam*, vi.

1832. — "Apothecary's weight from a respectable Musulman Practitioner . . . . 1 tola = 12 mâshâs, 1 **tânk** = 4 mâshâs . . . . 1 dirum or dirhum = 3½ mâshâs . . . . 1 dâm = 4 mâshâs; **dâng** = 6 rutties." — *Herklots, Qanoon-e-Islam*, vii. f.

c. 1833. — "Coinage of Nepal . . . . 1 **takka** = 2 mohur = 4 sooka = 16 Annee = 80 pysa = 400 dam." — *Prinsep, Useful Tables, Thomas' ed.* p. 32.[35]

c. 1833. — "The ser at Bombay is divided into 3 pâ'îs or 72 **tânks**, or 72 troy grains each . . . . Skr. **ṭanka**, **ṭank**, Mar. **ṭank** or **ṭânk**." — *Prinsep, Useful Tables, Thomas' ed.* p. 107.

c. 1833. — "The ser, being liable . . . . to vary in weight for every article sold, as well as for every market, is generally referred to the common unit in native mercantile dealings, as, "the ser of so many tolâs (or sikkâs, barîs, **takâs**, etc.). The standard or bâzâr ser being always 80 tolâs." — *Prinsep, Useful Tables, Thomas' ed.* p. 96.

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34 At p. 358 Briggs notes on the text "1st class of horses from 100 to 120 *tunkas*," *i. e.*, 160 rupees. He thus makes a *tanka* = 1⅓ rupees = a tickal.

35 Dr. Wright's information in his *History of Nepal*, 1877, p. 297, f., differs considerably from this.

1838. — "21 **tungas** = tilla or 11 *s.* 9·097 *d.*" — *Bokhara Money Tables* in *J. A. S. Bengal*, Vol. VII. p. 898.

1841. — "Coin, **dingâ** . . . . medal, an ancient coin, let-haung-**dingâ** . . . . medallion, haungthaw-**dingâ**-gyi . . . . money, **dingâ**, kye, ngwe . . . . rupee, chauk-mû **dingâ**." — *Lane, Eng.-Bur. Dict.* pp. 66, 267 f., 276, 358.

1843. — "The first princes used dinars and dirhems, like the califs. These were succeeded by **tankhas**, divided into dams and jitals. Shir Shah changed the name of **tankha** to that of rupeia or rupee which was adopted by Akbar. And the latter prince fixed the weight and relative value of money, on a scale, which remained unaltered till the dissolution of the Mogul empire, and is the basis of that now in use." — *Elphinstone, Hist. of India*, Vol. I. p. 208.

c. 1845. — "The monetary system of the Tibetians consists entirely of silver coins, which are somewhat larger, but not so thick, as our francs . . . . The entire coin is called **Tchan-Ka.**" — *Huc, Travels, Ill. Lib. Ed.*, Vol. II. p. 146.

1847. — "**Taka**, coin, rupee." — *Yate's Bengali Grammar*, p. 381.

1852. — "**Deenga**, a circular piece of metal, stamped, whether for a coin or a medal." — *Judson, Bur. Dict.* p. 176.

1852. — "**Tangga** — a wedge or ingot of the precious metals . . . . ingot, mass of gold or silver, **tangga**." — *Crawfurd, Malay Dict.*, *s. v.*

1852. — "**Tânk**, Persian, a weight of about two ounces, ... **tanka**, Persian, gold, money, a certain coin . . . . **tanga**, Persian, cash, gold or copper coin . . . . **dânak, dânik, dânâk, dawânîk**, Arabic, the sixth part of a dram or two carats, also a small silver coin; (Persian) **dânk**, the fourth part of a dâm, (according to some) the fourth part of a miskâl; **dânak**, a small grain, the fourth part of dram, a sixth of anything." — *Johnson, Pers.-Arab. Dict.* pp. 300, 388, 389, 554.

1854. — "**Ṭakâ**, two pice, a copper coin equal to two pice; in the plural it means also money in general." — *Ludhiana Dict. of Panjabi*, p. 203.

1855. — "**Tanka**, in the forms **ṭakâ** and **ṭanga** (for these are apparently identical in origin) 'is in all the dialects laxly used for money in general.'" — *Wilson, Glossary, s. v. in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. tanga.*

1857. — "**Ṭakâ**, an aggregate of 16 Śivarâî pice; also an aggregate of four pice, an âṇâ; also as in Gujarât an aggregate of three pice. Money . . . . also used for a rupee, Sêkdâ pâñch **takê** . . . . **ṭânk** (Skr. **ṭanka**), a weight, according to some, of one tôlâ or the 72nd part of pakkâ sêr: according to others, of nine mâsê; according to others of four mâsê . . . . (poetry) a rupee or any silver coin." — *Molesworth, Marathi Dict.* pp. 337, 338.

1857. — "The **tankha** appears to be the coin represented by the modern rupee, and, perhaps, when at its proper standard, was of about the same value . . . . Hence the value of one **tonka** at the latter part of the fifteenth century may be fixed at about two shillings." — *Major, India in the 15th Cent.* Vol. III. p. 20.

1858. — "Skr. **ṭanka, ṭânk**, also Pers. **tanka**, gold, money, a particular species of coin." — *Thomas*, note to p. 22 of his ed. of *Prinsep's Useful Tables.*

1860. — "**Ttanga'h**, a copper coin, money." — *Raverty, Pukhto Dict.* p. 294.

1865. — "The great unit of mediæval and modern times is the **tâka** of not less than 145 grains, of which six make the chha-**tâka** or **chhatâk**, equal to 870 grains, or nearly two ounces; and 100 make the **sataka** or ser, the derivation being **sat-tâka** or 100 **takas** . . . . Then 80 ratis or 145·832 was the weight of the **tangka** of copper." — *Cunningham* quoted in *Thomas, Initial Coinage of Bengal, J. A. S. B.*, 1867, p. 6.

1866. — "The identity of Ibn Batuta's Indian dinar and the silver **tangah** will be seen to be beyond question when this note has been read through." — *Yule, Cathay*, p. 439.

1866. — "**Tangah** always means with Ibn Batuta a gold coin. Sometimes he calls it a gold dinar." — *Yule, Cathay*, ccxi., viii.

1869. — "The dâm in the Âîn-î-Akbarî, and consequently in most revenue accounts, is considered to be the fortieth part of a rupee; but to the common peeple it is known as the fiftieth part of a **ṭakâ**." — *Beames, Memoirs on the Races of the N.-W. P.*, Vol. II. p. 81.

1871. — "The most striking item disclosed by the details of the above table is the essentially indigenous character of the divisional contents of the **tankah**, and its analogous fractional subdivisions, both of which follow the ancient Indian quaternary scale of numeration in all its integrity." — *Thomas, Pathan Kings*, p. 220.

1871. — "Moreover, it may be seen distinctly that the **Tankah** was the accepted and recognized term in India, by the fact that the great Maḥmûd of Ghaznî [*c.* 1000 A. D.], while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of Dirham in the Kufic legend of his new Lahore mint of 'Maḥmûdpur,' admits the corresponding word **taka or tanka** in the Sanskṛit legend on the reverse." — *Thomas, Pathan Kings*, p. 49.

1871. — "The **tengi** of Khwârizm would appear to have been worth the fourth of a crown." — *Astley's Voyages*, Vol. IV. p 484, in *Thomas, Pathan Kings*, p. 49.

1871. — "In Telugu, **tankam** is 'a coin formerly current, now used only in account, equal to four silver fanams. There was a gold tankam and a copper coin similarly named, both obsolete' . . . . The Russian, **dengi**." — *Thomas, Pathan Kings*, p. 49.

1871. — "At the exchange of 2 *s.* per **tankah**, the jîtal would, therefore, correspond in value to 1½ farthings, or rather less, as the 2 *s.* is a very high rate of exchange for the old silver piece [of 1303-1315]." — *Thomas, Pathan Kings*, p. 161.

1872. — "**Ṭanka**, a spade, hoe, hatchet . . . . a weight (of silver) equal to four mâshas or 24 raktikâs . . . . a stamped coin . . . . ṭankapati, the master of the mint . . . . ṭanka-śâlâ, a mint . . . . **ṭankaka**, a stamped coin especially of silver, silver money . . . . ṭankaka-pati, the master of the mint or superintendent of the silver coin . . . . ṭankaka-śâlâ, a mint . . . . **ṭanga**, another form of **ṭanka**, a spade, a hoe . . . . a weight of four mâshas . . . ." — *Monier Williams, Sanskrit Dict.* pp. 355, 356.

1872. — "**Dhâṇaka**, a weight of gold, a gold coin, part of a dînâra . . . . **dhânaka**, a copper coin worth about two pence." — *Monier Williams, Sanskrit Dict.* p. 453 f.

1873. — "One **tangah** (of Akbar) = 2 dâms; now-a-days one **tangah** = 2 pâîs." — *Blochmann, Âîn-i-Akbarî*, p. 37.

1873. — "A **tânk** is valued at 4 mâshas, but it must have weighed a little more." — *Blochmann, Âîn-i-Akbarî*, p. 16.

1874. — "**Tângkâ**, a coin." — *Haswell, Peguan Language*, p. 67.

c. 1876. — "The normal weight of the paṇâ, taking the reti seed at from 1·75 to 1·8 grains, was from 140 to 144 grains. Afterwards when coin was stamped the paṇâ was called the copper **tangkâ**, or stamped piece, a name which still survives in the modern **takkâ**, the double paisâ." — *Cunningham, Arch. Survey*, Vol. X. p. 78.

1878. — "**Tangah**, a money of account used in Turkistân consisting of 25 small copper cash (of Chinese make with square holes through them) . . . . the value of the **tangah** varies constantly in the bazars according to the number of **tangah** that may be given for a kurs (a Chinese silver ingot weighing about 2 lbs. and worth about Rs. 170) . . . ." — *Shaw, Eastern Turkestan* in *J. A. S. B.* for 1878, p. 69 f.

1878. — "The Amîr of Kâshghar has lately supplied the lack of small silver coinage, by issuing silver coins worth a **tangah** each, and called **ak-tangah** (white tangahs) after the model of Bokhâra and Khôkand coins so called. They are current at a small premium . . . . consequently a Khôsan **tangah** is worth nearly twice as much as a Yârkand or Kâshghar one." — *Shaw, Eastern Turkestan*, p. 70.

1880. — "The rupee (**dəngga**, literally a circular piece of metal, stamped, whether a coin or medal) is in universal use and the names given to fractions of a rupee are derived from the measures of weight." — *Spearman, B. B. Gazetteer*, Vol. I. p. 407.

1881. — "**Tangkâ**, a rupee as a coin." — *Cushing, Shan Dict.* p. 226.

1882. — "This system (of assessment) was known under several names . . . . takbandi, tokâbandi . . . . **tok**, properly **thok**, is an un-Sanskrit Marathi word meaning lump or mass; **taka**, is doubtful; it is said to be Hindustani and to mean both a coin and a measure of land (120 bighâ's). In this case takbandi, properly takâbandi, would imply that the land had been measured. If so it has no place in this set of terms and must have been confused with or miswritten for tokâbandi or thokàbandi." — *Campbell, Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., *Thana*, p. 550.

1882. — "The rupee is kyat, sometimes also called **dingga**, that is, a circular piece of metal, whether a coin or a medal." — *Scott, the Burman*, Vol. II. p. 300.

1884. — "**Ṭânk**, Hindî [Pkr. **ṭakko**, Skr. **ṭankah**], a weight of four mâshas . . . . a share . . . . **Ṭâng**, Hindî [Skr. **ṭangaṁ**], a fourth part, a quarter (in the language of brokers)." — *Platts, Hindustani Dict.* p. 355.

1884. — "**Ṭakâ**, Hindî [Pkr. **ṭakkaô**; Skr. **ṭaṅkâh**], a copper coin equal to two pice; two pie; (local) a rupee; money . . . . ṭaksâl, Hindî [Skr. ṭaṅka-śâlâ], a mint, assay office . . . . **ṭânk**, a weight equal to four mâshas, ... a spade, hoe . . . . a weight of silver put for a coin . . . . ṭaṅkpati, a mint master; ṭaṅk-śâlâ, a mint." — *Platts, Hindustani Dict.* p. 357.

1884. — "**Dâng** (= Skr. dhâṇaka), a small denomination of money, a sixth part of a dînâr, a weight, the fourth part of a drachm, a sixth part of anything . . . . **dânaq**, the arabicized form of dâng."[36] — *Platts, Hindustani Dict.* p. 503.

1884. — "**Dânaq, dâniq, danaq**, pl. **dawâniq**, sixth (or fourth) part of a drachm." — *Steingass, Arabic Dict.* p. 351.

1886. — "**Tanga**, Mahratta **tânk**, Turki **tanga**. A denomination which has been in use over a vast extent of territory and has varied greatly in application. It is now chiefly used in Turkestan, where it is applied to a silver coin worth about 7½ *d.*" — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1886. — "The Goa **tanga** was worth (in 1750-60) 60 reis, that of Ormus 62 34/43 to 69 33/43 reis." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1886. — "**Tanga** . . . . the obvious derivation is the Skr. **ṭaṅka**, 'a weight (of silver) equal to 4 mâshas . . . . a stamped coin' . . . ." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

1886. — "**Tanka** or **tanga** seems to have continued to be the popular name of the chief silver coin of the Delhi sovereigns during the 13th and 14th centuries, a coin which was substantially the same as the rupee of later days. And in fact this application of the word in the form **takâ** is usual in Bengal down to our own time." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. tanga.*

1886. — "The salary of Ibn Batuta, when Judge of Delhi, about 1340, was 1,000 silver **tankas**, or dînârs as he calls them (practically 1,000 rupees) a month, which was in addition to the assignment of villages bringing in 5,000 **tankas** a year. And yet he got into debt in a very few years to the tune of 55,000 **tankas**, say £5,500!" — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, Suppl., s. v. Pardao.*

36 I think that this is extremely unlikely.

1886. — "The jîtal of the Delhi coinage of Alâ-ud-din was according to Mr. E. Thomas's calculations 1/64 of the silver **tanga**, the coin called in later days rupee. It was, therefore, just the equivalent of our modern pice." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. jeetul.*

1888. — "Rupee, **tangka**-ngünkâp, rûpî." — *Cushing, Shan Handbook,* p. 218.

1891. — "Money, **tunka** . . . . rupee, **tunka**." — *Macnabb, Haka or Baungshe Dialect of the Chins.*

1892. — "Here we have a primitive people [in Sierra Leone] with a weight system of their own, based on the Damba and **Taku** [these were beans] . . . . I learn from another source that 6 **Takus** = 1 ackie (20 ackies 1 ounce) . . . . " — *Ridgeway, Origin of Coinage,* p. 186.[37]

1892. — "The Patans introduced a gold and silver coinage of singular purity and equal weight in either metal (about 174 grains) with often identical inscriptions, called the **Tankah**, which the Moguls afterwards converted into the gold mohr and silver rupee." — *Lane-Poole, Coins and Medals,* p. 186.

1892. — "The dâm (paisâ, fulûs, **tankah**) about 320 grs. . . . . **Tankah** large (double coin) 640 grs. . . . . **Tankah** small (dam), 320 grs. . . . . **Tânkî**, fifth of dâm, 63 grs." — *Lane-Poole, Coins of the Moghuls,* xciv.

1892. — "The fact that the Chin word for 'rupee,' **tankâ**, is derived, like the Lushai, direct from the Hindustani and not through Burmese, points to the inference that, when first introduced to this coin, these Chins were probably living west of their present habitat; *i. e.*, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where the Lushais still reside." — *Houghton, Chin Language, in Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXII. p. 127.

1893. — "The Bokharan unit of money is the **tenga**, equal to 20 kopeks in Russian, or about 3 *d.* in English, money." — *Peach, Geography of the Turkestan Country* in *J. U. S. I. of India,* Vol. XXII. p. 258.

1893. — "It will be at once evident that a great deal of this descriptive account exactly corresponds with the Burma of our time . . . . use of the **denga** (still the Burmese word for coined money), *do* being the Burmese sign of the plural." — *Parker, Burma Relations with China,* p. 15.[38]

1893. — "**Dingâ**ẓ, a circular piece of metal stamped, whether for a coin or medal dingâẓ-chên, weight in silver." — *Stevenson, Bur. Dict.* p. 578.

1893. — " We are told that the coins used were called **denga**, which is still the Burmese for 'money.'" — *Parker* in *China Review,* 1893, p. 42.

1893. — "**Tunkam** (**tanka**, San.; **tankah**, Hind.). From (**tank**, San., to bind). Instrument. So a stamped coin or weight. — (*a*) Chief silver coin of the Delhi sovereign, substantially the same as the rupee of the later days. 4 dubs = 1 silver fanam; 4 silver fanams = 1 silver **tunkam**. There was also a gold **tunkam** coin and a copper. (*b*) Epithet applied to the finest gold or that of 10½ touch. (*c*) Goldsmith's weight. 16 dubs = 1 **tunkam**: 1¼ tunkams = 1 cutcha seer (niray). Approximate actual value, 1 **tunkam** = 7 oz. 4 dwts. Here a **tunkam** is the weight of the value in copper of a gold **tunkam**." — *Madras Manual of Administration,* Vol. III. p. 933: see also Vol. I. p. 609: Vol. II. p. 512.

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[37] I merely quote this to shew a possible spread of the *dâm* and *ṭakâ* to West Africa. The *ackie* would appear to be the well known Turkish weight *ackcheh*. Professor Ridgeway quotes *Pinkerton's Voyages*, Vol. XVI. p. 374, to, shew that the *damba* and *tacoe* were bean weights of 2 grs. and, uncertainly of 4 grs. respectively.

[38] Alluding to the quotation under c. 832, above. The suffix is, however, more likely the honorific *tò*. The two words in that text *têngk'at'o* and *tsuht'ant'o* being respectively the Burmese *dingâdò*, royal money, and *sûdàndò* royal gift.

I will now pass on to **the word tickal**, which has long puzzled philologists, belonging apparently to no known Oriental language and certainly not to any European language. The numerous quotations which follow, however, I think establish the fact that **tickal is the Indian ṭaka = ṭaṅka, through the Talaing or Peguan t'kè** (*h'kè, h'kì, h'kò*).[39]

"Tickal" means primarily merely a certain fixed weight. and secondarily a coin (not in Burma however) of that weight. **The difficulty, as already said, in identifying it with ṭaka lies in the final l,** which is constant from its first appearance in 1554 to the present day. **But in order to shew how it got there in a legitimate manner, I will give a series of quotations relating to two quite separate words, sitkè and yôngdò,** which go to prove that Europeans have in other instances attempted the pronunciation of the to them difficult accentuated open vowels, like the final *è* of *t'kè* by the addition of a superfluous *l*.[40]

The pronunciation, as the quotations given below will shew, **of tickal has always been two-fold,** according as the accent has been placed on the first or last syllable. **At present in Burma it is usual to pronounce it like tickle, and in Siam like tacawl.**[41]

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 183.)

B. — CLASSES OF SPIRITS.

The mighty army of Hindu spirits is mainly recruited from the human souls whose life on earth has been blighted or maimed. Still-born children, unmarried men and women, women who have died in pregnancy monthly sickness or child-bed, and people who have been murdered drowned or slain by some other form of violent death, are supposed to become spirits.[22]

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39 I give it as a hint of some importance to investigators into Far Eastern Indo-European terms, that the Talaing is the language to search for their origin. In the days of all the old travellers Pegu was the great city they went to see and trade in, and it was in Talaing and not Burmese hands until 1760 A. D. In fact they can, and do, all tell us a good deal of the Talaings (*i. e.*, the Peguans) and very little about the Burmans, then an almost mythical race inhabiting the far interior.

40 Other words which I have come across, to which *l* has been suffixed to final open vowels by Europeans where none exists in the vernaculars, are *candil* and *gandal*. The Portuguese wrote *candil* and *candiel* for the weight candy (*khaṇḍî*). Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* candy, quotes Garcia, f. 55, 1563, and Linschoten, p. 69, 1598. in support. *Mad. Man. Adm.* Vol. III. p. 122, says the same thing, probably following Yule. For *gandal* (*gaṇḍâ*), see Beames' Ed. of Elliot's *Glossary*, Vol. II. p. 315.

41 But A. Hamilton, *Travels*, 1727, Vol. II., App., pp. 8 and 9, spells *tecul*, and Stevens, *Guide to E. I. Trade*, 1775, p. 187, spells *tekull* for Siamese money; while Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.* Vol. III. p. 38, uses "*kyat* or *tikâl*" for Burma.

22 Konkân Kunbîs divide their spirits into two classes — *gharchê bhût* or house spirits, mainly friendly, and *bâherchê bhût* or outside spirits, mainly hostile. So Sir Thomas Browne (A. D. 1660, *Religio Medici*, p. 37) draws a distinction between the wandering souls of men and the unquiet walks of devils. The Poona Kunbîs believe that the ghosts of the murdered and the ill-used, and of all who hanker after house, wife or treasure, wander and are unfriendly to the living (*Trans. By. Lit. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 219). The Bijâpur Lamânîs believe that the ghosts of misers, creditors, and women who have left young children behind them, come back and give trouble (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII. p. 208). The Kâbligers or fishermen of Bijâpur greatly fear the ghosts of young women who die in child-bed, of women who have left babies, of unmarried girls, of unmarried men, and of misers (*op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 115). And the Bijâpur Dasrîs say that people who die with unfulfilled wishes become ghosts and trouble the members of their family and even strangers (*op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 185). The people of Kânara fear the spirits of the unmarried dead (*Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 116). The Shânârs of Tinnevelly believe that any one dying a sudden, untimely or violent death haunts the place where his body lies or wanders as a demon (Caldwell in Balfour's *Hindus*, p. 519). The early Christians believed that magicians could call up spirits and that the most powerful spirits were those who died a violent death, most of all those who were killed before birth (Smith's *Christian*

In the Bombay Presidency, the Konkân is the place which most abounds in spirits, and where spirit-worship, as well as the popular belief in the power of spirits to do evil, is strongest. So much is this the case that an account of Konkân spirits includes details of almost all the spirits that are worshipped in the Presidency. Konkân spirits may be grouped under five classes — spirits of the fire, air, earth, water and under-world.

Fire Spirits. — Agni or Fire-spirits were familiar in early India. The *Mahâbhâratâ* tells how out of the fire-sacrifice a spirit stepped and gave Daśaratha the holy food which his wives ate and gave birth to Râma and his brothers. In the Konkân, fire-spirits, except Vija or Lightning, are mainly represented by Âgya Vêtâl, Fiery Vêtâl. Âgya is a higher form of the ordinary village Vêtâl. Where he is found he is treated as the minister, *kârbhârî*, of the Monkey-God Hanumân. He is lodged in Hanumân's shrine in a rough red stone, somewhat lower than the image of Hanumân. Âgya dresses in green, rides a green horse, loves a green sward. His henchman is Mhaiśâsur, the buffaloe-spirit, and under the henchman is a large escort. The host marches at night, each spirit in the host carrying a torch. All can see the torch light: the initiated alone, the priestess and the medium, see the forms of the god and his attendants. This spiritual insight is not gained without weeks of laborious rites performed before a human corpse hung head down from a branch. If the rites please Âgya he enters the corpse and speaks. Âgya's great day comes when a no-moon falls on a Tuesday. In Bombay, Âgya's best known shrine is at the top of the Sîḍî Rasta or Ladder Road up the south-east face of Malabar Hill, close to the Ladies' Gymkhana. Gaṅgâ Bâî, the priestess into whom the spirit of Âgya at times comes, says that the loss of the green glade, now the Gymkhana, so wounded Âgya that he now rarely possesses her.

Air Spirits. — The sameness between airs and spirits, the strength, formlessness, and caprice of the wind, its angry howlings, its kindly rustlings have led mankind to agree that the breeze is a spirit, and that a spirit rides in the storm and dances in the whirlwind. The fifteenth century Swiss mystic Paracelsus said the autumn air is not so full of flies as it is of spirits.[23] In the Konkân, breath or breeze (*wâra*) is almost as common a name for a ghost as *bhût*, that which has been, or as *prêtâ*, that which has gone forth. So in cases of possession the patient or the medium is the *jhâḍâ* or tree whose branches the spirit sways, and of whom, when he tosses the patient, the people say *khêltâ*, 'he plays.' So his breath is one of the spirits that lives in a man. God breathed into Adam the breath of life. The Australian word for soul and for breath is the same — *wang*.[24] The German Goddess Perchta or Bertha breathed on a girl and struck her dumb.[25] The Norwegians had an illness called *alvgust*, elf-breath.[26] At the tomb of the modern idiot saint, 'Alî-al-Baqrî, people catch the air in their hands and thrust it into their bosoms and pockets.[27]

Under spirits of the air comes **the astral or star-spirit**, perhaps as old as Chaldean star-worship (B. C. 4000-2000). These astral spirits were supposed to be of the same substance as the stars. They were mortal, returning to their essence after 300 to 1,000 years. Each man and each planet had a star-spirit. Other star-spirits were unattached, roaming as they pleased. These were the sweet or the angry influences, which the stars sent to earth, as they

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Antiquities, pp. 1383, 1384). The Polynesians and Red Indians believed in a soul, an airy substance in human or animal form that rose from the body of the dying. The soul passed west beyond the sea or hovered over the tomb or sank into the under-world (Reville's *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 92). In England, unbaptised children were believed to become ghosts. The noise made in their south flight by the bean geese (*A. segetum*) known as Gabriel's Hounds, is supposed to be the calling of the spirits of unbaptised children (Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 131). The souls of tribesmen are friendly, the souls of hostile tribes unfriendly, and among tribesmen the souls of the unburied and of the bad are hostile (Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 196).

23 Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 121.

24 Reville's *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. III. p. 157.

25 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 278.

26 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 461.

27 Pool's *Arabic Society in Middle Ages*, p. 69.

were annoyed or as they were pleased.[28] Another class of air-spirits was invented by the philosophers, who, in their fear of materialism, placed all secret powers of Nature, both outside of and in man, under the influence of souls or spirits. In the case of morality what was good was angelic, what was blameable satanic, according to the saying of the Prophet — "From goodness arises an angel, from badness a devil."[29]

The following examples shew how widespread in area and in time is the belief that **all spirits are air-spirits,** and that a spirit lives in the breeze and rides in the storm. In Chaldea (B. C. 2000), the burning south-west wind blowing from the deserts of Arabia causes ruin. So the Sout-west wind is, or is the bearer of, a fiend, and an image is set at the door or window to house the fiend.[30] Among Hindus is a sect of wind worshippers, **Pavana Bhaktas,** who believe that the substance of God is air, and that the intellectual soul also is air.[31] So with the Hebrews; in the Old Testament, Job (Chap. xxxii. v. 8) says: — "There is a spirit in man and the inspiration or breath of the Almighty giveth him understanding." In the New Testament (St. John, Chap. iii. v. 8), Christ says :— "The spirit or wind bloweth where it listeth. Thou canst not tell whence it comes or whither it goes. So is every one that is born of the spirit or wind." Coleridge (1800) says :— "All forms of animated nature are but organic harps, diversely framed, that tremble into thought as o'er them sweeps plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze at once the soul of each and God of all."[32] Wordsworth lays stress on the still diviner quality in wind, namely, that it gives life to the dead :— "Dry holly-leaves in myriads jump and spring as if, with pipes and music rare, some Robin Goodfellow were there and all those leaves in festive glee were dancing to the minstrelsy."[33] So the holiness of the **Bull Roarer** or wind-maker is widespread, and all winnowing and other fans are guardians because they are wind-makers.[34] The Greek sacrificed to Boreas, the North-wind, and beat the Persian.[35] The Chinese boatmen talk to Zeng, the Wind-spirit.[36] In Cornwall, the moaning wind-spirit is a certain Treg-eagle, who sold himself to the devil.[37] "The air," says Burton (1650), adopting the saying of Paracelsus (1450), "is not so full of flies in summer as it is at all times of invisible devils. They counterfeit suns and moons, and sit on ships' masts. They cause whirlwinds and tempestuous storms."[38] The commonness of seeing visions and apparitions in the air shews how widespread is the belief that the air is the great spirit-home. In Germany, girls see white maidens, and the history, even of Western Europe, is full of visions of armies fighting in the sky.[39] Some authorities praise air-spirits for their goodwill to men. According to the poet Pope the gnomes or earth-spirits enjoy mischief, but the sylphs or air-spirits are the best conditioned creatures possible.[40] These good air-spirits are the guardian breezes. The spirit of the storm has the features of the earlier guardian. Odin, the Norse wind-god, sweeps the sky with a following of souls. The gusts before a storm are the souls of women hunted by Odin.[41] The Indian **Maruts** or storm-gods, the Skandinavian Ogres or **Cloud-ships,** Odin's wild huntsmen and crew are all wind-worshippings.[42] In Russia, the wind-demon is attended by the souls of unbaptised children.[43] In Rhenish Westphalia, when the wind throws a door open or whistles through the house, they say :—"There goes the old one of last year."[44] The Fins during the Middle Ages sold winds in knots. If you untied the knot

[28] Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, pp. 495, 509.

[29] Introduction to *Dabistan*, Vol. I. p. clv. Coleridge (*Note to Ancient Mariner*) classes all spirits as air-spirits. He arranges them under the three heads of angels, human souls, and a third class found in all climates and elements.

[30] Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 52.

[31] *Dabistán*, Vol. II. p. 243.

[32] *Lines composed at Cleveden.*

[33] Quoted in John's *Forest Trees*, Vol. II. p. 60.

[34] Compare Lang's *Custom and Myth*, p. 36.

[35] Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 38.

[36] *Folklore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 90.

[37] Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 42.

[38] Quoted in Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. II. p. 210.

[39] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. pp. 913, 950 and 933-64; also R. Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 511.

[40] Introduction to the *Rape of the Lock;* Skeat's *Piers the Ploughman*, p. 110.

[41] Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 40.

[42] Clodd's *Myths and Dreams*, p. 44.

[43] Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 40.

[44] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1000.

the spirit was loosened.[45] In Gigha in Argyleshire in West Scotland, if a wind was wished, a sacred well was cleared of stones, and the water was thrown in the direction from which the wind was wished. Some words were said and the stones filled in. If the well had been left open there would have been a storm.[46] The question, whether the Almighty or any guardian can be made responsible for the weather, has always been a subject for dispute. The half-gnostic Christian sect of Priscillianists (Spain, A. D. 350) ascribed storms to the devil, thunder to his roaring, and rain to his sweat. The Manicheans (A. D 300), many of whose opinions Priscillianus adopted, said thunderstorms were the rage of a chained devil.[47] When a thunderstorm came the classic Greeks offered a black lamp, as storms were reckoned among the gods of the lower world.[48] In Germany, Wustan's furious host was the storm-wind.[49] According to the Celts storms were stirred by the fays or fates, and according to the Swedes by the wood-wife Skegora.[50] **Kâli**, the black cloud-home of the Goddess of ruin, is the Hindu name for the blue-black almost violet cloud mass that hides the heavens before or after a thunderstorm.

More than the life of the breeze or the rage of the storm the strange and fantastic movements of the **whirl-wind** have carried conviction that the mighty shape is the form of a fiend. In old German, the whirlwind was known as *wind's braut*, the wind's bride. According to the Slav and the Pole an evil spirit dancing stirs the dust into a whirlwind.[51] In France, the belief prevails that whirlwinds are caused by witches and wizards who travel in them. In the department of Orne the clergy cause storms and sweep on in the wind gusts. A man shot at a hailstorm and lamed a priest.[52] In Germany, the devil is believed to be seated at the centre of every whirlwind.[53] When Arabs see Zobsale, the Pillar of Dust, sweep across the desert, they call :— "Iron, Iron, thou unlucky," thus searing the dust pillar, who stands in awe even of the name of iron.[54] In India, in ordinary talk, a dust storm is a satan or devil.

The breeze is a guardian. If unchecked it would flow so as to favour its worshippers. **A calm is evil.** A calm is the guardian overpowered and quenched by an unfriendly spirit. In the west of Scotland (1885), when the wind is unfavourable, sailors whistle or kill a pig and point its head in the direction of the wished-for wind.[55] The Italian traveller Nicolo Conti (1420-24) commanded a ship in the Indian seas. They were becalmed seven days; on the eighth, the sailors who were Arabs brought a table to the mast, performed rites and danced round the table and called on Mathia, their God. One of them became possessed with a demon and began to sing and run about the ship as if mad. He came to the table, ate some live coal, and called for a cock and sucked its blood. He asked the sailors what they wanted. The sailors said :— "We want a wind." He told them the wind would come and warned them to take care. He fell half dead on the deck. When he came to his senses he had forgotten all he had done and said. The wind sprang up and they got to port.[56] Not every calm is devil caused. Sleep is the air-walking Willie Winkie, Death's twin brother, the ghostly and guardian power that calms the stormiest.

In the Konkân, the chief air-spirits are (1) the Sâtkuvaris or Seven Maidens, and their male companion Gôvalâ Dâdâ or Father Cowherd, (2) Vija or lightning, and (3) Epidemics.

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45 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 640.

46 Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 169.

47 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1000.

48 Eber's *Egyptian Princess*, Vol. II. p. 229.

49 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 632.

50 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 632.

51 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 632.

52 Conway's *Demonology and Devil Lore*, Vol. I. p. 105. These doings of priests belong to them in their character of wizards, that is, of people endowed with a spirit specially powerful both for good and for evil.

53 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 106.

54 Lane Poole's *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 37.

55 MS. note, 26th August 1885.

56 Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Vol. III. p. 26. The sense seems to be — God's wind is stopped by the devil's wind. The men dance till excited. The spirit of the hostile wind enters one of them, drinks the blood, is content and lets God's wind blow.

(1) **Sâtkuvaris.** — The Sâtkuvaris are the ghosts of seven sisters, or at least of seven maidens, who died unmarried. They are supposed to cause skin-diseases like *mâtâ* or small-pox, *gôvar* or measles, and *kânjê* or chicken-pox, and they are always accompanied by a male companion called *gôvalâ* or cowherd, probably the ghost of an unmarried cow-boy. These eight spirits live in the air, and in the evening and at noon haunt caves, valleys, ponds, rivers and gardens. In the evening or at noon, when they make their rounds, a rattling or rumbling is heard in the air from the wheels of their chariot. At such a time if any woman comes in their way, or draws their attention by pointing a finger at them, or by staring at them in the air, they come down, take hold of her, enter her body, and make her their abode. They will then trouble her in various ways by causing melancholy or low spirits, paleness or discolouration of the body, and loss of appetite, until a *bhagat* or medium finds the secret and appeases them with an annual tribute of cocoanuts or fowls, or both. One of the most usual forms of injury done by the Seven Maidens is to make the offending woman barren. That the Seven Maidens are one of the causes of women's barrenness is a belief that is shared by many native physicians along with the Kunbîs and Marâṭhâs of the Konkân. The head or queen of the Seven Sisters is Śîtalâdêvî,[57] the cold goddess, who is supposed both to cause and to cure small-pox. At Kêlvê, in the Ṭhânâ district, a large image of Śîtalâdêvî is famous for its power of curing small-pox, barrenness, and other spirit-diseases. Every year on the full-moon of Vaiśâkh (April-May) a big festival is held in honour of Śîtalâdêvî at Kêlvê, when hundreds come to fulfil vows or to pay their respects to the goddess. The persons who make vows to Śîtalâdêvî are generally women, and they often make very strange vows. In some cases the woman who has made the vow comes with sandals or shoes on her head and stands in front of the temple; in other cases a boy or girl suffering from small-pox is made to lie across the threshold of the temple and the people are allowed to pass over the body. Again, the mother causes her hands and feet to be fastened with iron chains, and then moves round the temple of Śîtalâdêvî, or she makes the boy or girl, who has been cured, move round the temple.

(2) **Vija or Lightning**[58] is the spirit of the infant sister of the god Kṛishṇa, who was killed by Kansa, king of Mathurâ. The spirit of lightning is so much afraid of the leaves of the *apta*[59] and *shami*[60] trees, that when Konkân Kunbîs and Kolîs go out in the rainy season, they generally take *apta* leaves with them.[61]

(3) **Epidemic Spirits**[62] include **the spirit or goddess of cholera,** locally called **Jarîmârî, Mahâmârî, or Wâkhâ.** In the Kolâba and Ratnâgiri districts, and to some extent in Ṭhânâ, cholera is annually worshipped. When cholera appears in a Konkân village, the people explain her arrival by some defect in their annual offerings to the goddess. To propitiate her the villagers assemble and call a *bhagat* or medium, in whose body the goddess of cholera appears. They ask the medium what steps should be taken to please Jarîmârî. The medium tells them to make the goddess offerings of fruit, rice and goats, and to escort her with music

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57 At Nâsik, at about twenty feet from the temple of Ganpati, is a small broken image of Śîtalâdêvî. When a child has small-pox its mother pours water over this image for fourteen days, and on the fifteenth brings the child to the temple, weighs it against molasses or sweetmeats and distributes them among the people. The image was broken about ninety years ago by one Râmbhâṭ Ghârpurê. His only son was sick with small-pox, and though he did all in his power to please the goddess, his son died. Enraged with his loss Râmbhâṭ went to the goddess and broke off her hands and feet. Though maimed, the people still trust this Śîtalâdêvî, and during small-pox epidemics so much water is poured over her that it flows in a stream down the stone steps to the river (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI.).

58 The Romans believed lightning to be a spirit. They buried what was struck by lightning and surrounded the spot with a wall (Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. I. p. 412).

59 *Bauhinia tomentosa.*

60 *Mimosa suma.*

61 The worship of the *apta* and *shami* trees has probably its origin in the belief in the electric influence of their leaves.

62 Compare the common belief in Europe in aërial devils who, if displeased, sent plagues, and if pleased did good (Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, pp. 120, 121).

Modern Europe, air-spirits continued to be held unfriendly to man. One phase of Christianity inclined to transfer responsibility for drought, cold, floods and storm to **the Prince of the Power of the Air,** who was little, if at all, different from the devil. The sound of Christened Church bells drove away the storm-spirit.[71] The Red Indians think of the Great Spirit as the wind, always invisible, but taking part in the festivals which men make in his honour. It is the great spirit that blows like a blast through all present at a tribe meeting, filling each with the wind of sympathy and enthusiasm.[72] That the storm and the whirlwind are spirits, or the abodes of spirits, is an almost universal belief. The Dyaks of Borneo think the wind is a spirit.[73] The Bushmen say:— "The wind was once a person, he became a bird."[74] Reginald Scott[75] suggests that the air is believed to be the chief resort of spirits, because when spirits are seen they leave no trace. Had they been of water moistness would remain: had they been of fire something would have burned: had they been of earth, some trace would be left. The Jews believed that the souls of the evil dead wandered between the earth and the moon.[76]

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(Continued from p. 224.)

XXXIX.

IN days long gone by there lived on the banks of the **Krishṇâ**, a crane on a silk-cotton tree. Once upon a time it beckoned a swan passing by and said:—" Your body resembles mine in colour, but your beak and legs are red. I have not come across a bird of your kind till now. Who are you? What is your errand?"

Whereupon the swan gave the following answer:—" I am a swan, I am an inhabitant of **Brahmâ's Mânasasaras.** I am coming thence."

The crane then asked what things were procurable there and what formed the chief article of its food. To which the swan replied:—" As these things are made by angelic hands, it is beyond my comprehension to describe the grandeur of the place; but you may hear some of the important things procurable. In and around that region are found golden earth, ambrosia, gold lotuses, heaps of pearls, clouds of perfumes, and the tree of paradise. Every object thereof is a wonder."

When the swan informed the crane that it partook of the buds of such lotuses, the latter impatiently asked the former if any oysters were procurable there. On receiving a reply in the negative, the latter burst into a fit of laughter and said:—" Why prattle of the excellences of a place void of oysters? It is a pity you do not know the excellences of oysters." Thus the crane put the swan to shame.

Moral:—People will talk big about the meanest things if they like them, and disparagingly of the best things if they do not like them.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HOLY STONES.

IT has been stated that naturally perforated stones (possibly artificially enlarged) exist in parts of India, — the neighbourhood of Bombay and Gujarât have been cited as localities, — and that people who have passed through them are supposed to have become new-born — *i. e.*, to receive a new birth of the *soul*. Can any one state *exactly* where such stones are to be found, and whether they are still in common use in such a sense; as, for instance, when the Mahârâjâ of Travancore, a Nair by birth, is *made* a Brâhman by passing through a golden cow?

COSMOPOLITAN in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[71] Gentleman's *Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstition," p. 107.
[72] Reville's *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. I. p. 218.
[73] Straits *Journal*, December 1878, p. 127.
[74] Lang's *Custom and Myth*, p. 55.
[75] Reginald Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 434.
[76] Napier's *Folklore*, p. 11.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 245.*)

TICKAL.

1554. — *Y.*[42] *s. v. Macao* [Kyaik-pakhaing near Pegu, not the place in China]. — "The baar of Macao contains 120 biças, each biça 100 **ticals.**" — *A. Nunes*, p. 39.

1554. — *Y. s. v. Viss.* — "The baar of Peguu contains 120 biças; each biça weighs 40 ounces; the biça contains 100 **ticals**; the **tical** weighs $3\frac{1}{5}$ oitavas." — *A. Nunes*, p. 38.

1585. — *Y. s. v.* — "Auuertendosi che vna bize di peso è per once Venetiane, e ogni bize e **tecali** cento, e vn gito val **teccali** 25, e vn abocco val **teccali** $12\frac{1}{2}$." — *G. Balbi*, f. 108.

1636. — "The coinage of the country [Siam] is of very pure silver. The **tical** is worth 30 sols, the mace $7\frac{1}{2}$ sols, and the foang 3 sols 9 deniers. They usually reckon by catties of silver; each catty being worth 20 taels or 144 livres; for the tael is worth something more than 7 francs." — *Schouten, Oost-Indische Voyagie*, p. 34.

1639. — "The money of this country (Siam) is very good, by reason the King only has power to stamp and so prevents variation of the value; there are of it three sorts: **Ticals,** Mases and Foangs . . . . Four **Ticals** make a Tayl." — *Mandelslö, Travels, E. T.*, Vol. II. p. 130.

1678. — "Hee raised it to 2 **Tecalls** vpon notice that yͤ price was advanced in China." — *Anderson, Siam*, p. 423.

1688. — *Y. s. v.* — The proportion of the (Siamese) money to ours is, that their **Tical,** which weighs no more than half-a-crown, is yet worth three shillings and three half-pence." — *La Loubère, E. T.*, p. 72.

1688. — "The **Tical** is a silver coin and is worth four mayons . . . . All these names are not Siamese, but common amongst the Europeans which are at Siam . . . . **Tical** and mayon are words the Origin of which I am ignorant of, and which the Siameses do call baat and seling." — *La Loubère, E. T.*, p. 164.

1727. — *Y. s. v.* — "Pegu Weight. 1 Viece is 39 on. Troy, or 1 Viece is 100 **teculs**; 140 viece is a Bahaar. The Bahaar is 3 Pecul China."— *A. Hamilton*, Vol. II. p. 317.

c. 1759. — *Y. s. v.* — "A dozen or 20 fowls may be bought for a **Tical** (little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ a Crown)." — *Dalrymple, Or. Repert.*, Vol. I. p. 121.

1775. — *Y. s. v.* — "Pegu weight: 100 moo = 1 **Tual**; 100 **tual** = 1 vis = 3 lbs. 5 oz. 5 dr. avr.; 150 vis = 1 candy. Siam: 80 **tuals** = 1 catty; 50 catties = 1 Pecul [**tual** is obviously a misprint for **tical**]." — *Stevens, New and Complete Guide to E. I. Trade.*

1782. — "The principal money of this country is silver . . . . the smallest denomination is the **Tycal.**" — *Hunter, Pegu*, p. 85.

1783. — *Y. s. v.* — "The merchandise is sold for **teecalls**, a round piece of silver, stamped and weighing about one rupee and a quarter." — *Forrest, Voyage to Mergui*, p. vii.

1783. — "Lorsqu'on fait un marché (à Rangon) on traite par **Tical** et par Bize . . . . L'or se pese aussi et vaut 25 à 28 **Ticals** d' argent selon la rareté. Le tout se livre au poids. Il n'y a de monnoye proprement dite que les Piastres que l' on pese aussi. La **Tical** vaut 48 a 50 *s.* de France. La Bize vaut 100 **Ticals.** La Piastre vaut 2 **Ticals** $\frac{1}{4}$ ce qui fait environ 5 *l.* 12 *s.* de France." — *Flouest* in *Toung Pao*, Vol. II. p. 41.

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[42] *Y.* in this connection refers to Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, where the quotation in the text will be found. In addition to the words given *ante*, p. 245, n. 40, I have come across "*candil* or *cradil*:" *candil*=*candy*; *cradil* = (?) *khârî* = *khâḍî* = *khâṇḍî*, *Collection of Dutch Voyages*, 1703, Appx. to First Voyage, 1595-7, p. 247. Also in De Morga, 1609, Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 271, *nipal* tree occurs for *nipa*, no doubt through Port. *nipar*. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*

1796. — "After dinner he offered me 100 **ticals**, which he informed me he received from the looto (Hlutdaw) by his Majesty's orders: and, that I was to have 100 every ten days." — *Cox, Burmhan Empire*, p. 116.

1800. — "The first commission of theft does not incur the penalty of death, unless the amount stolen be above 800 kiat, or **tackal**, about £100." — *Symes, Ava*, p. 306.

1800. — "What foreigners call a **tackal**, properly kiat, is the most general piece of silver in circulation; it weighs ten penny-weights ten grains and three-fourths; its subdivisions are, the tubbee, two of which make one moo; two moo one math; four math one **tackal**, and one hundred **tackal** compose one viss." — *Symes, Ava*, p. 326.

1800. — "A silver box weighing ninety **tackall**. A **tackall** weighs a little more than half an ounce." — *Symes, Ava*, p. 493.

1800. — "**Tackall**, a piece of silver of about 2 *s.* 6 *d.* value." — *Symes, Ava*, p. 502.

1801. — "In money at the above price 28 **tecals** 50 avas, or seven **tecals** twelve avas[43] each man per month." — *Cox* in *As. Res.* Vol. VI. p. 134.

1817. — "The **tical**, alluded in the following statement, contains ten in one hundred alloy [*i. e.*, ywetnî silver]. Besides these, a sum of two **ticals** is paid to a person called the Aong-deng, and another of half of a **tical** to a person called the Athao-bo (as judicial fees): officers whose duty it is to purchase and administer the "pickled tea" necessary to the ceremony of closing the transaction." — *Crawfurd, Ava*, p. 410, quoting *Alves, Report on Bassein.*

c. 1805. — "Sometimes" a **ticale** of silver with a portion of alloy is equal to 200 **ticali** of lead, sometimes to a thousand and even more." — *Sangermano*, p. 167.

1821. — "The shop-tax is levied on the following rude and summary principle. A dealer in cloth pays four **tickals** a year [and so on]." — *Crawfurd, Siam*, p. 379.

1826. — "The division of the **Tical** are, — 2 Tabbe = 1 Tammoo: 2 Tammoo = 1 Mat: 4 Mat = 1 **Tical**: 100 **Tical** = 1 Tabisa or Viss: 100 Tabisa = 1 Peiya or Ava Pical or 250 Penang Catties." — *Wilson, Documents*, lxi.[44]

1827. — "They (Burmese Envoys) then offered to pay on the spot a money instalment of four lacs of **tickals**. **Tickal**, rather more than a rupee." — *Snodgrass, Burmese War*, p. 267.

1828. — "The nominal currency of the Empire is the **tical**, which, when of flowered silver, is equivalent to 1 rupee, 5 annas, 4 pie, Sicca; and assuming the rupee at 2 *s.*, equals 2*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{15}$ *d.*" — *Trant, Two Years in Ava*, p. 280.

c. 1833. — "Vis, **tikal** and moo are the general terms used in the transaction of (Burmese) commerce and accounts . . . . 100 **tikals** are precisely equal to 140 tolas . . . ." — *Prinsep, Useful Tables*, p. 130.

c. 1835. — "The price of the common or mixed amber is 2½ **ticals** a vis, or Rs. 4 per one and a half seer." — *Hannay* in *Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah*, p. 103.

1835. — "The price now, including the pots, is about a **tical** for 2½ vis, or about 2 *s.* sterling for ten pounds." — *Malcom, Travels*, Vol. II. p. 199.

1836. — "Ken-lay is the military post dividing the proper Burman from the Shan (Myelat) territory, where a duty of a quarter of a **tickal** is levied on each bullock." — *Richardson's Journal* in *Parl. Papers, East India*, 10*th August* 1869, p. 144.

1836. — "I halted on the bank of a small stream in thick jungle, near the village called Ban-sa-to; it has only been inhabited three years by these people, who are Shans of Mok-mai,

[43] *Ava* I take to mean *ywès* or *ratî*. It is a curious way of reckoning for Burma, but then Cox is always curious.

[44] The use of the numeral *ta* (one) as an intogral portion of the words for weights is instructive.

from which they were driven by the heavy taxation of the Burman Government; 40, 50 and even 60 **tickals** of coarse silver being often demanded from one house during the year. Whilst here, under Pha-pho, the whole village, which consists of eight or ten houses, by making a small present of five or six **tickals** value, are free from all demands, and even this small present seems voluntary." — *Richardson's Journal* in *op. cit.* p. 112.

1836. — "He complained bitterly against the Myo-woon, who had struck him for presuming to intercede for his men against a demand for two **Tickals** (*sic*) per man, which the Myo-woon had that day ordered to be assessed. This is the third demand that has been upon them, and considering the excessive price of provisions, four and five **Ticals** (*sic*) per basket, it does seem, even for Burmah, somewhat unjust." — *Bayfield* in *Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah*, p. 208 *f*.

1837. — "The rupee is current here (Zimmè) as well as the Siamese **tical** (the round coin), but the money most in circulation is coarse silver of about 80 per cent. alloy, I believe, melted into a circular form . . . . one hundred **ticals** are given for 45 Madras rupees, but these are only equal to 75 Burmese **ticals**." — *McLeod's Journal* in *Parl. Papers, East India*, *10th August* 1869, p. 37.

1845. — "The weight of a kyat or **Tickal** is 272·75 grains troy exactly." — *Latter, Burmese Grammar*, p. 170, quoting *Col. Low*.

1848. — "The examination of the coin offered for inspection, [a **takal** or **tickal** on 23rd March 1848] may not be without some little interest to the members of the Numismatic Society." — *Dickenson, Silver Coinage of Siam, J. Num. Soc.* p. 47.

1850. — "The Siamese Government," says Dr. Morton, "have several hundred men permanently occupied, each of whom, it is said, is expected to deliver one **tickal** (about one rupee and a quarter) weight of gold-dust per annum." — *Mason, Nat. Productions of Burmah*, p. 37.

1852. — "Kyap, a kyat or **tickal**, a weight equal to four mats." — *Judson, Bur. Dict., s. v.*

1855. — Y. *s. v. viss.* — "The king last year purchased 880,000 viss of lead, at five **ticals** for 100 viss, and sold it at twenty **tickals**." — *Yule, Ava*, p. 256.

1855. — "**Tikal** is no more Burmese than viss, but its origin is more obscure. The true Burmese name is kyat. **Tikal** is applied by foreigners also to the Siamese bat, a coin nearly equal in value to a kyat of silver. Perhaps it may be a corruption of the word **Taká**, which is applied in different parts of India to different coins: in some places to a pice, in some to a rupee. Major Phayre, moreover, believes **Tikal** to be a conception of **Takyat**, one kyat." — *Yule, Ava*, p. 144.

1855. — "The money that circulates in Siam consists principally of **ticals** or bats of the value of 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling . . . . There is a double tical, — a half tical . . . . a quarter tical." — *Bowring, Siam*, Vol. I. p. 257.

1864. — "My informants, in reference to weight of the articles and weight of silver paid for them, used the Burman unit of a **tickal**. A **tickal** is about 1-28th of a pound. A tickal of silver is worth two shillings and sixpence. A viss is 100 tickals, or exatly 3·652 *lbs.*" — *Clement Williams, Burmah to Western China*, p. 33.

1868. — "I then proceeded with the expedition, and when I finally returned to Bhamo I found that my wife had been imprisoned for two days and had to pay 10 **ticals** of silver." — *Sladen, Bhamo Route*, in *Parl. Papers*, *17th April* 1871, p. 143.

1874. — "In weight one hundred kyats (*sic*) make a Pietha (vis) which equals 365 lbs. avoirdupois. Four Mats make one Kyap (*sic*) . . . . This weight is always called a **Tickal** by foreigners: a corruption probably of **Ta-kyap**, one kyap." — *Browne, Thayetmyo*, p. 60.

1874. — Y. *s. v.* **Tucka.** — "How much did my father pay for her? He paid only ten **ṭákás**. I may state here that the word rupeyá, or as it is commonly written rupee or rupi, is unknown to the peasantry of Bengal, at least to the Bengali Hindu peasants, the word they invariably use is **ṭáká**." — *Govinda Samanta,* Vol. I. p. 209.

1874. — "**T'kî** (spelt **dakêv**), a weight a little less than half an ounce. The hundredth part of a viss." — *Haswell, Peguan Language,* p. 76.

1877. — "**Tickal,** akyat." — *Judson, English-Bur. Dict, s. v.*

1879. — "The **Tical** is a Chinese weight of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ounces and the viss an Indian of about $3\frac{1}{4}$ *lbs.*" — *Laurie, Our Burmese Wars,* p. 372. [This information is, of course, wrong.]

1879. — "The basis of the Burmese weights is the **Tickal** (kyat) which equals 252 grains troy, or exactly one cubic inch of distilled water at the temperature of 60°." — *Cooke, British Burma Manual,* p. 735.

1883. — "**Tikal** or **Takel** from Arakan." — *Catalogue of Calcutta Mint Cabinet,* p. 65.

1884. — "Each of the six Laos States is called upon to pay tribute to Siam, — curious representation of trees in gold and silver, about eight feet high, each with four branches, from which again four twigs with a single leaf at the end of each depend. The gold trees are valued at 1,080 **ticals** (135*l.*) each, and the silver ones 120 **ticals** (15*l.*) each." — *Bock, Temples and Elephants,* p. 156.

1886. — "**Tical.** This (**tikāl**) is a word which has long been used by foreign traders to Burma, for the quasi-standard weight of (uncoined) current silver. The origin of the word **tikāl** is doubtful. Sir A. Phayre suggests that possibly it is a conception of the Burmese words **ta-kyat** . . . . on the other hand perhaps it is more probable that the word may have represented the India **ṭakā**." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* Tical.

1886. — "**Tucka.** Hindi, **ṭakâ**; Bengali **ṭakâ**. This the word commonly used among Bengalis for a rupee. But in other parts of India it (or at least **ṭakâ**) is used differently; as for aggregates of 4, or of 2 pice, *e. g., pāñch ṭakā paisā,* five *ṭakā* of pice, generally in N.-W. P. = 20 pice, and for Skr. *ṭaṅka,* a stamped coin." — *Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*[45]

1886. — "Note that while the gyat, **tikal**, tolah and rupee are called the same in weight, the pettha, or viss, is 142 tolahs in weight and merchandise is not weighed to the same standards as silver money." — *Gordon, Companion to Handbook of Colloquial Burmese,* p. 105.

1890. — "The Mat Game . . . . we will suppose that there are but four playing, and that each places a **tical** on a different number." — *Holt-Hallett, Thousand Miles on an Elephant,* p. 235.

1892. — "**Tickal,** jap mi." — *Symington, Kachin Vocabulary, s. v.*

1893. — "Kyat, a kyat or **tical,** a weight equal to four mats; before capital numerals **akyat** . . . . (2) kyat bôngḥ diṅgâḥ, current (rupees) coin of the realm . . . . kyat-chên . . . . weight by **tical,** weight estimated in **ticals**." — *Stevenson, Bur. Dict.,* p. 217 f.

1895. — "La livre siamoise que les Khmêrs appellent balance est une monnaie de compte valant 80 **ticaux** . . . . On en donne 10 pour un tical." — *Aymonier, Voyage dans le Laos,* Vol. I. pp. 19, 22.

SITKE.

This word means literally "a chief in war,"[46] but has been used to denote an officer of varying functions and standing by the Burmese. The great variation of form which it has assumed in the works of foreign writers is due to attempts to pronounce the final difficult open è of the word and the initial palatal *s*. The presence of a superfluous final *l* in some forms will be remarked, and also the pronunciation of *è* as *ò*, reversing the evidence under Yongdò, where *ò* has become sometimes *è* or *é*.

[45] I may remark that *pāñch ṭakā paisā* = 1 Rupee and a quarter = 1 tickal. Compare with this the statement in Hunter, *Pegu,* p. 85: — one tycal of 25 per cent. silver is esteemed equal in value to the Bengal Sicca Rupee.

[46] S[ee] however, the quotation under "1893," *infrà.*

1782. — "The man to whom she [a ship] had formerly belonged, laid claim to her, and on application to one of the Magistrates (I believe the **Cheekaw**) procured an order to stop from working . . . . the third officer is the **Cheekaw**, of whose peculiar department, if he has any distinct from his seat in Council, I know nothing." — *Hunter, Pegu*, pp. 47, 53.

1783. — "Il envoya un bateau avec un **Chikail** pour aller de sa part reclamer les naufragés." — *Flouest* in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. I. p. 206.

c. 1795. — "To all Commanders of Garrisons and Governors of seaports, in like Virtue as to the Maywoon of Henzawuddy, (Pegu) . . . . Commander of the Troops, whose title is **Chekey.**" — *Symes, Ava*, p. 494.

1796. — "A **Chekoy** also came on board much about the same time, in a common boat: he is in the war department, and is superior to the other two." — *Cox, Burmhan Empire*, p. 3.

c. 1805. — "This (Court) is composed of a Governor — a **Zicchè**, or military commander." — *Sangermano*, p. 65.

c. 1824. — "He was standing, he said, near his **Tsekkai,** an officer of rank, when a huge ball of iron came singing '*tsek, tsek,*' which he distinctly heard in its flight, when, true to its mission, it burst upon the very man it was calling out for, the unfortunate **Tsekkai.**" — *Gouger, Prisoner in Burmah*, p. 220.

1825. — "A letter from . . . . Talien (Talaing) chieftains, dated about the 20th of December 1824, addressed to the following men . . . . **Chekey** (Major) Oupan, chief of Lamaing." — *Wilson, Documents*, p. 142.

1833. — "He questioned me as to what I wanted here and wished to know why I had not brought letters to the **Tsetkay**, etc." — *Richardson's Journal, in Parl. Papers, East India, 10th August* 1869, p. 120.

1836. — "The Myowoon had deputed the Mogoung **Tsikal,** a relative of his own, to await my arrival here and to furnish me with anything I might require." — *Bayfield* in *Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah*, p. 140.

1836. — "The present Government of Mogoung consists of a Myowoon, or Governor; a **tsekké**, or military commander; eight Shan amats, or inferior officers, writers, etc." — *Bayfield* in *op. cit.* p. 183.

1836. — "The amats have compelled the **Sekke** to deliver over to their custody the whole of the serpentine mine revenue at present collected." — *Bayfield* in *op. cit.* p. 233.

1837. — "Received a letter from Dr. Richardson at Moné, dated 6th of March. It was brought by some of the **Tseitké's** people." — *McLeod's Journal* in *Parl. Papers, East India, 10th Aug.* 1869, p. 86.

1852. — "**Tsitkai,** a Lieutenant-General." — *Judson's Bur. Dict., s. v.*

1853. — "Two of the chief officers belonging to Kyouk-ghee, with two **Tseekays** or assistants to Moungbwa, ex-Governor of Martaban, were brought in." — *Laurie, Pegu*, p. 509.

1853. — "Let this Royal proclamation be distributed among all the hereditary chieftains of Palaces and Umbrellas, the Tsâubwas . . . . **Tsitkés** (Judges)." — *Yule, Ava*, p. 366.

1854. — "Within the Royal Kingdom all those that are under my Royal authority, ... governors of provinces, **Tsitkes** or lieutenants, and heads of divisions or circles, etc." — *Yule, Ava*, p. 367.

1864. — "Received a visit from the **Tseetkai** and officials." — *Watson, Salween Expedition, in Select Foreign Department Records, G. of I., No. xliv. of* 1865, p. 6.

1864. — "The town of Yé-mé-then or rather Yé-mé-zin, as the **Tsikee** of the district writes it." — *Fedden, Salween Expedition,* in *op. cit.* p. 31.

1867. —"The Menhla **Tseetkay** has wide jurisdiction over the whole valley of the Irrawaddy below Mandalay." — *Fytche* in *Parl. Papers, British Burma, 8th June* 1869, p. 39.

1867. — "The **Tseetkay,** or Governor of the district, came down some miles with several pulling boats to meet us." — *Fytche* in *op. cit.* p. 41.

1868.— "The **Tseetkay** . . . . official of Bhamo, sent me . . . . with letters." — *Sladen, Bhamo Route, Parl. Papers, East India, 17th April* 1871, p. 143.

1868. — "**Tsitkay,** Burmese official (under a Governor)." — *Sladen, Bhamo Route, Parl. Papers, East India, 17th April* 1871, p. 144.

1871. — "The **Tseekay** of the place, a very stout man, came on board." — *Talboys Wheeler, Mandalay to Bhamo*, p. 99.

1876. — "A **tsakai** can only move diagonally one move at a time, backward or forward (in Burmese Chess)." — *Strettell, Ficus Elastica*, p. 57. [In the illustration to p. 58 the word is spelt **Sakay.**]

1879. — "The police report that Moung Salmeh [? Salweh], the **Sitheh** [misprint for **Sitkeh**] of Minhla, has been ordered to collect 700 boatmen and arms there with muskets." — *Parl. Papers, Burmah* (1886), [c. 4,614], p. 66.

1882. — "The pieces are as follows (in Burmese chess) :— Min = one king ; **Si'ke** = one Lieutenant-General . . . . **Si'ke** can move diagonally in advance or retrograde one square at a time." — *Scott, the Burman*, p. 72 f.

1885. — "If they have to settle timber accounts to have leave to come up to Mandalay with the Thitkyeitkyee **Tseekai** . . . . The Thitkyeitkyee **Sit-kai** has therefore been sent to call you all to give evidence in this case according to your knowledge and without fear."— *Parl. Papers, Burmah*, (1886), [c. 4,614] p. 183 f.

1885. — "In order to attain this object they hired Nga Moungyee, the previous **Tsit-kai** of Thit Saikgyee [Thitkyeitkyee of the last quotation] as their advocate . . . . Thitkyeitkyee **Tseekai,** Ko Moung Gyee told again." — *Parl. Papers, Burmah*, (1886), [c. 4,614], pp. 185, 195.

1886. — "The accused Maung Gyi and Maung Lat were respectively Myook of Taungnyo and **Sitke** of Thitcheikgyi [yet another form !] in the Ningyan district." — *Parl. Papers, Burmah*, No. 1, (1887), p. 160.

1889. — "(Letter) to Mobyè **Sitkè** directing him to proceed to Ngwedaung and superintend the working of the silver mines . . . . From **Sitkè** of Kale-Teinnyin-Yazagyo reporting the suppression of the disturbances at Mogaung . . . . From Monè **Sitkègyi** praying that the authority exercised by him as Military Superintendent of Monè be not divided . . . . From Theinni Sawbwa stating that he is administering his State in consultation with **Sitkè** Nemyo-minhlayaunaing appointed by His Majesty." — *Taw Sein Ko, Hlutdaw Records*, pp. 4, 5, 6.

1893. — "**Sitkè,** a lieutenant-general . . . . a **sitkè** is now a judicial officer of the sub-ordinate judicial service. In the Burmese times a **sitkè** in Upper Burma ranked next to a wun. There were two **sitkès** at a wun's head-quarters." — *Stevenson, Bur. Dict.* p. 367.[47]

Yongdo.[48]

The wide divergence in the form which this word has assumed in the works of various writers is due, firstly to its being composed of two separate parts, **Yong,** a court or office, and

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[47] There seem to be two separate radicals *sit* in Burmese : the one meaning "war, battle" : the other meaning "to examine judicially." Hence probably the double, civil and military, senses in which the word *sitkè* is used. See Stevenson's remarks under *sitkyò*, etc., on p. 369.

[48] The Government recognized spelling is Yondàw. In this *Journal* I have adopted *ò* to represent *aw*.

the honorific suffix **tò**; secondly to the word **Yong** being in the vernacular spelt ruṅ. It will be perceived that the, to most languages, difficult final open vowel *ò*, as in *awful*, has been pronounced and written *ai* and that this *ai* (= *ê*) has also had a final superfluous *l* added to it.

1698. — *Y. s. v. Ovidore* in *Supplt.* — "(At Syriam) Ovidores (persons appointed to take notice of all passages in the **Runday** [office of administration] and advise them to Ava) . . . . Three Ovidores that always attend the **Runday**, and are sent to the King, upon errands, as occasion obliges." — *Fleetwood's Diary* in *Dalrymple, Or. Rep.* Vol I. pp. 335, 360.

1739. — "There are no Fees, but what the Town contributes for the Maintenance of that Court, which in their Language is called the **Rounday**, and those contributions are very small." — *A. Hamilton, East Indies*, Vol. II. p. 49.

1781. — "V'ha ciò nonostante nella Città reale un Senato, che in lor linguaggio **Rondai** si chiama, nel quale si diffiniscono le controversie, che avvengono tra i privati." — *Griffini, Percoto*, p. 80.

1783. — "Le lendemain nous fumes au **Rondail** pour certifier nos déclarations; par respect pour ce lieu il faut se dechausser. Personne n'est exempt de cette humiliation." — *Flouest* in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. I. p. 190.

1783. — "Le Conseil fut assemblé au **Rondail**, les Brames (devins), y furent appelés pour être consultés." — *Flouest* in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. I. p. 194.

1795. — "He met several masters of merchant ships, who informed him that they had received an order from the **Rhoom**, or public court, in which the council of Government assembled." — *Symes, Ava*, p. 146.

c. 1805. — "The Luttò in the capital, and the **Ion** or **Rondai** of the provincial cities, then exact, from the heads of the different places under their jurisdiction, not only the number of men ordered by the Emperor, but also a certain quantity more." — *Sangermano*, p. 77.

1817. — "An old Burmese woman, in the service of an European gentleman, was cited before the **Rung-d'hau**, or court of justice at Rangoon." — *Crawfurd, Ava*, p. 407.

c. 1824. — "'They will be of no use to you,' urged the considerate guardsmen; 'they are going to carry you to the Letma-**Yoon** Toung' — the Death Prison!" — *Gouger, Prisoner in Burma*, p. 143.

c. 1824. — "There was another Court of Justice in the city called the **Yoong-dau**, presided over by the Myowoon, or Governor of the town, answering to our police-courts." — *Gouger, Prisoner in Burma*, p. 57.

1826. — "Kaulen Mengyi came forward and avowed that he was not present, but that he had gone as far as the **Rung-d'hau**, or Town-hall, to give the necessary instructions upon the occasion." — *Crawfurd, Ava*, p. 287.

1826. — "Bandula replied — 'In eight days I will take my dinner in the **Rungdau**, or public hall, of Rangoon and afterwards return thanks at the Shwedagong Pagoda.'" — *Crawfurd, Ava, Appx.*, p. 69.

1826. — "About eleven o'clock we had a summons to proceed to the **Raundaw**." — *Wilson, Documents*, p. 217.

1827. — "An elephant was appropriated to each of the English gentlemen, and the procession moved on until arriving at the **Ringdau**, or hall of justice, which is to the east side of the Palace." — *Wilson, Documents*, xxxviii.

1827. — "Only two wooden houses existed much superior to the rest, and these were the Palace of the Maywoon and the **Rondaye**, or Hall of Justice." — *Trant, Two years in Ava*, p. 27.

1841. — "Hall of Justice, **Yon-daw**." — *Lane, Eng.-Bur. Dict., s. v. Court.*

1845. — "The Burmese cannot pronounce *r* but as *y*. Thus **Roong**, **Roon**, and **Room** and **Yoong**, **Yoon** and **Yoom**, 'a hall of justice' are found interchangeably written." — *Latter, Bur. Grammar*, p. 178.

1851. — "**Yong**, a court house, place where justice is administered, seldom used singly." — *Judson, Bur. Dict., s. v.*

1855. — "No investigation shall take place, or decision be given, in civil suits at the inner or upper or Royal Courts (Royal Criminal Court) or at the **Yoom-dau**; all such cases should be made over to the **Tara-Yoom** (or Civil Court) . . . . All criminal cases shall be inquired into and decided at the Eastern Hall of Justice (**Yoom-dau**)." — *Yule, Ava*, p. 364.

1855. — "Within the Royal Kingdom all those that are under my Royal authority, the Hlwotdau (Supreme Court), **Yoom-dau** (Inferior Court), Tsaubwas, ..." — *Yule, Ava*, p. 367.

1870. — "The authorities in our immediate vicinity are the **Yoons** of Zimmay." — *Coryton, Letter, To China through Moulmein, Appx.* v.

1882. — "Civil appeal cases sent from the **Yohndaw** or Criminal Court, where the Myo-woons (city-burdens), usually two in number, sit daily: from the Tayah-**Yohn**, the Civil Court." — *Scott, the Burman*, p. 243 f.

1893. — "**Yông**ः, *n.*, a court-house, place where justice is administered: *v.* to collect, assemble, gather together, [see] su; seldom used singly." — *Stevenson, Bur. Dict.* p. 936.

9.

Barter and Non-metallic Currency.

To enter on a disquisition on the steps made by mankind from barter to non-metallic currency, and thence on to metallic currency and coinage would be necessarily to take up a subject as wide as the world, and it is not my intention in these pages to go further than to discuss it only so far as it concerns the Burmese and their neighbours. A good and short statement of the whole question is to be found in Ridgeway's *Origin of Currency*, p. 10 ff.

A good many references have perforce been already made to barter in its various forms, and it will be sufficient here to point out how far and in what shape it exists in Burma now, or has existed, so far as the materials at my command permit me. In doing this an opportunity will present itself of shewing to what extent the customs of the Burmese illustrate the general subject.

Professor Terrien de la Couperie in the introduction to his *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, p. xx. f., gives an elaborate table of the "shapes of currency from barter to money," in which he enumerates 31 different descriptions of currency, beginning with gems and winding up with "the recent octagonal money of Belgium." He divides his 31 kinds of currency into three chief heads — natural, commercial, industrial; but he leaves out of account the preliminary step of barter of general produce, which has always existed and does still exist among the more primitive races of mankind. Of this first step we have an exceedingly quaint and withal typical description in its earliest forms in Olearius, *Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors to Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, etc.*, p. 73, of Davies' Translation (1662). After telling us (p. 69), that "the Author, who hath made one digression, to speak of the Samojedes, though not falling under the Subject of his Travels, thinks he may make another, to say somewhat of Groenland," goes on to state: — "There is no money in the Countrey, being so happy as not to know the value of Gold and Silver. Iron and Steel they most esteem, and prefer a Sword or a Hatchet before a Golden Cup, a Nail before a Crown piece, and a pair of Cisers, or a Knife, before a Jacobus. Their trucking is thus; they put all they have to sell together, and having picked out among the Commodities that are brought to them, what they like best, they put them also together, and suffer those they deal with to add or diminish till such time as they are content with the bargain."

For my present purpose I cannot follow de la Couperie in his classification, and it will be more convenient to consider the many points that will present themselves in the following order :—

I. — Barter generally.

II. — Natural produce :—

(1) Rice.
(2) Salt.
(3) Cotton.
(4) Mulberries.
(5) Cocoanuts.
(6) Livestock.

III. — Manufactured Articles :—

(1) Tea-bricks.
(2) Skins.
(3) Cloth.
(4) Drums.
(5) Glass jars.
(6) Pottery.
(7) Ingot iron and articles of iron.
(8) Gold and silver trees.

IV. — Conventional Currency :—

(1) Cowries.
(2) Paper.

I.

Barter generally. — Now, although de la Couperie says nothing as to general barter in China in his *Chinese Coins*, as above shewn, he has, at p. 13 f. of his *Old Numerals and the Swanpan (Abacus) in China*, an interesting, and in the present connection instructive, outline account of the history of barter in China. "Barter, in China, as everywhere else, preceded coinage. Gold, silver, copper, silk-cloth, tortoise-shell, precious stones, grains and shells of some kind, were used for that purpose, according to certain regulations afterwards introduced for the measures and equivalents of weight. Various sorts of small implements or tools in bronze, more convenient to pass from hand to hand, were soon preferred to the other materials. Tradition attributes the casting of that kind of objects in ancient times only for the sake of the people impoverished by droughts or otherwise. Small spades, adzes and knives, improper for the work for which their shape was intended, and later on, flat rings, were multiplied and entered into currency. Trustworthy statements are, however, scanty. Strict regulations for the barter were issued after the establishment of the Tchen Dynasty (Eleventh Century B. C.).[49] At the beginning of the Sixth Century Tchwang, King of Tsu (one of the States of the Chinese Confederation), attempted, without success, to make all this differently sized bullion exchangeable, indiscriminately, regardless of its weight. It was the first attempt in China of a fiduciary money."

In Burma proper, habits of general barter have been noticed by many travellers. A typical instance is to be found among the Kachins in Anderson's *Mandalay to Momien*, p. 419 :— "The *tsawbwa-gadaw* (chief's wife) of Woonkoh duly arrived with her gift of fowls, eggs and *sheroo* (Kachin beer), and received broadcloth and other presents, with which she speedily disappeared, not without grumbling that she had not been paid in money for her fowls." Again at p. 374, he talks of the Kachins "coming down to barter their goods for salt and *ngapé* (fish condiment)."

[49] One can hardly help taking these very early dates *quantum valeant*.

This was in 1875, and in the following year, Strettell (*Ficus Elastica*, p. 125 f.), journeying among the Pwons, found that they took slaked lime to Bhamo, which they bartered for cloth or articles of food. "The late Mr. Graham, agent of the firm of Sutherland and Mackenzie, joined me here. He was hurrying up the river in a *loung* (canoe) to establish a bartering system of trade with the people, which he seemed to think would prove a most remunerative business. He had with him a good supply of Manchester piece-goods, twist, thread, etc., which he intended advancing — as he went along — on promise of ivory, amber, etc., etc." Strettell (p. 165) found also that while the Burman of the plains paid tribute to the King in Rupees (*scil.*, tickals), the Kachins of the hills paid in slaves, amber and ivory. At p. 187, he tells us he met a party of Kachins (Singhphos) from the amber mines with their yearly tribute:— "four pairs of elephant tusks, a pair of amber idols, five spears, and two golden cocks (pheasants)."

Turning to a wild people at the other extremity of Burma, we find the following statement in Wilson's *Documents of the Burmese War*, p. lx., quoting from the *Government Gazette*, March 2, 1826, about the Selungs, there called "Chalones and Pase": — "They scarcely know the value of money, and are, therefore, losers in the bartering trade with the Chinese and others who visit them. Perhaps they think themselves the greater gainers, since they give products of no use to them for others of vital importance, and are, thereby, enabled to maintain a degree of wild independence."[50] Of this unequal commerce Dr. Anderson in his *Selungs of the Mergui Archipelago*, pp. 23, 27, etc., gives a graphic account. "These poor creatures gather "black coral," eagle-wood and so on, which they exchange for a little cloth, paddy, tobacco, and perhaps 'the smell of opium' now and then, valued at not a fifth of what they give in exchange."[51]

Among the wild tribes of the Chin Hills and the difficult country between the Burmese and Assamese low-land tracts barter is of course the rule, and innumerable instances could be culled from the big bluebook on the Lushai Expeditions of 1872,[52] but for the present purpose it will be sufficient to quote the following statements from other sources. In a memoir on the Eastern Frontier of Sylhet by Lieut. T. Fisher, to be found in Wilson's *Documents*, 1827, at p. xxv., we find that the "Pytoo Kookies, who settled near the South-East Frontier of Sylhet, export yearly a quantity of strong cotton cloth called *kase*, which is manufactured by their women. This they exchange for raw cotton, tobacco, copper and iron."[53] In the Government Papers entitled *Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah*, p. 103, we find Capt. Hannay in 1836 noting that in return for amber "the Chinese sometimes pay in silver, but they also bring with them warm jackets, carpets, straw-hats, copper pots and opium, which they give in exchange. They also barter their merchandise for ivory and gold dust, but only in small quantities . . . . I understand that within the last few years several of them have gone to Assam with gold dust, ivory and a little silver, for which they receive in return muskets, cloth, spirits and opium." The people, however, who thus dealt in general barter were "Singfos," *i. e.*, Kachins. But in regarding these "middle mountaineers," as the Burmese call them, Dr. Brown in his *Statistical Account of Manipur*, p. 89, oddly remarks in 1873, "besides coin, bartering articles in the bazar is quite common." And lastly Woodthorpe in his *Account of the Lushai Expedition* in 1871-2, tells us, p. 182, "we were frequently visited by large numbers of Lushais from Chepni and Tingridum, bringing in fowls, yams, and eggs for barter,

[50] This is no doubt the proper view to take of the matter. What so many writers seem to forget is, that the savage or semi-savage may not take the same view of a bargain as they do, and that a bargain that seems to be all on the side of the civilised man may in the eyes of the savage be all on the side of the savage. A good many adverse criticisms as to the dealings of civilised traders with savages are based on this misconception.

[51] In the opinion of the civilised traders, be it remembered.

[52] *House of Commons, East India, Cachar, Papers Relative to the Looshai Raids*, 28 May, 1872.

[53] On this same page we have an account of these people's method of killing a "tyger"; a spelling probably worth following up.

the articles most coveted in exchange being cloth and salt."[54] This last quotation brings us close to conventional barter, a stage beyond a general exchange of articles as convenience prompts, and so leaving the matter here as regards the Western frontier of Burma, let us return to the Eastern.

In Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shâns* we find, p. 51, that the villagers of Zimmè paid taxes in cloth, chillies and safflower: taxes being a pretty sure indication of barter values. At p. 60 we are told that the small tribe of the Kakuis "are said to pay no taxes, but make presents of mats, cloths and other articles to the Chiefs and supply them with rice when they travel, as well as carry their baggage." In the Appendix to Vol. II. of *Across Chryse* there is an interesting translation of a Chinese MS. account of the Kwei-Chan Miao-tzu dated about 1730. It is practically an account of various Shân tribes, and throughout it are allusions to barter values in various forms, which the following will sufficiently indicate. A tribe, therein called the Kau-erh Lung-Kia (p. 369), "after the spring-time stick a small tree in a field, which they call the 'Demon-stick.'[55] There is a gathering around this stick and a dance, and then engagements are made and they go away. If a young woman afterwards wishes to break off her engagement she has to redeem herself by giving an ox and a horse. After this she has to use a go-between." Again, at p. 374, we are told that the Chu-sï Keh-lao "always have their revenge on an enemy. If they are not strong enough they engage some one to assist them by the bribe of an ox or some wine." Although to continue the quotation is a little beyond our present point, it is so quaint that I cannot forbear: — "Those who have strength will first eat some meat and drink some wine, and then they do not mind if they are killed in the revengeful act. Those in the district of Tsing-ping are better: they have entered into an agreement with the Chinese!"

That in Siam two hundred years ago everything could be procured by barter we have interesting evidence from a complaint, noticed by Anderson, in *English Intercourse with Siam*, p. 170, from the East India Company's Inspectors that copper and tin could not be bartered for in Ayuthia in 1681 because of a royal monopoly in those articles. At p. 421 ff. of his excellent book Dr. Anderson gives as much as he could read of a "Report on the Trade of Siam" written in 1678 and attributed to the factor, George White; and from this we have a confirmation of the general nature of the barter system then prevalent in Ayuthia. At p. 425, this valuable document states: — "The ships from Suratt and Cormandell, bring cargoes of sev^{ll}: sorts of Callicoes propp for y^{e}: vse of y^{t}: Countrey and Exportacon to Jepan, China and Manillah, w^{ch}: they barter for Tynn, Copp., Tutinague, and Porcellaine." In 1822 Crawfurd found the Siamese poll tax paid "in some parts of the country by a commutation in certain of the rude produce peculiar to each province, as sapan-wood, wood of aloes, saltpetre, ivory and peltry."[56]

Going further East we find that acute observer, De Morga, stating (Hak. Soc. Ed. pp. 302, 324) that, among the Philipine Islanders in the later 16th Century, "their usual way of trade was by barter of one thing for another, in provisions, cloths, cattle, fowls, lands, houses, crops in the ground and slaves; also fisheries, palms, nipa trees and woods," and again that tribute was paid "in the produce which they possessed, gold, wrappers, cotton, rice, bells, fowls and the rest of what they possessed or gathered."

Lastly to shew that precisely the same ideas and customs flourish to the present day among Asiatic peoples, when circumstances and civilization permit, I quote a Russian account of Turkestan as it now is: — "From this cursory examination of the natural productions of the

[54] The fines inflicted by the Expedition were, as usual, in terms of the local currency or exchange: — *e. g.*, rice, *metnas* (cattle), pigs, goats, and fowls (pp. 233, 299); and in the *Parl. Papers* on the subject *passim*.

[55] A "sowing custom," worth reading by the Folk-lore Society, and also as a primitive form of *swayamvara*.

[56] *Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China*, p. 375. M. Aymonier, *Voyaje dans le Laos*, Vol. I. p. 320, found taxes being paid in lac in 1882-3.

Khivan oasis we find that the inhabitants export to Russia and Bokhara, cotton, silks, fruits, hides, fish, wool and woollen manufactures, carpets and rugs. With the nomads they barter wheat, rice, barley and articles of dress for cattle, and wool; with Bokhara they exchange their horses for green tea and tobacco; from Russia they receive manufactured articles, iron ware and sugar."[57]

Instances and quotations might be gathered to an indefinite extent from the observations of travellers and residents in the East, and I have merely endeavoured to shew in the above cases that the inhabitants of Burma have acted, or still act, in the matter of general barter after the manner of their neighbours, and that where barter of general produce obtains without the medium of a recognised currency the scale of civilization is very low.

Perhaps one of the most important observations yet made on the effect of a general system of exchange by barter on the administration of a country is to be found in Soppitt's *Account of the Kachari Tribes*, p. 19, which I will here quote in full, owing to the very valuable light it throws on the subject under discussion. Mr. Soppitt says: — "Among a people with no coinage of their own and situated for a number of years in a part of the country (North Cachar) far removed from centres of trade and means of communication with civilized people, money was naturally scarce, and it was necessary to accept fines and revenues, paid in kind, as equivalent to the payment in actual coin. A small store of money was kept at the Court, but little was current among the ordinary villagers. A regular scale for fines and revenue was, therefore, drawn up, shewing the value of the various domesticated animals kept by the people, with price of liquor, etc. The following was the scale: —

A big pig...	Rs.	1	0	0	
A cock and two small hens	,,	0	4	0	
4 big hens and 4 small...	,,	1	0	0	
Pigeons (each)	,,	0	1	0	
Ducks (each)	,,	0	8	0	
Liquor (per *lao*)...	,,	0	4	0	
A big conch shell	,,	10	0	0	
A bull mithen (*bos frontalis*)	,,	10	0	0	to Rs. 15
A cow mithen	,,	10	0	0	to ,, 15
A big buffalo	,,	10	0	0	to ,, 16
A he-goat	,,	1	0	0	
A she-goat	,,	1	0	0	
A dog	,,	0	4	0"	

In the following pages Mr. Soppitt gives some extremely interesting instances of prices in terms of the above articles, and further shews the extent to which similar valuations were, and are still, carried on, by quoting instances to prove that a "year's labour has risen in scale value from Rs. 15 to Rs. 60."

Also in Mrs. Wylie's *Gospel in Burma*, at p. 382 f., there is a very interesting quotation from a letter of Dr. Mason, dated 1858, showing how public affairs are managed by a people but partially introduced to a fixed currency. The letter gives an account of the commencement of the now flourishing Karen schools in Toungoo, and it describes how the necessary buildings came to be erected by public subscription. The form that the subscriptions took is thus described. "For These the Karens contributed;—

970 Rupees in cash,
1 Elephant,
3 Goats,
4 Pigs,

[57] *Geography of Turkestan*, translated from the Russian by Staff-Lieut. Peach in *J. U. S. I. of India*, Vol. XXII. p. 262.

170	Fowls,
200	Eggs,
65	Mats,
15	Baskets,
12	Large chopping knives,
150	Long ratans,
10	Large bundles of bark rope,
1,580	Large bamboos,
2,000	Small bamboos,
1	Boat."

Malcom, the American Missionary traveller, tells us that in Lower Burma about the time of the War of 1824, the Native Government constantly levied fines on the value of the human body, and p. 261 of his *Travels*, Vol. II., he gives the scale of valuation :—

"A new-born male child	4 tickals
A new-born female child	3 ,,
A boy	10 ,,
A girl	7 ,,
A young man	30 ,,
A young woman	35 ,,

Of rich persons twice these prices are exacted ; and of principal officers still larger sums, rapidly increasing in proportion to rank."

To the above I can add a little evidence of my own from the Nicobar Islands. In 1896, I had occasion to purchase a piece of land, measuring about $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres, from the Chief of Mūs in Car Nicobar, on behalf of the Government of India, for a meteorological station and Government agency. For this piece of land I paid the Chief on the 21st March, 1896—

12	Suits of black cloth,
1	Piece of red cloth,
6	Bags of rice,
20	Packets of China tobacco,
12	Bottles of Commissariat rum.[58]

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE NICOBARESE.

BY E. H. MAN, C.I.E.

(Continued from p. 222.)

No. 2.

Bark Cloth.

No attempt has yet been made by the Nicobarese **to weave cloth.** This may be explained by the fact that, in consequence of the equable nature of their climate, their absolute requirements in this respect are, to say the least, limited; and their needs have for generations past been supplied by traders from the neighbouring continents, who here barter calico and colored handkerchiefs, as well as other articles, for cargoes of cocoanuts.

Moreover, while in the southern portion of the Nicobar Islands it has been customary from remote times, both among the coast and inland communities, to manufacture bark-cloth for purposes of clothing,[24] it has been the practice among the women of Chowra, Teressa and Bompoka — where foreign trade has heretofore been slack — to wear **thick fringe-like skirts of split cocoanut-leaves, called hinong** (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 47).

[58] Extremely valued by these people as a medicine and doled out by the Chief in small doses. Rum, to be good "medicine," must be Commissariat rum. *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette, Supplt.*, 1896, p. 29.

[24] Fontana's remark that in his day (1778) the women wore "a bit of cloth made with the threads of the bark of the cocoanut-tree" possibly refers to this material, as it somewhat resembles the *ochrea* or fibrous sheath which envelopes the upper portion of cocoanut-tree stems. It may be, however, that the *hinong* is the garment to which he alludes. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III., Article VII.

The use of **bark-cloth** for clothing is now-a-days almost entirely confined to women — and to those only of the Southern group — when in mourning, this being the result of the greater facility now afforded the inhabitants of Great Nicobar and the adjacent islands for procuring calico direct from trading-vessels, a larger number of which now visit the islands in consequence both of the extension of the cocoanut plantations and of the immunity from the risks experienced in former years from disputes or misunderstandings with the natives.

This bark-cloth, which goes by the name of ok-ho, is of a somewhat similar character to that manufactured by the inland tribes of the Malayan peninsula and Sumatra, but, being of a darker shade, more nearly resembles coarse, newly-tanned leather. It is sufficiently flexible and durable to be used for purposes of clothing, sleeping-mats, pillow-covers and the like for a considerable time (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 134).

It is only occasionally that the men engage in the work of preparing this material, in the manufacture of which women, therefore, usually excel. The tree which provides the necessary substance is believed to be the *Ficus brevicuspis.* The size of the pieces of bark taken from the tree depends of course on the requirements of the manufacturers.

A large strip, say, 7 to 8 feet long by about 3 to 4 feet wide, is apparently generally preferred. This is carefully removed by means of a *dá* and, while still fresh, green and pliant, the outer skin is with little difficulty stripped off with the edge of the same implement without injury to the inner bark, which is then ready for the next process. This consists in beating the inner bark on a large flat stone with the edge of a small paddle-shaped mallet, first diagonally in one direction, and then transversely, the work being subsequently repeated on the other side of the bark, the object of course being to thoroughly disintegrate the pulpy substance adhering to the fibres, and thereby to render the material flexible and suitable for the purposes above-mentioned. When a large piece of bark is being prepared, this part of the process proves tedious and fatiguing, as may be judged from the fact that a small piece about 18 inches square, which I saw dealt with, was still insufficiently beaten after some 20 minutes of hard work.

When the bark is sufficiently dressed, the now pliant material is conveyed to a pool of fresh water, where it is left to soak for about half-an-hour, after which time it is removed and again spread upon a large smooth stone by the operator, who proceeds to express all moisture by means of a suitable cylindrical stone. When this is accomplished to her (or his) satisfaction the material is hung up to dry in the sun, and is ready for use in a few hours.

No attempt is made to ornament the substance thus produced. Specimens are sometimes sought as curiosities or as barter by the natives of the Central Group, who also occasionally use this material for sleeping-mats, pillows and fighting-hats; but they do not — and, from all accounts, never did — as has been incorrectly asserted, apply it for purposes of clothing.[25]

The Nicobarese have no knowledge of the art of knitting, and no plaited fringes or other articles of personal clothing or ornament are manufactured by them of cord or fibre of any description.

No. 3.

Cannibalism.

Almost incredible as it may appear to those at all acquainted with these Islanders, there is reason to believe, both from their own statements and those of the Swedish traveller Keoping (1647), that at least a small section of their community was addicted to cannibalism so recently as in the 17th, if not the 18th, Century A. D.

According to Fontana[26] (1778), Keoping wrote as follows regarding his visit to the Nicobars : — "Having sent a boat on shore with five men, who did not return at night as expected, the day following a larger boat was sent, well manned, in quest of their companions,

[25] Specimens of bark-cloth have been supplied to the following Museums among others : — British Museum, South Kensington Museum, Kew Herbarium, University Museums at Oxford and Cambridge, Maidstone Museum, the Ethnological Museums at Florence, Paris, Leipsig, and Leyden, the Imperial & Royal Museum of the Court at Vienna, and the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

[26] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III., Article VII.

who, it was supposed, had been devoured by the savages, their bones having been found strewed on the shore, the boat taken to pieces, and the iron of it carried away."

The statements made to me many years ago by the natives of **Nancowry Harbour**, as noted down at the time, are to the effect that, on a portion of the site of the former Indian Government Settlement near the south-eastern extremity of Camorta Island and in the vicinity of the small British grave-yard, there stood **a village called Chayīha**, the remains of which were seen by those living about ninety years ago. **The inhabitants** of this village, although of the same race as their neighbours, were alone **anthropophagi**, preying upon such individuals of the other villages as they succeeded in surprising, and presumably also upon such strangers as ventured near their portion of the Harbour. It having at length been decided that something must be done to put a stop to this evil, a *menlūana* (*i. e.*, a *shaman*) of Oal-ta-meak village (Malacca) one day collected a quantity of wasps (*tâo*) in a leaf-wrapper which he took, with some fish, to Chayīha, where he found a lad, who told him that all the villagers were absent, working in their gardens The *menlūana* thereupon instructed the lad to give them the fish on their return and, when all the party were assembled, to divide amongst them the contents of the parcel. The result of course was that the wasps, on being released, attacked everybody present, one only of whom — a youth, who had the sense to cover his head with a cooking-pot — escaped by swimming across the Harbour to Itōe village. It is added that none of those stung by the wasps recovered from their injuries. This alleged incident, at any rate, is credited with having been the means of ridding the people of their objectionable neighbours. The lad who escaped is described as having prolonged his life only by a few days, as he excited the suspicions of a woman, in whose hut he had taken refuge, by licking her back, after wiping off, at her request, the perspiration which streamed from her while engaged in preparing *Pandanus* paste. On this strange conduct being reported to the woman's husband he resolved to put a stop to it, and he accordingly procured a poisonous fish, known by the name of *tòich*, which was cooked and introduced into the boy's food, causing his death. Another version has it that two lads escaped from the wasps to Itōe where, in consequence of their manifesting a predilection for human flesh, they were beaten to death.

In connection with the foregoing, the following passage from the letters of the **Moravian missionary, J. G. Haensel**, who resided between 1779-87 principally at Nancowry and close to the village of Oal-ta-meak, would seem to possess some significance :— "They insisted that they were good by nature, and never did anything wrong, as we well knew. When we replied, that we knew that they had but lately murdered some people, and afterwards abused the dead bodies, each thrusting his spear into them, mutilating them in the most wanton manner, and at last cutting them to pieces, and asked them whether this was a proof of their natural goodness, their answer was — 'That you do not understand; those were people not fit to live, they were *gomoy*, cannibals!' "

In view of these statements it is curious that, so far as I know, no hint of the existence of cannibalism at the Nicobars should be found in the accounts of other writers, and that, supposing the practice to have been continued even no later than a time within the memory of some living during Haensel's stay, no reference is made to it in his published writings.

No. 4.

Swimming.

As compared with the Andamanese and the majority of other maritime races within the tropics, the Nicobarese are by no means distinguished for skill either in the art of swimming or of diving. They are, therefore, far from meriting the extravagant praise which, in all apparent seriousness and good faith, has been bestowed upon their achievements in this respect by an accomplished writer, who paid a short visit to the various islands of the group about 25 years ago.

The passage referred to occurs in *Stray Feathers* and makes mention of a well-known character — still the head-man of one of the principal villages in Nancowry Harbour — whom the

writer describes as seen by him "stark naked and looking the veriest savage imaginable, darting head-foremost from his canoe, and catching the fish with his hands, as only these islanders can. According to their ideas any fool can plunge into the water and seize a single passing fish, but what does require skill is to plunge and come up with two large fish, the forefinger and thumb of each hand firmly fixed in the eye-sockets of a different fish. This, the Nicobarese hold to be something like fishing, and in still water you can hardly keep a Nicobarese in the canoe if he chances to spy two good-sized fishes passing below in such relative positions as to render this feat practicable."

It may safely be asserted that it has never entered the imagination of a Nicobarese even to meditate, much less attempt, the performance of such a feat as that described with such *vraisemblance.*

From the fact that, with the exception of the Shom-Peṅ, tribe, the villages of the Nicobarese are situated either on the coast or in close proximity thereto, their children as might naturally be supposed, frequently disport themselves in the shallow water in front of their huts, thereby gradually acquiring a certain degree of confidence and learning to swim and dive without actual instruction from their seniors.

In the absence, however, of any necessity or other incentive to attain excellence in the art, there exists in this easy-going, indolent race little or no spirit of emulation, such as might prompt them at least to strive to acquire a reputation for skill. No swimming races, or games in which swimming enters, are practised amongst them. From their statements it seems that they are chiefly deterred from frequent swimming and diving by their dread of sharks which have, though on rare occasions, been known to attack and wound some unfortunate of their acquaintance.

As a result it is found that but few among them will venture to swim further than about a quarter of a mile, and then only owing to some emergency or for some coveted prize; and, if any greater distance were attempted, the man would be deemed foolhardy, who omitted to provide himself with a small buoyant log — such as a billet of *Sterculia alata*[27] — wherewith to assist him in keeping himself afloat. They never attempt to remain under water a long time, and the idea of competing with others in doing this would scarcely suggest itself to any of them.

Though swimming on the breast, on the side, and on the back are methods known and practised by some, the most common mode of progression is the hand-over-hand stroke. The only known occasion on which a member of the inland tribe of Great Nicobar (Shom-Peṅ) was seen to swim — and that for a few yards only — he shewed himself to be a complete novice in the art by imitating the action of a dog in the water.

Even among the coastmen there are some who neglect to acquire the art or, having acquired it in their youth, rarely (if ever) practise it in later years. As may be supposed, among the women the accomplishment is possessed in a still less degree, due presumably to the fact that in their case the need of its exercise is rarely experienced.

When a Nicobarese has occasion to dive to a depth of ten feet or less, he jumps into the water feet foremost, but on the comparatively rare occasions that some among them dive to such a depth as three or four fathoms — as when desirous of securing a *Tridacna* which they have espied, or of recovering a *dá* or other valued object, which has fallen overboard — they take a header. On no occasions do they take weights in order to assist them in descending more rapidly and easily.

No. 5.

Astronomy.

In writing about the Nicobarese, Fontana[28] (cir. 1778) expressed his belief that "the idea of years and months and days is unknown to them, as they reckon by moons only, of which they number fourteen, seven to each monsoon." This statement, however, requires some modification.

[27] Of this wood the outriggers of their canoes are constructed.

[28] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III., Art. VII.

1. Divisions of the Year.

The greater divisions of time are reckoned by monsoons (*shom-en-yŭh*, or *shom-en-yŭh*). As each monsoon lasts six months, more or less, two successive *shom-en-yŭhs* represent approximately one solar year. Roughly speaking, the South-West monsoon (*sho-hŏng*) continue from May to October inclusive, and the North-East monsoon (*fŭl*) from November to April. In order, therefore, to denote a period equivalent to our solar year the Nicobarese describe it either as *ăn* (two) *shom-en-yŭh* or as *hĕang* (one) *fŭl hĕang sho-hŏng*.

The monsoons are subdivided into lunar months (*kähĕ*) and, as the change of monsoon may take place during the course of the "moon" in April-May and of that in October-November, fourteen terms are in use for the purpose of indicating the possible number of lunations,[29] or fractions thereof, which can occur in the two monsoons. The terms are as follow, the first five in each monsoon invariably occurring in the order given:—

S.-W. Monsoon (Sho-hōng).		N.-E. Monsoon (Fūl).	
Shēh	(about April-May)	Kâkà-tôk	(about Oct-Nov.)
Hammua	(„ May-June)	Tō-it	(„ Nov.-Dec.)
Channī	(„ June-July)	Hàmak	(„ Dec.-Jan.)
Daneh-poah	(„ July-Aug.)	Mitosh	(„ Jan.-Feb.)
Manà(k)-nga-poah	(„ Aug.-Sept.)	Mokhēak	(„ Feb.-March)
Laneṅh and, or, Läh-meluh	(„ Sept.-Oct.)	Danäh-kapâ and, or, Kabâ-chui(j)	(„ March-Apr.)

If, at the termination of the Manâ(k)-nga-poah Moon, the weather prove stormy the new moon is called Laneṅh, but if the weather be mild and indicative of an early change of monsoon it is called Läh-meluh. Similarly, at the corresponding period in the N.-E. monsoon, the sixth Moon is called Danäh-kapâ, if there appears to be no likelihood of an early change in the direction of the wind, and Kabâ-chui(j) in the contrary case.

When the change of monsoon occurs, the name of the "moon" then running is changed to that of the first "moon" of the new monsoon; hence it generally happens that Shēh and Kâkà-tôk continue only for a fraction of a "moon," *viz.*, for the unexpired period of the "moon" during which the change in the direction of the wind occurred. By this means the error which arises from adopting the lunar year of thirteen complete lunar months is avoided. The chief point for the stranger to bear in mind is that the reckoning is by half-years, and not years, so that in referring to a period of 7 *shom-en-yŭhs* 3½ solar years (approximately) would be meant.

In like manner at Car Nicobar they have the following fourteen terms to denote the possible number of lunations or fractions thereof in the course of the two monsoons:—

S.-W. Monsoon (Mes-sūnga).		N.-E. Monsoon (Komfūata).	
Ilūe	(about April-May)	Tâ-sēla	(about Oct.-Nov.)
*Penyai-ñōng-makek	(„ May-June)[30]	Teng-tâk-ken-chūta	(„ Nov.-Dec.)
Ra-nânga	(„ June-July)	*Kâ-rēn-ngarit	(„ Dec.-Jan.)
*Tenlôn-lòng-kunâta	(„ July-Aug.)	*Inôka-tâ-wūe	(„ Jan.-Feb.)
*Kenrūi (d)-ngaran-kamòp.	(„ Aug.-Sept.)	Kenchūt-tang-kòng	(„ Feb.-March)
*Cha-näh-ñe and, or, *Kâ-nai(t)-el-ta-ôka	(„ Sept.-Oct.)	Kenchūt-mirūnga and, or, Lâ-nēn-nga-el-kūi-tâ-īawa	(„ March-Apl.)

[29] A period equal to a lunation is styled *kama-heṅwa* (from *kähĕ*, moon, and *heṅ*, time), hence, for example, the period from the full-moon in Shēh to the full-moon in Channī would be spoken of as *ăn kama-heṅwa* (not *ăn kähĕ*) two lunar months.

[30] At this island (Car Nicobar) custom prescribes a day of rest (called *anôi-ila*) on the 7th day of the moon, at full-moon, and on the 22nd day of the moon, but only in those "moons" marked *. From their long intercourse with Burman traders and seamen there can be little doubt that the practice is traceable to the Burmese institution of "worship-days" (*ûbôk-nē*), which, in addition to those above-mentioned, include the last day of the month, thereby numbering four in all.

The principal, if not the only, seasons which are recognized as such are (1) *yonga-rai*, or *dai*, the time when deciduous trees shed their foliage (March-April); (2) *dai-tata-yâl*, the time when young leaves (*dai* or *rai*) are formed on the same trees (May-June); (3) *shama-hauṅ*, which occurs in the first few weeks of the rainy season, when planting and cultivation are mostly attended to in the gardens; (4) *komoruák*, the season during which memorial-feasts (*koruák*) are held, *viz.*, Nov.-April; (5) *kōi-kapá*; and (6) *kōi-ilüe*, the calm seasons in April and October respectively when trafficking is chiefly carried on between the various islands. There is no method of indicating divisions or periods of time by crops.

Not only do the Nicobarese possess terms to denote the chief phases of each lunation, such as, the "first-quarter," "full-moon," and "last-quarter," but, as will be seen from the following Table, they are able to indicate any particular day in a lunation as clearly as we could ourselves.

Terms employed for each day and phase of a lunation.

1st day,[31]	hēang-she-kâhē.
2nd „	âṅ-she-kâhē.
3rd „	lōe-she-kâhē.
4th „	fōan-she-kâhē.
5th „	tanai-she-kâhē.
6th „	tafūal-she-kâhē.
7th „	issât-she-kâhē.
8th „	enfōan-she-kâhē.
9th „	heänghata-she-kâhē.
10th „	shòm-she-kâhē.
11th „	hēang-yâm-kâhē.
12th „	âṅ-yâm-kâhē.
13th „	lōe-yâm-kâhē.
14th „	fōan-yâm-kâhē.
15th „	tanai-yâm-kâhē.
16th „	tafūal-yâm-kâhē.
17th „	issât-yâm-kâhē.
18th „	enfōan-yàm-kâhē.
19th „	heänghata-yàm-kâhē (also shòm-heänghata-tōm-yâm).
20th „	hēang-momchīama-yâm-kâhē.
21st „	enfōan-tat-lānga.
22nd „	issât-tat-lānga.
23rd „	tafūal-tat-lānga.
24th „	tanai-tat-lānga.
25th „	fōan-tat-lānga.
26th „	ongāwa.
27th „	hinai.
28th „	hinlain.
29th „	manūt.[32]
30th „	kanat.[32]
31st „	kanat.[32]

1st Quarter, hēang-lâ.[33]

Full-moon, ong-yūang-kâhē, also hokngâka(-kâhē), or fwīaṅ-oal-kâhē.

Last Quarter, kaneäl.[34]

Waxing moon, hen-nēni-oal-kâhē.

Waning moon, tennyuoa-na-oal-kâhē.

[31] This refers to the first day of the new moon, provided she is visible.

[32] Moonless nights. *Kanat* is employed on the 30th day if the moon be not then visible, and nightly after that should the moon be hidden by clouds or mist. It may thus be the 3rd or 4th day of the moon when she is first seen.

[33] *Lit.*, "one piece" (as said in reference to a fruit or vegetable).

[34] This word also signifies "boar's-tusk," in obvious allusion to its crescent form.

The corresponding terms employed at **Car Nicobar** are as follows : —

(a) Yânihī-chingeät (waxing-moon).

1st day, kâhōk-chingeät.
2nd „ aneät-chingeät, 2 days'-old moon, kânel-hâun (*lit.*, pig's-tusk).
3rd „ lūe-chingeät.
4th „ fän-chingeät.
5th „ tanī-chingeät.
6th „ tafūal-chingeät.
7th „ sât-chingeät.
8th „ hēohare-chingeät, 1st Quarter, tut-la-äl.
9th „ maichūatare-chingeät.
10th „ chamānga-chingeät.

(b) Rôka-chingeät (whole or greater portion of moon).

11th day, kahōk-sīan-chingeät.
12th „ aneät-sīan-chingeät.
13th „ lūe-sīan-chingeät *or* sōho-chingeät (day before full-moon).
14th „ fän-sīan-chingeät *or* chawī (*or* komtôpla)-chingeät (full-moon).
15th „ tanī-sīan-chingeät *or* anòi(ch)-chingeät } days immediately following full-
16th „ tafūal-sīan-chingeät *or* chukyea-chingeät } moon.

(c) Drônga-chingeät (waning-moon).

17th day, kâhōk-drônga-chingeät.
18th „ aneât-drônga-chingeät.
19th „ lūe-drônga-chingeät.
20th „ fän-drônga-chingeät.
21st „ tanī-drônga-chingeät.
22nd „ tafūal-drônga-chingeät, Last Quarter, drôngte-chingeät.
23rd „ sât-drônga-chingeät.
24th „ hēohare-drônga-chingeät.
25th „ maichūatare-drônga-chingeät.
26th „ sam-drônga-chingeät.

(d) Sâlnōwa-chingeät (disappearing moon).

27th day, kâhōk-sâlnōwa-chingeät.
28th „ aneät-sâlnōwa-chingeät.
29th „ lūe-sâlnōwa-chingeät.
30th „ fän-sâlnōwa-chingeät.

The period between the last appearance of the old moon and the first appearance of the new moon is called *aiya-ap-chingeät.* It, therefore, corresponds to the term *kanat* in the dialect of the Central Group.

2. Division of the Day and Night.

The varying position of the sun at the same hour at different seasons is accounted for in a somewhat singular and ingenious manner. It is thought that the rising of the sun north of

the east during the heavy squally weather of May, June, July and August is attributable to the violence of the S.-W. gales driving it towards that position (!); while the fact of its appearing south of the east during the rest of the year is, on the same principle, ascribed to the force of the N.-E. winds, then prevailing, which prevent the dawn from breaking uniformly in the same point of the horizon.

The property of the sun-dial is unknown to the Nicobarese. From the following list of terms used by them to indicate the various hours of the day and night it will be seen that their day is divided with regard to the position of the sun at different hours until sunset, while the period between sunset and sunrise is in like manner divided in reference to increasing darkness, supper-time, approach of midnight, midnight, deep sleep, approach of dawn, and dawn:—

(1) Forenoon, — lâ-hala-heng.

Sun-rise, danâkla-heng; hen-nēla-heng, ⎫
About 7 a. m., eṅhla-kōi-hindōaha, ⎬ oal-hakī (morning).
„ 8 „ kōi-hindōaha-ka, ⎭
„ 9 „ kōi-hindōaha-chòng.
„ 10 or 11 „ eṅhla-kâmheng.

(2) Afternoon, — lâ-hanga-heng.

About noon, kâm-heng.
„ 1 p. m., sharīala-heng (or shadīaha-heng).
„ 2 „ chin-faicha-chòng.
„ 3 „ chin-faicha-ka.
„ 3-30 „ chin-faicha-eṅhshe.
„ 4 „ heng-imat-mitūa.
„ 5 „ heng-imat-eṅhshe; also heng-kamôt (*tâṛî*-tapping time).
„ 5-30 „ eṅhshe-shup-heng.

(3) Evening.

Sunset, shup-heng.
„ shortly after, ladīaya.
Twilight, eṅhshe-puyūe.
Dusk, puyūe.

(4) Night.

About 7 p. m., puyūe-tuchūl; puyūe-pòt; also faneāmla-kamòish (roosting time).
„ 7-30 „ heṅ-mokngôk (supper-time).
„ 8 „ heṅ-mokngôk-ka.
„ 9 „ heṅ-mokngôk-chiyàu.
„ 10 and 11 p. m., eṅhshe-yūang-hatòm.
Midnight, yūang-hatòm.
About 1 a. m., hen-chatnga.
„ 2 „ ha-hōaka-chiyàu.
„ 3 „ ha-hōaka-ka.
„ 4 „ ha-hōaka.
Dawn, shortly before, eṅhla-püyü.
Dawn, püyü.
Sunrise, shortly before, chang-i-oal.

In order to particularise a certain hour of the day to an alien unacquainted with their terms, a native will, by protruding his lips or by stretching out his hand, point to the position of the sun at the hour in question, and say, "*dāhtare heng*, thither sun."

At Car Nicobar the terms used are as follows :—

Sun-rise, mânat-la-tâ-wūe ;[35] pühü.
Morning, ko-tâ-nen′-pühü.
Forenoon, tâ ran′-pühü.
Noon, sâ-kâm′.
About 3 p. m., tâ-ran′-hârap.
„ 5 „ ko-tâ-nen′-hârap.
Sunset, mânat-ta-tâ-wūe.[35]
Evening, hârap.
Dusk, parūe-yâmat.
About 9 p. m., arū-hârap.
„ 11 „ kūa-meng' a-häre.
„ midnight, chyūal-hâtām.
„ 3 a. m., chinriü-ta-pü.
„ 4 „ rô-haiyam (*lit.*, "cock-crow").
„ 4-30 „ āl-kūa-pü.
Dawn, mūaka.
Sunrise, shortly before, ta-pü.

There is an alternative method for indicating periods of time on moonlight nights, *viz.*, by applying the terms used for daylight-hours with the substitution of *kâhē* (moon) for *heng* (sun), and by adding *kâhē* to those terms which are complete without the prefix or suffix of *heng*: *e. g.*, *danâkla-kâhē*, moon-rise ; *kâm-kâhē*, the meridian altitude of the moon ; *chin-faicha-chòng-kâhē*, two hours later (*i. e.*, than *kâm-kâhē*), etc. It will thus be apparent that the entire list of terms from *danâkla-kâhē* to *shup-kâhē* can be employed only at full-moon ; and, as the equivalent clock-time of such of the terms as can be used on other nights during the lunation — both before and after full-moon — necessarily differs to the extent of some 50 minutes from that of the next preceding or succeeding night, it is necessary to note the exact phase of the lunation in order to determine whether the term employed refers to some hour before or after midnight.

The practice of reckoning length of time by nights (*râm* or *dâm*) instead of by days is usual but not universal. *Ex.*:— *enfōan hanga râm na kaọâh*, he died 8 days (*lit.*, nights) ago ; again, *shòm-lōe halx râm shwâ-nyxre chông-heōe*, the Steamer will return (southwards) 13 days (*lit.*, nights) hence. In these examples *shinkâm* (day) might be employed in place of *râm*.

3. Time and Distance.

In order to express any short period of time or to indicate the distance of some village or spot on the same island, the Nicobarese would say that it was one (or more, as the case might be) "betel-quid-taking-time," so that a halt or visit occupying some 15 minutes, or a walk of about a mile, would be described as "one betel-quid-taking-period." *Ex.* : — *ân kohòt hē maiyâ leät tang*, we all reached it — some place about 2 miles distant — in two betel-quids' time. Similarly, a walk of about 4 miles would be considered and described as equivalent to "4 betel-quids," and so on. But in order to convey an approximate idea of some distance by sea in a canoe (say, from 2 to 20 miles between one island and another) they say that it is one (or more) "young-cocoanut-drinks" distant. Thus a canoe trip of less than two miles would be spoken of as less than "one young-cocoanut-drink," while a trip from Nancowry Harbour to Chowra would perhaps be regarded by the majority as one of 6 "young-cocoanut-

[35] The substitution of *t* for *l* is all that distinguishes the word for "sunset" from that for "sunrise."

drinks," and so on, relatively, between any two other places according to distance.[36] Experience, however, shews that just as the capacity for absorbing fluids and chewing betel-quids varies considerably in different individuals, so also do terms of this nature, when used by them, differ not a little in significance; as however, there is no great call for exactitude, either in regard to time or space, in connection with their movements these rough methods of determining distance are ordinarily sufficient for all their requirements.

The explanation of the use of these terms is, as may be supposed, to be found in the fact that the Nicobarese invariably carry young cocoanuts in their canoes when making a trip of some duration, in order to assuage their thirst; while betel-chewing is a practice universally observed among them. The following may here be added as further examples of the same nature:—

hēang kola-hòiṅsha .... a few moments, *lit.*, one holding-of-the-breath.
hēang hat-dôh-na-yölnga-heng... about one hour (of the day only), *lit.*, less-than-one-stage-in-the-sun's-passage-across-the-sky.
hēang mishēya-heng .... about three hours (of the day only).
hēang molkâṅla-heng .... about six hours (of the day only), *lit.*, one-half of a day.
hēang muyòia-òṅh.................. about three hours (of the night only), *lit.*, the time taken in burning one small bundle of firewood.
hēang hat-pomâk-òṅh .... about six hours (of the night only), *lit.*, the time taken in burning one large bundle of firewood.

4. Points of the Compass.

The Nicobarese possess terms descriptive of the points of the compass, *viz.*, *ta*[37]*-ngâle*, North; *ta*[37]*-ngange*, South; *ta*[37]*-ngâhae*, East; *ta*[37]*-ngaiche*, West; and are in the habit of making more use of their knowledge in this respect in the daily affairs of life than is deemed at all necessary among civilized communities. For instance, there is in all their dialects a very extensive list of words expressing "motion" or "direction," which require severally the special suffix appropriate to its class, implying whether the direction or motion be northward, southward, eastward, westward or . . . . . towards the landing-place[38] (*ta*[37]*-ngaiñe*). The result of this seemingly pedantic mode of expression is that most careful observance of the rules on the subject is at all times necessary, not only to convey a correct meaning, but in order to avoid conveying the directly opposite impression to that intended; while by inadvertently employing a suffix appertaining to another class the certain risk is incurred of being to a greater or less degree unintelligible.[39]

The words indicating the four cardinal points are not derived from prevalent winds, nor is it possible at the present day to decide definitely as to their origin. No trace can be discovered of the derivation of the terms denoting "south" (*ngange*)[40] or "east" (*ngâhae*), but the word for "north" (*ngâle*)[40] signifies also "above," and that for "west" (*ngaiche*) means also "below"; the latter would thus appear to be associated in the minds of these Islanders with some idea of the position of the setting-sun.

[36] *Ex.:*—*fôan het-nōang ñī-nâu inâ leät tang itâ*, you two arrived here in 4 "young-cocoanut-drinks'-time."

[37] In construction the particle *ta* is dropped.

[38] As from the very nature of their mode of life they have frequent occasion to visit the landing-place of their respective villages, special provision to meet this want is thus made.

[39] Where the speaker is in doubt as to the direction he wishes to indicate, or where exactitude of expression is immaterial, he employs a suffix which denotes direction or motion without reference to any particular point of the compass. These terms, therefore, are in most common use, especially among the less intelligent.

[40] As a suggestion it may here be noted that in the same dialect "*hala*" denotes "hence" (in the future), and "*hanga*" expresses "ago" (past time), while their traditions speak of their having originally come from the south.

Table of certain common verbs and adverbs having suffixes indicating direction or motion.

	North (also *Above*) ta-ngâle	*South* ta-ngange	*East* ta-ngâhae	*West* (also *Below*) ta-ngaiche	*Landing-place* ta-ngaiñe	
Like that	(of some object in a *northerly* direction) shīri ngâle	(of some object in a *southerly* direction) shīri ngange	(of some object in an *easterly* direction) shīri ngâhae	(of some object in a *westerly* direction) shīri ngaiche	(of some object in direction of landing-place) shīri ngaiñe	(of some object without reference to its direction) shīri ane
	northwards	southwards	eastwards	westwards	towards the landing-place	in any direction
Go	af-al	af-ang	af-ahat	af-aich	af-aiñ	af-at
Ascend a hill	af-al	......	......	af-aich (descend a hill)	......	......
Ascend a hill	ō-le	......	......	ō-she (descend a hill)	......	......
Go	ō-le	ō-nge	ō-he	ō-she	ō-ñe	ō-te
Arrive	tang-la	tang-nga	tang-hat	tang-she	tang-ñe	tang-ta
Climb a tree	chīat-la	......	......	chīat-she (descend a tree)	......	......
Bring	kai-hala	kai-hanga	kai-hahat	kai-hashe	kai-haiñe	kai-hata
Ascend a ladder	chuak-lare	......	......	chuak-shire (descend a ladder)	......	......
Come	kai-lare	kai-ngare	kai-hare	kai-shire	kai-ñire	kai-tare
Hither	òid-lare	òid-ngare	òid-hare	òid-shire	òid-ñire	òid-tare
Thither	dāh-lare	dāh-ngare	dāh-hare	dāh-shire	dāh-ñire	dāh-tare

5. Steering Courses by Sun and Stars.

The acquaintance of the Nicobarese with the heavenly bodies is very limited, and such little knowledge as they possess is confined to the more intelligent of the elder members of the various communities[41] who are able to identify a few of the more striking of the constellations, planets and stars, to wit, the Pleiades, Orion's Belt, the Southern Cross, Ursa Major, and Venus.

When travelling by night — which usually is only done in the calm weather breaks (*kōi-kapá* and *kōi-ilüe*), occurring respectively in April and October — they take advantage of such knowledge as they possess of the position of certain stars in reference to the situation of the neighbouring islands, to steer their course thereby. The islands they are in the habit of visiting most frequently are in no case more than 48 miles distant — in other cases ranging from 8 to 35 miles — and as care is taken to arrange such trips, whenever possible, only while calm weather is assured and during neap tides — in order to escape strong currents and dangerous tide-rips, — their dependence on the stars for guidance is limited to the first half of the longest voyages, after which intervening islets or lofty hills, which then loom in view, are naturally preferred as surer indications of the correctness of the course. In these night voyages the polar-star is chosen as a guide by the natives of the Central and Southern Groups when visiting Chowra and Nancowry respectively, and by the natives of Chowra when steering for Car Nicobar; while the Southern Cross directs the Car Nicobarese voyagers in their expeditions to Chowra, and also the natives of the Central Group in their trips to Little

[41] It should be mentioned that none but the elderly members of the community venture to betray any knowedge of this subject, it being among their superstitions that acquaintance or familiarity with such matters tends to shorten their lives, or at the least to age them in some mysterious manner. It is consequently only from certain of the more intelligent of the old people that any trustworthy information on these points can be gathered.

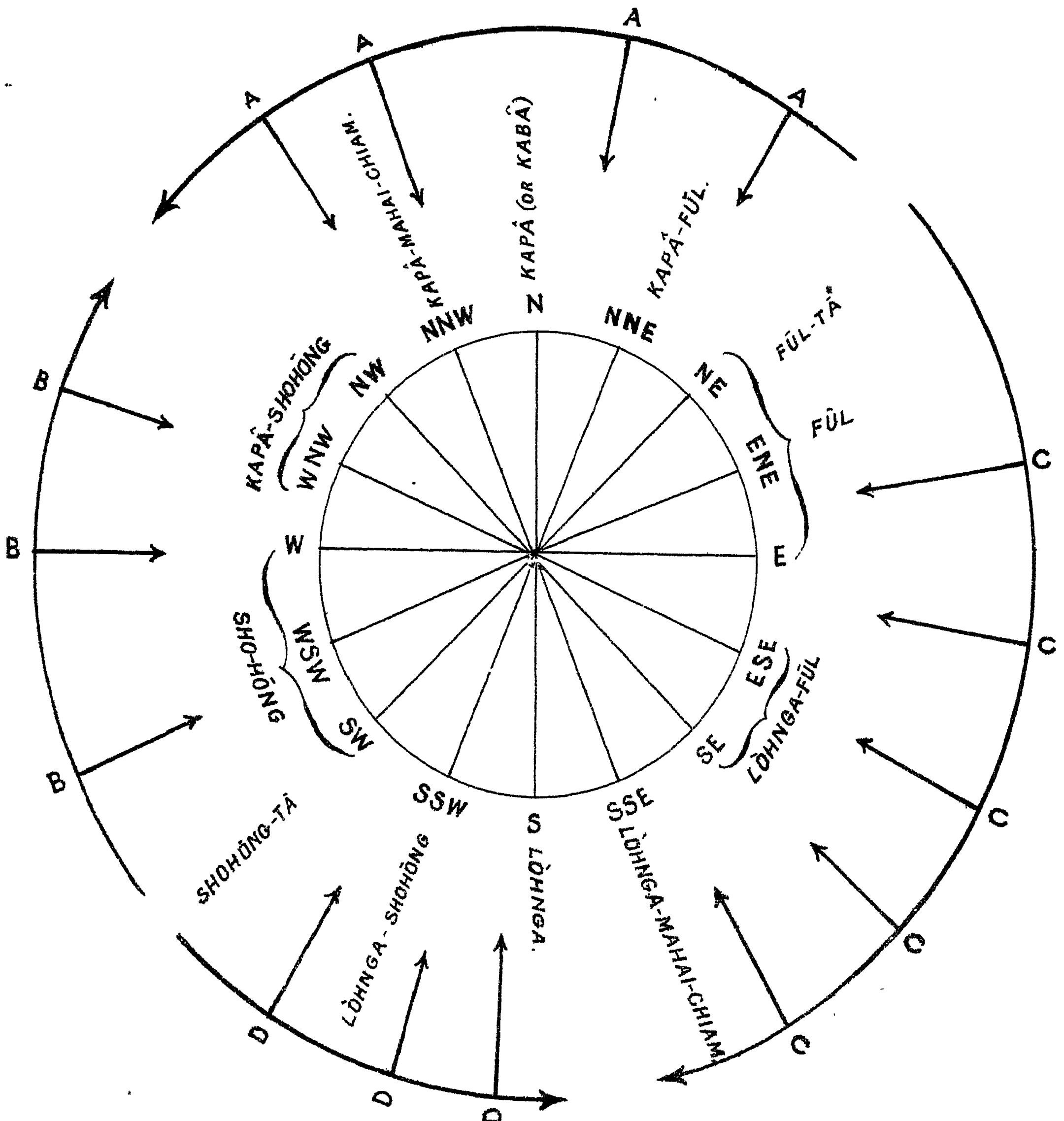
Nicobar. Sometimes they steer their course by keeping one or other of these stars directly stern of the canoe. Save to this limited extent no attempt is made to utilize their observations of the movements of the planetary bodies.

6. The Winds and Clouds.

I give here a diagram of the various terms used in order to denote the different winds. It should be mentioned that the term (*mahai-chiam*) applied in the diagram to the N. N.-W. and S. S.-E. winds implies "straight," by reason of their proceeding *direct* from these two points where lie adjacent inhabited islands, *i. e.*, Chowra, Teressa, and Bompoka on the one hand, and the Southern Group on the other; so that, making their voyages thitherwards during the prevalence of either of these winds, they know that on one course or the other they can make sure of being driven *straight* to their destination.

With regard to the clouds, the Nicobarese have but one word to express the different formations of cirrus, cumulus, and stratus, *viz.*, *mifaiñya*, while to denote nimbus they merely say *mifaiñya-ta-āl*, *lit.*, a black cloud.

Diagram showing the terms used to denote the direction of the various winds.



Explanation.

A denotes the direction of the wind at the close of the N.-E. monsoon, and

B „ „ „ „ S.-W. „

When these veer to the opposite direction by way of the **north**, they are both included in the terms *hâṅsh-wiala-kapû* (*lit.*, wind turning **north**).

C denotes the direction of the wind at the close of the N.-E. monsoon, and

D „ „ „ „ S.-W. „

When these veer to the opposite direction by way of the **south**, they are both included in the term *hâṅsh-wiala-lôhnga* (*lit.*, wind turning **south**).

The *hâṅsh-fûl*, when blowing almost continuously from the N.-E. (say, from February to April), is described as *hâṅsh-fûl-tâ*.

Similarly, the *hâṅsh-shohõng*, when blowing continuously from the S.-W. (say, from June to September), is styled *hâṅsh-shohõng-tâ*.

In naming any of the winds mentioned in the accompanying diagram the word "*hâṅsh*" (wind) is prefixed.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 252.)

Earth Spirits. — Most of the **bhûts** or have beens of the Konkân are supposed to live on the earth. Of the noble army of Konkân *bhûts* that live on the earth, perhaps **the best known are** Alvantin, Athvar, Bahiri or Bhairôba, Brahmapurush, Bâpdev, Bâbarâs, Chêda, Chandkâi, Chôndi, Dâkin, Firangi, Jakhâi, Janai, Jôkhâi, Kâphri, Khavis, Kalimba, Kâlkâi, Mhaskoba, Mahâvir, Munja, Navlâi, Pir, Sambandh, Vêtâl and Zôting.

Vêtâl is considered the lord or *râja* of earth spirits. Vêtâl is made in the image of a man, except that his hands and feet turn backwards. His eye-balls are of a tawny green, and the hair of his head stands on end. He wears a green dress, and holds a cane in his right hand and a conch-shell in his left. He also holds in his left hand a rosary of twenty-one *rudrâksh* beads,[77] a piece of pressed cow-dung ashes, and a bracelet of his favourite *rui*[78] flowers which he usually wears round his right wrist. Generally, at midnight, Vêtâl starts on a royal progress, seated in a palanquin or riding a horse, and with a mighty escort of spirits before and after him, yelling frantically and waving lighted torches.[79] Vêtâl is said to spend his time in serving the god Śiva. His usual abode is a mountain, a wood thickly set with small trees and shrubs, or the bank of a river. His aspect is cruel and terrible. He has no body, and lives on wind. Only when Vêtâl sets out on his royal progress, or when he has business of the god Śiva to perform, does he assume a body. Śiva has made Vêtâl chief of spirits because Śiva could find no spirit that excelled Vêtâl in learning, wisdom, talent, or strength. In the Konkân, Vêtâl is often represented by a large rough stone set under a tree and smeared with oil and red lead. Whenever any one is suddenly taken ill, or is possessed by an evil spirit, the Konkân, villagers worship the stone of Vêtâl, and make vows to it for the recovery of the sick. Every

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77 *Eleocarpus lanceolatus.*

78 *Calotropis gigantea.*

79 With Vêtâl and his troop compare the European Hellequin or air-contending spirits in France, in Spain the Old Army, and in England King Arthur's Hunt. Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. pp. 941, 942.

year in the month of Mâgh (February) the stone of Vêtâl is worshipped with flowers and red powder, and each villager takes a bundle of lighted straw, and dances round the stone, yelling and howling.

Brahmapurush, the Brâhman man or **Brahmarâkshas**, the Brâhman fiend, comes next in importance to Vêtâl. Brahmapurush is believed to be the ghost of a married Brâhman who during his lifetime was a miser, whom death overtook when his mind was uneasy with unaccomplished schemes. He seldom attacks. But when he does, it is extremely difficult to get rid of him. According to the *śâstrîs* and *paṇḍits* of the Mahârâshtra, Bhattoji Dikshit, the well-known expounder of the *Siddhânta Kaumudi*, an elaborate treatise on Sanskṛit grammar, after his death, became a Brahmapurush, so great was his longing to teach the *Kaumudi*. His spectre was so often seen in his mansion in Banâras that the mansion was set apart for the spirit's use. After a time a Brâhman boy, of twelve or thirteen, came to Banâras to gain a knowledge of Sanskṛit grammar. In Banâras, as a joke, the haunted mansion was shewn to the lad as the dwelling of the greatest teacher of grammar. The lad entered the house and saw an elderly Brâhman performing his *sandhya* or morning prayer. The boy humbly saluted the Brâhman and told him the object of his visit. The Brâhman told him that he would make him conversant with Sanskṛit grammar in twelve months, on condition that meanwhile the boy would, on no account, leave the mansion. As for the boy's feeding the Brâhman said that he would be daily served at the proper time with a well-dressed dish. The boy consented, and remained for twelve months, during which he mastered Sanskṛit grammar. One day, after the year was over, he forgot his agreement, and left the house to enjoy the air. As he was walking one of the men who had recommended him to live in Dikshit's house, met the boy and expressed surprise at his escape from the haunted mansion. He told the pupil that his teacher was a Brahmapurush, and that when they advised him to go into the house he and his friends never expected the pupil to come out alive. The student, though greatly alarmed, resolved to go back to the mansion. The ghost, seeing that the boy was much frightened, told him not to fear, and ordered the boy to take his bones to Gaya, and perform rites to free the soul of Dikshit. From the day the rites were performed the ghost disappeared from the mansion.

Bhairôba. — When Bhairoba is shewn as a standing male figure with a trident in his left hand and a *damaru* or drum in his right, he is called **Kâla-Bhairav.** But he is generally represented by a rough stone covered with oil and red lead. His nature is terrible, and when offended he is difficult to appease. By some he is believed to be an incarnation of Śiva, others class him as a spirit who is in favour with Śiva.[80] He is also consulted as an oracle. In consulting Bhairav as an oracle a betel-nut is set on each breast of the rude figure and the god is asked, if the consulter's wish is to be granted, to let the right or the left nut drop first. Bhairav is not subordinate to Vêtâl. When he makes his nightly rounds he rides a black horse, and is accompanied by a black dog.

Chêda, the Lad, is believed to be the ghost of a shepherd boy who died unmarried.[81] He is widely known in the Konkân and is feared by the people. He is short and ugly He is dressed in a *lăṅgôṭî* or loin cloth and a blanket, and holds a long pole with jangling bells. Over almost the whole Konkân, and particularly in Ṭhânâ, every village has its Chêda, a stone set in some conspicuous place in the village. Whenever a cow calves, her owner offers the first milk to Chêda by pouring it over Chêda's stone. If the offering is withheld Chêda will either spoil

[80] In the Konkân and to a less extent in the Dakhan, spirits like Vêtâl, Bhairôba, Mhaskoba and Śitaladêvî are considered demigods or something more than demigods. They are worshipped, not only by the early tribes, but even by Brâhmaṇs and other high classes. Although Konkân Brâhmaṇs look down upon Kunbîs for worshipping spirits like Chêda, they themselves worship Vêtâl, Bhairôba and Mhaskoba, and sometimes even Chêda and Munja.

[81] Among Ratnâgiri Marâṭhâs and Karhâḍâ Brâhmaṇs the word Chêda means a boy or lad.

or lessen the yield of milk.[82] Chêda also, when displeased, takes the form of a tiger, and eats the village cattle. To avoid this, annual offerings of fowls and cocoanuts are made to his stone. Chêda is sometimes called **Chêda-mâmâ or Uncle Chêda.** Uncle Chêda is either a divine watchman or a bully according as his powers are used for defence or for attack. Râmji, a barber of Junnar in North Poona, had been in low spirits. An enemy had blighted him with the help of a spell. Râmji started for the Konkân to buy a Chêda to keep his rival's spell from again entering his house. At Bhiwndi, in Thânâ, he was sent to a Thâkur who dealt in Chêdas. Râmji promised the Chêda, if he would come with him to Junnar, that the Chêda would get an egg daily, a fowl every Sunday, and mutton and liquor twice a month on full moon and on new-moon days. Under these terms Uncle Chêda agreed to go with Râmji and guard his house in Junnar from charms. The Thâkur made Chêda a little image to live in and Râmji carried him to Junnar. Râmji set Chêda on Lakshman, the local oilman, whose spells had blighted Râmji's health. Lakshman died and Râmji was greatly feared. "He has a Konkân Chêda in his house, take care you do not anger him." Râmji became religious and joined the Vârkarîs or time-keepers, the strictest sect of the followers of Vithoba of Pandharpur. Now he could eat no flesh and drink no liquor. He explained the change to Chêda. At first Chêda sulked. Then he admitted that as his master had given up liquor and flesh he could not be expected to go on giving him these luxuries. So Chêda kept friendly. Excess of devotion, or some other cause, made Râmji weak and nervous. His doctor said: It is wind-stroke or *vâyu*. Eggs are the thing, strengthening food, eat eggs and you will soon be well. Râmji ate eggs but forgot Chêda. Chêda was furious and was more than once heard to say he would have Râmji's life. Râmji called in Vithoba. Vithoba came, smelt the eggs, and left. Râmji was alone with Uncle Chêda and Uncle Chêda killed him. Râmji's mother abused Chêda for killing her son, took his image and threw it into the middle of a river. As Chêda cannot cross running water he is still at the bottom of the river and keeps quiet.

Jakhâi, Jôkhâi, Mukâi and Navlâi are the ghosts of women who died in child-birth or unmarried, or with some other desire unfulfilled. They cause great mischief by bringing disease, destroying corn, and occasionally waylaying and teasing travellers.

Kâphrî, the spectre of an African who was murdered by robbers, has eyes at the back of his head, toes near his ankles, and is generally like a human being with the chief parts of his body reversed.

Mhasoba, Mhaskoba or Mhaishâsur, who is generally represented by a large stone placed under a tree, is the spirit of vengeance, and is specially worshipped by those who wish to injure or take revenge on others. He roams at night in the form of a big buffalo, and gores any one who may chance to meet him.

Munjâ is the ghost of a Brâhmaṇ boy who died after his thread ceremony and before his marriage.[83] Munjâ generally lives in the *Pîpal* tree. The chief objects of the Munjâ's attack are women whom he teases cruelly. Many stories are told of Konkân houses set on fire by Munjâ, and of women tormented by fire, by having their eyes pricked with thorns, or by barrenness. To appease Munjâ, persons afflicted or possessed by him perform the Munjâ thread-girding ceremony of the *pipal* tree and raise an embankment or *pâr* around the tree. Many such embankments can be seen in the Konkân, even in the town of Bombay.

(*To be continued.*)

[82] Compare the German dwarfs and elves who were believed to draw milk from the udders of kine (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1072).

[83] No class of spirits is more feared or more generally worshipped than the spirits of Brâhmaṇs, especially the spirit of an unmarried Brâhmaṇ. The Gonds worship *munjal* under the form of a little cone of red lead, 1½ inches high, which rises of itself in a platform in the house as a shrine for the unmarried dead (Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. I. p. 1). In Bengal, a case is recorded in which a Brâhmaṇ's land was taken from him by a chief, and, as he got no redress, the Brâhmaṇ killed himself and became the village deity (Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 118). So in Gujarât, the Bhâts and Chârans gained high sanctity from their known readiness to commit suicide, and from the belief that their spirits would haunt the man who had made them commit suicide.

MISCELLANEA.

A MORALTIY FROM THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

ONCE upon a time in a certain country there lived a pious king. One day, having bathed and applied the *tilaka* to his forehead, he started, followed by his minister, to go to a temple to worship. To reach the temple there was a river to be crossed.

Now Îśvara, with a view to test the piety of the king, assumed the form of a mangy dog, and appeared at the river precisely at the moment when the king and the minister were about to cross it. In this repulsive disguise the god approached the king repeatedly with a mute appeal to be taken to the temple on the other side; but he kept himself from coming in contact with what appeared to be a low cur. Yet the animal persisted in going up to the king, howling piteously.

The minister, on seeing this, said to his master:—"I see, sir, that this creature wishes to be taken across the river." So saying he took the dog into his arms, notwithstanding the mange, and began fording the river after the king.

The river was not easily forded, and so, when the water reached up the armpits of the minister, he put the dog on his shoulders, and when the water reached his shoulders he put it on his head, the king observing him all the time. And by the time the king and the minister reached the temple the former found to his great horror that he had been smitten with the mange of the dog, this being the punishment inflicted by the god, because, notwithstanding his reputed piety, he was not, when passed through the crucible of experience, found right in his heart. On the other hand the minister who had handled the mangy dog from first to last was untouched, for his heart was approved by the god.

The moral is that we are not to look down upon the poor for their poverty or external defects; for who knows but that they may have hearts that commend themselves to Paramêśvara.

M. N. VENKETSWAMI.

DERIVATION OF SATELEER.

THIS is the form which a word for a small coin of the Malays assumes in a general table of Oriental coins and weights given by Stevens at p 128 of his *New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade.* The following quotations will shew that its derivation is precisely that of *sapèque* given *ante*, p 222 ff., and that it meant originally the same thing, *viz.*, a string of *pitis* or cash. It is, in fact, made up of the Malay **sa**, one, + tali,'a string, just as *sapèque* represents *sa*, one, + *páku*, a string of *pitis*.

1775. — "Coins of Siam, Pegu, Malacca, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, etc. . . . . A Crown = 8 **Sateleers** = 5s. . . . . A **Sateleer** = 125 *Fettees* = 7½d." — Stevens, *Guide*, p. 129. *Fettee* stands for *pitis*.

1775 — "Batavia. 3 Cash are 1 **Satallie.** 6 Cash, or 2 **Satallie**, are 1 *Sooka.* 9 Cash are 1 **Sooka Satallie** . . . . 39 Cash, or 13 **Satallies**, or Skillings, are 1 Ducatoon." — Stevens, *Guide*, p. 124. *Sooka* is for *suku*, a quarter piece (of a dollar, etc.). The Cash here is the copper coin worth a string of *pitis*.

1852. — "**Tali** — a rope, a string, a cord . . . . Name of a small silver coin, equal in value to an eighth of a Spanish dollar, and consequently to about 13 English pence. It is probable that the word is derived from the last, and has reference to the practice of filing a certain number of small coins on a string, which, judging by the hole in the centre of all ancient Javanese coins, appears to have prevailed in the Archipelago as well as in China." — Crawfurd, *Malay Dict.*, *s. v.*

1881. — "12½ duit (cent) = 1 **tâli** (12½ cents). 2 **tâli** = 1 suku (25 cents)." — Swettenham, *Malay Vocab.* Vol. II., Appx. on Currency.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A POINT IN INDIAN MARTYROLOGY.

IT would be interesting to enquire into the ceremonies prevalent in the Pêshâwar District with regard to the burial of martyrs, and into the qualifications which entitle a deceased person to rank as a martyr.

I remember a case in which a man was murdered. Previous to his death he was said to have made a declaration naming his assassin.

The murdered man received burial as a martyr, and one of the main contentions raised against the genuineness of his dying declaration was the fact of such mode of burial having taken place.

It was said that no man is deemed a martyr who speaks after receiving his death-stroke, and this man having received a martyr's burial, the dying declaration was not likely to have been made.

The late C. SPITTA in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 265.*)

II.

I WILL now pass on to facts of perhaps still greater interest concerning the use of special articles as intermediaries in barter or exchange.

Natural Produce. — It will have been observed that, in the instances quoted, the observers who noted them have been careful to state the articles by name they saw used in trade by barter. As a matter of fact, even the naked Kûkîs would not take everything, but restricted the articles they accepted in exchange for their own produce to certain customary things, of which they were habitually in great need. From this first glimmering of the idea of wealth represented by a conventional currency to such a currency itself in terms of natural produce is but a short, though an important step.

(1) Rice. — Yule notes in his *Embassy to Ava*, p. 259, that "rice is often used in petty transactions among villagers."[59] It is still used in some parts of Upper Burma, but the rice so used is not food-rice, nor seed-rice, but useless, broken rice. It is in fact a conventional currency, like the imitation hoes, hatchets, knives, etc., of the Chinese and other races in the world. As this use of rice in Burma throws an important light on the subject before us, I may as well describe it in greater detail. Rice has been so used elsewhere in the East, as the following facts will shew. Mr. E. H. Parker informs me that, in *Annals of the T'ang Dynasty of China*, a book a thousand years old, it is stated that the Shâns of old paid a tax of two measures of rice a year for each man who worked a plough, and it took three men to keep a plough going, one to drive, one to lead and one to poke up the ox! As I have observed already, taxes are pretty sure guide to barter values. Rice, again, formed an important part of the fines inflicted on the Lushais in the Expedition of 1871-2, as Woodthorpe informs us in his *Lushai Expedition*, p. 223, and elsewhere. Friar Odoric, in the early XIVth Century, in describing a rich man of Manzi in China, says:— "Now this man hath a revenue of xxx *tuman* of *tagars* (Turki and *Persian*, *taghâr* = sack) of rice. And each *tuman* is ten thousand and each *tagar* is the amount of a heavy ass-load." On this text Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. 153, remarks:— "Revenues continued to be estimated in China in sacks of rice until lately, if they are not so still (1866). In Burma they are always estimated in baskets of rice."

In the XVIth Century we find in the *Âîn Akbarî*, Gladwin's Ed., Vol. II. p. 156, that, in Kashmîr, "every coin and even manufactures are estimated in *kharwars* of rice." Even in the remote, but by no means uncivilised, Maldives, Pyrard de Laval found, in the early XVIIth Century (Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. II. p. 473) that "these islands are a great emporium for all parts and the Moors of India frequent them, bartering their salt and earthenware, which are not made at the islands, and also rice and silver."

(2) Salt. — Holt Hallett, *Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, p. 164, states:— "Dr. M'Gilvary said that up to 1874 salt was used as currency for purchases in Zimmè Market," and we thus find ourselves started in the neighbourhood of Burma on another conventional article of barter.[59a] In the XIIIth Century, Marco Polo found that the people of the "Province of Tebet" used "salt instead of money," and in the "Province of Caindu" "the small change again is made in this way. They have salt which they boil and set in a mould (flat below and round above), and every piece from the mould weighs about half a pound. Now 80 moulds of this

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[59] Cox, *Burmhan Empire*, p. 311, remarks in his diary on July 21, 1797, that the people of Ava had to use rice in place of lead for small purchases, in consequence of the pranks that King B'ôdôp'ayâ played with his currency. *Cf.* Raffles, *Java*, Vol. II. p. li. So cloves, the staple produce, were used as currency in the Moluccas in 1596: *Dutch Voyages*, 1703, p. 292. In 1820 the people of Pulo Seruni carried fish to fairs "in barter for rice and salt." *Malayan Miscell.*, Vol. I., Bencoolen, 1820, in Moor's *Indian Archipelagô*, Appx., p. 2.

[59a] Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I. pp. 75, 114, 132, 159, alludes to barter in salt.

salt are worth one *saggio* of fine gold, which is a weight so called.[59b] So this salt serves them for small change." Such statements as these naturally set Yule talking in his own invaluable way, and accordingly we find, in Vol. II. p. 36 f., that Ramusio enlarged on the text to the extent of stating that "on the money so made the Prince's mark is printed and no one is allowed to make it except the royal officers": — a statement which gives us **coin of the realm in salt**! And he adds, what is more to the point just now, that in Lieut. Bower's *Account of Sladen's Mission* (p. 120), it is stated that at Momien the salt, which is a government monopoly is "made up in rolls of one or two viss and stamped." Yule also quotes a private note from Garnier tending to shew a wide-spread currency of salt in Yunan and the Burmese Shân States in modern times. Going back beyond Marco Polo's time, Mr. Parker tells me that in the *T'ang History* it is chronicled that a treaty was made with the Ai-laos, under which each poll of the population had to pay two garments (with a hole in for the head to go through) and a measure of salt as tribute (to the Chinese); while Scott (Shway Yoe) tells us in his *Report of the Northern Shân States* of 1893 that the Wâs sell walnuts to the Chinese in exchange for salt, thus carrying the salt currency of the Shân tribes down to our own times. The evidence above collected is strengthened by Colquhoun (*Across Chryse*, p. 263), who tells us that in the last war in Yunnan the scarcity of salt was so great that it rose to nearly worth its weight in silver. This statement is comparable with one of Valentyn's quoted in Yule's *Ava*, p. 377:— "Salt was so valuable (in Laos in 1641) that they gave for a *maas* of salt a *maas* of gold, which they could well do, as there was much gold both in the river and in the mountains above Namnoy."

Of the custom of the Kachins, Mr. G. W. Shaw gives similar evidence in 1890. Speaking of the Burman Shâns of the Upper Irrawaddy and the manner in which the Kachins treat them he says: — "The Kachins' exactions are little more than nominal. At Naungtalaw they came to about two viss of salt (value eight annas per annum); at Ywâdaw five viss occasionally." He then tells us the story of one San Maing. "San Maing in his complaint says:— 'I went to Talawgyi and told the Kayaingyôk to endeavour to get me back my wife and child, or I should report the matter to the Deputy Commissioner. The Talawgyi Kayaingôk said:— 'Very well, I will do so: do not report yet.' So he sent to do it. But the *thugyi* of our village, Sangi, had already redeemed them for a gong and 100 viss of salt. The *thugyi* redeemed them because it would not do for the affair to be known to Government."[60] Wilcox in his *Survey of Assam*, in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII., notes that the Khâmtîs and Sing-Pho (Kachins) dealt in salt. This was in 1825-8. Similarly Brown, *Account of Manipur*, notes (p. 43) that the Tonkhuls and Luhupas bring "daos, spears, cloths, etc., to Manipur, taking salt in exchange, and at p. 53, he tells us that the trade of the Khongjais is limited to the occasional barter of cloth for iron and salt, while some of the enterprising among them get so far as to take iron from the Manipur Valley or barter it for pebbles, guns and cloth with the Lushai or Kamhow Tribe." Similarly in Soppitt's *Account of the Kachari Tribes*, p. 20, we find slaves valued in conch shells, salt and dogs. And lastly in Woodthorpe's *Lushai Expedition*, p. 319, we have a capital illustration of salt currency and the use made of it by civilised man to the apparent detriment of the savage. "A large number of Lushais had accompanied us as far as Tipai Mukh and were busily employed in driving a few last bargains. They brought down large quantities of India-rubber, which they eagerly exchanged for salt, equal weights, and as the value of the rubber was more than four times that of the salt, any individuals who could command a large supply of the latter had an excellent opportunity of a little profitable business." The profit, however, was not altogether that of the civilised man on this occasion, if the matter be looked at from the savage's point of view. For Mr. Burland has a note on the Lushais at this very period, which puts the matter in quite a different light. He writes (*Parl. Papers, Cachar*, 1872, p. 132):— "In former times these tribes made all the salt they

[59b] One-sixth oz. Venetian and meant probably for the old *liang* or Chinese oz. of the period, which = $\frac{1}{6}$ oz. Chinese (*liang*) of the present day. See also *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 29.

[60] *Burma Govt. Reports*, No. 1222, 1890: *Notes on a Visit to the Upper Irrawaddy from the* 1st *to the* 12th *June*, 1890, p. 2.

required for their own consumption from salt springs, and they say that to make enough salt for the requirements of an ordinary family, a man's labour was required for three months. A man can now collect sufficient India-rubber in one month to exchange with Bengalee traders for more than enough salt to last him and his family for a year.[61] So that a man who chooses to occupy himself three months in collecting India-rubber will, by bartering the same for salt, have a large surplus of that article, with which to trade with the Southern Tribes, who, they say, are willing to give one maund of rubber for a quarter maund of salt."

Writing in 1696, Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt*, p. 563, says of the "Island of Sundiva" (Sarandîp) that "it affords such vast quantities of Salt, that it needs no other Commodities to give in Exchange for any of those of the Neighbouring Countrie, being able with it alone to lâde two Hundred Vessels every Year." This shews that barter with salt as a medium is a widespread and long-established custom in the parts about Burma.

(3) **Cotton.** — The interest in the curiosities of currency by no means diminishes in examining so unpromising an instance as that afforded by this product. In the IXth Century A. D. the Chinese reported that the people of Piao (obviously the Burmese) used among other things cotton for barter with the neighbouring States,[62] and in turning to the *British Burma Gazetteer* (Vol. I. p. 473) we have an account of barter in cotton up to and after 1824, which was apparently a survival of a very old practice. "In the Burmese times the only article of export from Arakan into Burma was *ngapee* or fish paste, which was bartered for cotton, the usual rate of exchange being two viss of cotton for every viss of *ngapee*. From twenty to twenty-five men started together from Arakan, each man taking with him the *ngapee* which he intended to barter, and the cotton was brought back in the same way." After the First Burmese War trade generally began to increase and by 1830 it was considerable, and "other goods were soon added to *ngapee* and cotton." During the War itself it was noticed that the Kûkîs were in the habit of bartering raw cotton for their wants;[63] while from Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans*, p. 51, we find that though in Zimmè rough iron in various forms was evidently the staple currency, "where iron is not worked in the other villages in the province of Zimmè, each household pays annually to Government a tax of ten viss of cotton, the same weight of chillies and five of safflower."

(4) **Mulberries.**[64] — These are not, of course, a Burmese or Further Indian product, but I give a valuable quotation shewing that in Turkestan at the present day this fruit is used as currency, because of the light it throws on the use of natural products for that purpose. "The inhabitants of Darwâz (Bokhara) plant mulberry trees, and the mulberry is almost their sole means of subsistence. In summer they eat it raw, and in winter in a dried state, in the form of flour, out of which they make a kind of *chupâṭî*. Their dress they obtain by bartering the mulberry for rough matting and sheepskins, and even their taxes are paid with the mulberry. In fact the mulberry is the measure *tubeteika*, — the currency of Darwâz, and many Darwâzîs never know the taste of bread all their lives long . . . . The grain measure is the *batman* = 45 *tubeteikas*."[65]

(5) **Cocoanuts.** — There is a neat reference (p. ix.) in Hunter's *Account of Pegu*, 1785, to a barter trade in cocoanuts between Burma and the Nicobars in the last Century. "Any man, who could find money enough to purchase a small vessel on the coast of Coromandel might, by carrying a little tobacco, some blue cloth and a few iron nails to the Island of Carnicobar, get, in exchange for those articles, which had cost him almost nothing, a ship-load of cocoanuts.

61 Soppitt, *Account of the Kuki-Lushais*, p. 23, tells us the same thing, the barter for salt being, however, in "wax, gathered in the jungle and a maund of cotton."

62 Parker, *Burma Relations with China*, p. 13.

63 Wilson, *Documents*, p. xxv.

64 With these may be compared Tavernier's almonds, which were used as currency, apparently because they were so bitter that they were not likely to be used as food! Almonds were 60 to a pice in Surat in 1696; Ovington, *Voyage*, p. 219. *Cf. Voyages of Dutch E. I. Coy.* 1703, p. 249. They ran 32 to a pice in 1739; A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II. Appx. p. 5.

65 Lieut. Peach, translating from the Russian in *J. U. S. I. of India*, Vol. XXII. p. 258.

For these, he could procure at Pegu a cargo of wood, which he afterwards sold to great advantage either on the coast or in Bengal." Here we learn two things: the Nicobar trade currency was in cocoanuts and it was necessary in bartering to exchange for the cocoanuts certain fixed articles of a specified kind; and as to the apparent unfairness of the bargain, cocoanuts in the Nicobars have no marketable value at all as regards internal trade.

In 1896 the Government Agent at Mûs in Car Nicobar gave me the following table of exchange values in terms of cocoanuts[66]:—

Soup ladle, nickel silver	nuts	500	
Long spoon, nickel silver	"	500	
Dessert spoon and fork, nickel silver	"	500	
Table spoon and fork, nickel silver	"	300	
Tea spoon and small fork, nickel silver	"	120	
Mustard spoon, nickel silver	"	200	
Tumblers	"	20 to 40	as per size.
Decanters	"	60 to 80	"
Plates and soup plates, white	"	40 to 80	"
Bowls, white	"	40 to 80	"
Enamelled plates, white	"	40 to 80	"
Enamelled cups, white	"	40 to 80	"
Matches, a bundle of 12 boxes	"	24	
Needles, a dozen	"	12	
Balls, thread, a dozen	"	12	
China tobacco, one packet	"	40	
Tobacco, one bundle	"	100	
Red cloth, *sâlû*, one piece	"	1,200	
Red cloth, Turkey, one piece	"	1,600	
Calico, white, one piece	"	800	
Calico, black, one piece	"	600	
Madras handkerchiefs, one piece	"	800 to 2,000	
Fancy coloured chintz and *sârîs*	as per bargain.		
Fancy Bombay handkerchiefs	" "		
Rice, Calcutta, 2 mds. in bag	nuts	300 to 500	
Rice, Burma, 3 mds. in bag	"	500 to 600	
Chattîs and pots	"	10 to 40	
American knives	"	80 to 120	
American knives, folding	"	20 to 60	
Burmese *dâs*	"	40 to 160	
Table knives...	as per bargain.		
Wooden clothes-box	" "		
Tin clothes-box	" "		
Looking-glass	" "		
Sugar	" "		
Camphor	" "		
Epsom salts...	" "		
Eno's Fruit Salt	" "		
Turpentine	" "		
Castor-oil	" "		
Cabin biscuits	" "		
Fishing nets	" "		
Two-anna pieces, coin	nuts	16	
Rupees, coin	"	100	

[66] *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette, Supplt.*, 1896, p. 44. *Cf.* Sonnerat's statement, *Voyage*, Vol. II. p. 51.

(6) Livestock. — Livestock of all sorts have been used for barter and to express wealth all the world over and from the earliest times, so much so that Prof. Ridgeway in his *Origin of Currency* makes this fact the basis of his argument as to how the names and forms for words expressing currency arose. It will not be necessary here, therefore, to give more than one or two typical cases of their use in the East and Far East.

An interesting instance is recorded from the Maldives by Ibn Batuta in the XIVth Century. "The natives buy with **chickens** any pottery which may be brought. A pot fetches five or six chickens."[67] Another important instance is quoted by Yule in his notes to Marco Polo's text (Vol. II. p. 37):— "M. Desgodins, a missionary in this part of Tibet, gives some curious details of the way in which the civilized traders still prey upon the simple hill-folks of that quarter, exactly as the Hindu Banyas prey upon the simple forest tribes of India. He states one case in which the account for a **pig** had with interest run up to 2,127 bushels of corn!" Again we find from Max Müller, *Chips*, Vol. I. p. 193, that "a copy of the *Kanjur* was bartered for 7,000 **oxen** by the Buriates, and the same tribe paid 1,200 silver roubles for a complete copy of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* together." Now the *Kanjur* is about half the *Tanjur*, so we can now get a curious expression of oxen in terms of silver. The 7,000 oxen would be thus worth about one-third of the 1,200 roubles, or 400 roubles, or, roughly, an ox was then only worth half a rouble, which gives a very low value in cash for such animals when used as currency.[68]

Mr. C. A. Soppitt, *Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes*, p. 23, gives an instance of direct valuation in terms of **cattle**:— "The price of a full-grown '*mithun*' (*bos frontalis*) varies from 40 to 80 rupees. Among the people the value of property is often spoken of as so many '*mithun*'; in this case a '*mithun*' being equivalent to 40 rupees. A Râjâ, for example, will say he gave so many '*mithuns*' for his wife, meaning so many 40 rupees."

Compare with the above the following extract from Macpherson's *Memorials*, p. 64:— The use of money with the exception of cowries was until recently (1865) nearly unknown to the Maliah Khonds, and the value of all property is estimated by them in '**lives**,' a measure which requires some adjustment every time it is applied; a bullock, a buffalo, a goat, a pig or a fowl, a bag of grain, or a set of brass pots, being each, with anything that may be agreed upon, a "life." A hundred lives on an average may be taken to consist of 10 bullocks, 10 buffaloes, 10 sacks of corn, 10 sets of brass pots, 20 sheep, 10 pigs and 30 fowls."

III.

Manufactured articles. — From the use of raw or rough produce as currency to that of articles manufactured for the purpose is no doubt a distinct ascent, but the earlier steps in it are hardly to be distinguished from the use of the raw produce itself. It has been seen that salt in currency has been artificially made for such a use into cakes and rolls, and that mulberries have been caked into measures.[69] Tea, though distinctly a manufactured article, has long been and is still used in precisely the same way all about the borders of Burma. Some sorts of tea, *e. g.*, Puerh tea, are very valuable even now, and tea generally, if we are to credit the earlier European travellers who mention it, seems to have been an exceedingly valuable article only a few centuries ago, and in the form of cakes may well have passed into a kind of currency.

(1) Tea. — Terrien de la Couperie, *Chinese Coins*, p. xx., mentions "tea in bricks,[70] on the borders of Tibet" as a form of non-metallic currency, and, in his *Across Chryse*, Colquhoun, who seems to have been considerably troubled by the presents made him in consequence of the

[67] *Pyrard de Laval*, Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. II. p. 443. [68] See Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 124 f.

[69] See Yule, *Cathay*, p. ccxvi., where he quotes Ramusio, c. 1550. Sago in cakes was currency at Ternate in 1596; *Dutch Voyages*, 1703, p. 285.

[70] Macmahon, *Far Cathay*, p. 237, alludes to these tea-bricks, quoting an unacknowledged passage from Baber, which again seems to have been copied from Huc, *Ill. Nat. Lib. Ed.*, Vol. I. p. 146, *verbatim*.

returns expected, mentions that he was constantly plied with tea in cakes,[71] and, *e. g.*, sometimes to his great discomfiture. But the best and most instructive instance of tea currency, which has come under my observation, is from Scott's *Report on the Northern Shan States* for 1893, which describes an interchange of rice and tea, much on the principle of that of cotton and fish condiments already noticed between Burma and Arakan. It seems that the Sawbwa of Tawng Peng, a State next to the Ruby Mines District of Burma, got into heavy arrears of tribute in 1892 as estimated in cash, and this is how Mr. Scott describes the situation (p. 11) : — "The balance he pleaded to be allowed to pay into the treasury at Mandalay on the ground that there is very little ready money available in Tawng Peng itself, where barter is much commoner than payment in rupees. The State does not grow anything approaching the quantity of rice which the people require for food. There is, therefore, an ancient rule that no caravan is allowed to enter the country for purposes of trade, which does not bring with it an amount of rice proportioned to the number of pack-animals brought up. This is exchanged for tea. Piece goods and betel come on the same terms, and the Sawbwa himself receives the great bulk of his revenue in produce."[72]

Clement Williams, *Through Burma to Western China*, 1864, p. 34, has a note on tea which seems to refer to a currency in cakes of tea :— " The only kinds apparently known in the market at Bamò are the flat discs of China tea and the balls of Shân tea. The discs weigh 20 tickals each ; seven piled together make a packet which used to sell at 1½ tickal and 2 ticks (*sic*)."

(2) Skins, in some stage or other of manufacture, are mentioned by de la Couperie (*op. cit., loc. cit.*) as used for currency in North America and Ancient Russia, probably alluding to the same evidence as that adduced by Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 12 f. Parker,[73] in quoting the *T'ang History of China*, thinks that the note by the Chinese writer of the "porpoise," as a barter currency of the Burmese a thousand years ago, probably meant porpoise skins.

This skin currency is quite a different thing to the **leather money** introduced in 1241 at Faenza by the Emperor Frederic II.[74] His leather pieces were tokens pure and simple, and their currency was based on credit, which argues a state of civilisation far beyond the ideas of savages and semi-civilised beings using a natural non-metallic medium of exchange.

(3) Cloth. — We have already seen that cloth of various kinds is used in barter by the wild Hill Tribes between Assam and Burma.[75] Now, in 1775, Mr. John Jesse wrote a letter to the Court of Directors, dated July 20th, from " Borneo Proper," passages in which give us a clear and definite reference to a currency stated in cloth. " I was informed the quantity (of pepper) that year (1774) was 4,000 peculs, cultivated solely by a Colony of Chinese settled here, and sold to the junks at the rate of 17·2 Spanish dollars per pecul, in China cloth called *congongs*, which, for want of any other specie, are become the standard for regulating the price of all commercial commodities at this Port."[76] A little further on he hopes to induce the hill

[71] See Vol. II. p. 27, etc. In Stevenson's *Bur. Dict.* p. 994, there is an entry which is a curious commentary on Colquhoun's experience. " *Lab'et-t'ôk,* a small package of pickled tea, such as accompanies an invitation to an entertainment. (The receipt of such a package is nowadays considered equivalent to a polite demand from the giver of a feast for a subscription.)" Colquhoun would also have appreciated the quaint remark made in a *Report on the Trade of Siam* in 1678, quoted in Anderson's *Siam*, p. 426 :—" Copp of them whose occasions necessitate an imediate sale to negociate their Returnes, may att first arrivall bee bought for : 6 : Taell : 1 : Tecall p. Pec^{l} : for Cash, but at y^{e} : same time tis curr^{t} : for : 8 : Taell in Barter."

I would here note for the benefit of etymologists that Lane, *Eng. Bur. Dict.*, 1841, spells the word for tea *lanp'ak*, and not *lakp'ak*, like his successors. The tea used was " coarse tea . . . . under the name of *lapech* (*le'pet*)." *Sangermano*, p. 169.

[72] There is an enormous amount of information on the subject of tea in Watt's *Dict. of Economic Products* under " Camellia " and " Tea. " A good note on the origin of brick-tea will be found in Vol. II. p. 75. Perhaps after all the best evidence of the use of tea-bricks as money is in Baber's *Report* (1879) *on the Chinese Tea Trade with Tibet in J. R. G. S., Supplt. Papers*, 1882, p. 198 : —" A brick of ordinary tea is not merely worth a rupee, but, in a certain sense, *is* a rupee."

[73] *Burma Relations with China*, p. 13.

[74] See Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 384.

[75] See also Soppitt, *Account of the Kachari Tribes*, p. 12.

[76] Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*, Vol. II. p. 1 ff. : *Indo-China*, 1st Series, Vol. I. pp. 21 f., 25.

people to plant pepper, if they receive "cloth as the price of the industry;" and then he proceeds to relate how, with the help of two "*noquedahs* (*nâkhudâ*) and the Captain of the Chinese," he succeeded in building and launching a junk. "The entire cost and outfit amounted, as I have been informed by the contracting parties, to no more than 8,500 Spanish dollars; which, after allowing for a profit on their *congongs*, is not more than 4,500 Spanish dollars." This seems to shew that "they" had been up to a little sharp practise with "their *congongs*."

It is a far cry from the Burmese border and Borneo to Angola, but a little bit of evidence from Pyrard de Laval (Vol. II. p. 219) is well worth recording here. "As for the small money of Angola, it consists only of little shells, somewhat like those of the Maldives (*i. e.*, cowries), and little pieces of cloth made of a certain herb. These pieces are an ell in length, more or less, according to the price. And when they go to market to buy their goods they carry no other money." Here we have as perfect a specimen of a conventional cloth currency as we could wish for.

(4) Drums. — Of a most interesting value put upon an article of peculiar manufacture and of its possession as an indication of wealth, we have an instance amongst the Karennîs or Red Karens. It is not quite unique, however, as a reference to de Morga will shew later on.

Macmahon, in his slovenly and discursive *Karens of the Golden Chersonese*, p. 279 ff., says:— "Among the most valued possessions of the Hill Karens is the *kyee-zee*, consisting of a copper or spelter cylinder of about a quarter of an inch in thickness, averaging about two feet in length and of somewhat greater diameter at one end, which is closed with the same kind of metal, the smaller end being left open. They are ornamented in a rude style with figures of animals, birds and fish, and according to size and volume of sound, are valued at from £5 to £50 (? 50 to 500 tickals). On the outer circle are four frogs. They have distinctive names for ten different kinds, which they pretend to distinguish by the sound. In the settlement of their quarrels, and in the redemption of their captives, the indemnification always takes the shape of a *kyee-zee* or more, with, perhaps, a few buffaloes or pigs as make-weights. To such an extent does the passion for the possession of these instruments predominate among the more secluded tribes, that it is said instances are by no means rare of their having bartered their children and relations for them. The possession of *kyee-zees* is what constitutes a rich Karen. No one is considered rich without them, whatever may be his other possessions. Every one who has money endeavours to turn it into *kyee-zees*, and a village that has many of them is the envy of other villages, and is often the cause of wars to obtain their possession."[77]

Now, de Morga gives us something of a parallel to this instructive information from the Philippine Islanders of the XVIth Century. After explaining that the usual way of trade was in general barter, he says (Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 303) "sometimes a price intervened, which was paid in gold, according to the agreement made; also in *metal bells* brought from China, which they value as precious ornaments. They are like large pans and are very sonorous, and they strike upon them at their feasts and carry them in the vessels to the wars instead of drums or other instruments."

(5) Glass Jars and Bottles. — Some equally interesting facts are forthcoming regarding glass jars and bottles, which the Chinese noticed a thousand years ago as used by the Burmese

[77] The authorities for a good deal of this are Mason, *J. A. S. B.* Vol. XXXVII., Pt. II., p. 128 f., and O'Riley, *J. Ind. Arch.* Vol. II. No. 4, note 57. I would like to remark that *kyîzî*, spelt *krêîchañ*, is a Burmese word, the Karen word being probably something quite different, and means a flat gong, whether circular or triangular. The components, according to the orthodox spelling, would be *kyêî*, copper, and *sî*, a drum or cask; but the pronunciation is peculiar, and I observe that there is a word *kyî* (*kyañ*), with the meaning of a tube closed at one end, and it seems to me possible that *kyîzî* is really composed of two words spoken together and having the same meaning. Such duplications are common in Burmese and in Oriental languages generally. If this is right, the conventional form *kyêîzî* is a case of false etymology of the clerical sort. See Stevenson, *Bur. Dict.* pp. 216, 245, 369. In his *Far Cathay and Further India*, a work irritating in its slovenliness, p. 237, Macmahon repeats some of the above information, with the addition that the *kyîzî* of the Karens is similar to the drum of the "Miantzis of China."

"in trading with the neighbouring States of their class."[78] *À propos* of this, Strettell, *Ficus Elastica,* p. 135, tells us that on the 18th January, 1874, he met some Palaungs on the Nànshâ Chaung, a branch of the Môgaung River, who had come from some distance further South, and of them he remarks as follows:— "What money could not secure, empty pint hock bottles did. For four of these I got eleven eggs and a brood of jungle-fowl chickens." A short time before this, Talboys Wheeler, in *Mandalay to Bhamo*, p. 64 f., went up the Irrawaddy, and in his *Journal*, under date 26th November, 1870, we find that at Malè the people, seemingly, but certainly not from the context, Shâns, placed, so Wheeler was informed, "an inordinate value upon empty bottles. Those which had contained any kind of liquor were highly appreciated, but the passion for soda-water bottles is still stronger, whilst there is, if possible, a deeper yearning for the dark red bottles, which have contained hock. As we had a considerable number of empty bottles on board, due perhaps to the genialty of our party since leaving Mandalay, a few were thrown into the water as an experiment, and then commenced one of the most amusing scrambles that can possibly be imagined. Boys and girls threw off their garments and dived or swam impetuously after the bottles; not throwing out their arms leisurely, like European swimmers, but paddling like dogs, only much more noisily. Meantime mothers, wives, and sweethearts were urging on the competition for the bottles, and carrying them away in triumph immediately they were brought on shore, or safely landed in one or other of the numerous canoes that were plying about the steamer. Mr. Marks gave away some religious books and tracts, but they were regarded as things of small value in comparison with the bottles."

Talboys Wheeler evidently looked on the whole thing as a joke, but a tribal or national passion for the possession of a particular article is never due to insanity or eccentricity, and the sober explanation of the scene is that the bottles were currency, or of value for purposes connected with worship or superstition. The other evidence available points to the former.[79]

(6) Earthenware. — It is possible that the great trade, once world-famous, in the Martabans, or Pegu Jars,[80] which I have elsewhere traced to the IXth Century A. D., caused these valuable articles to be used as currency or standard of barter, but I have no proof of it. However, at the Maldives, where the *mâtabâns* have been known for centuries,[81] we have a parallel from 'Abdu'rrazâq in the XVth Century, who tells us that the Moors of India frequented these Islands in his day, "bartering the salt and earthenware, which are not made at the islands."[82]

(7) Ingot Iron and Articles of Iron. — Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, p. 51, tells us that "the Lawas we saw at Baw were not agriculturists, but iron-workers and manufacturers. The metal is found in a hill lying about half a day's journey to the North-West of the village, is a red oxide of iron, and is worked solely by the women. It is brought to the village on elephants and is smelted in such a rough way that it yields only 50 per cent. of metal. The principal tax paid by the villagers to the Zimmè Chief consists of elephant chains, spearheads, cooking pots and other iron-ware. At p. 315, there is an illustration of currencies amongst the Shâns, but apparently no description beyond the note to the Plate. Of the illustrations, No. 1 is "iron money, made by the Kuys or Khmerdom, in use at Stung Treng on the Mêkong River." The illustration shews a diamond shaped ingot of iron, I presume it to be small in size, but there is no scale.

I should record that Mr. W. Boxall, the orchid-hunter, has at my suggestion enquired everywhere in his travels in the Shân States as to this iron currency, and could get no trace

[78] *The T'ang History* in Parker, *Burma*, p. 13.

[79] Bowring says, *Siam*, Vol. I. p. 257, that stamped glass and enamel were used for money, but I think he really refers to the procelain gambling tokens common in Siam, about which I will discourse at length under the head of jettons later on. The Dutch found glass bottles of use as currency at Amboyna and Ternate in 1596: *Dutch Voyages*, 1703, pp. 283, 286. *Cf.* Ling Roth, *Sarawak*, Vol. II. p. 285, n. 3, where curiously enough all reference to Pegu and Martaban as a possible origin for Borneo Jars is omitted: see also Vol. I. p. 419. *Cf.* Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 165: Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I. pp. 134, 215.

[80] See *ante*, Vol. XXII., p. 364.

[81] *Vide Pyrard de Laval*, Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. I. p. 259.

[82] *Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. II. p. 473.

of it. But it is quite possible that its issue is strictly local and unless he happened to visit the actual locality of use, he might easily be unable to procure any information about it.[82a]

The use of rough iron for barter currency among the wild tribes about Burma is confirmed by a note of Dr. Brown, *Manipur*, p. 53, who says that "the trade of the Khongjai Tribe is very limited, and only occasionally cloth is brought to the Manipur Valley and exchanged for iron, salt, etc."

Hatchets, knives, hoes, etc., are of course, well known as articles of standard value in many parts of the world, and it is hardly necessary here to do more than merely notice one or two instances of their use as such in Further India. Wilcox in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII. p. 314 ff., notices that "the Khamti and Sing-Pho (Kachins) were supplied by the Kha-Nung with salt and thin iron *dhas*, the latter forming the currency of the district."[83] John Crisp, in his *Account of the Poggy or Nassau Islands*, found, in 1792, that there "a sort of iron hatchet or handbill, called *parang*, is in much esteem with them, and serves as a standard for the value of various commodities, such as cocoanuts, coolit coys,[84] poultry, etc."[85]

(8) **Gold and Silver Trees.** — Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 146, has a curious reference to this point : — "Each of the six Lao States is called upon to pay tribute to Siam. This is paid triennially, and takes the form of gold and silver betel-boxes, vases and necklaces, each enriched with four rubies of the size of a lotus-seed, and a hundred of the size of a grain of Indian corn. Besides these are curious representations of trees in gold and silver, about eight feet high, each with four branches, from which again four twigs, with a single leaf at the end of each, depend. The gold trees are valued at 1,080 ticals each, and the silver ones at 120 ticals each."

I have further noted a traveller's remark, the exact reference to which I have unfortunately mislaid, that similar trees were paid as revenue or tribute to the Malay States below Mergui, and that they had become a standard of value.[86]

A complete parallel to the Laos State tribute is to be found in Browne's *Thayetmyo*, p. 95, who tells us that it is recorded that about 1819, in addition to the taxes on that district, the greater officials sent annual presents to the Court at Ava of a silver bowl each and some broad cotton cloth and the lesser officials smaller bowls and less cloth, "which, of course, came out of the pockets of the tax-payers."

The old travellers to China found out that the "tribute" or gift for the European was a fixed amount in kind, and hence was started a kind of standard of tribute much on the lines of that just quoted.[87] In China the custom led to a curious series of false embassies made by mercantile adventurers under forged credentials. "Their presents to the European always consisted of 1,000 *arrobas*, or 1,333 Italian pounds, of jade, 300 being of the very finest quality; 340 horses; 300 very small diamonds; about 100 pounds of fine ultramarine; 600 knives; 600 files. This was the old prescriptive detail, which none might change. The cost price of the whole might be some 7,000 crowns, but the Emperor's return present was worth 50,000. These sham embassies, disguising trading expeditions, were of old standing in China, going back at least to the days of the Sung Emperors." No wonder that Goës (1595-1603) remarked that no one paid more for his "marble" than the Emperor!

[82a] I have quite lately found in M. Aymonier's new book (1895) *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I. pp. 22, 27, 140, a complete and good account of the "*lingots de fer*," which I regret I cannot further notice for want of space.

[83] Citing this quotation, Terrien de la Couperie, *Old Numerals and the Swanpan in China*, p. 14, remarks that the *dha* is "obviously connected with the Chinese *tao*, the name of the knife-money." On this I would note that in Burmese *d'â* is spelt *t'â*ः. See Stevenson, *Bur. Dict.* p. 556, and other similar works. I may note also that at Khulnâ in Eastern Bengal I procured a curious knife in the bazar there, called *dâ*, in 1890.

[84] This word is Malay, *kulit-kayu*, and is a material used by Europeans for matting houses and as dunnage for pepper cargoes. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v. coolicoy*; to the quotations given there under that word this one is a valuable addition as indicating the history thereof.

[85] *Indo-China*, 1st Series, Vol. I. p. 71 f.

[86] Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 119, alludes to these gold and silver trees as being paid as tribute by the people of Quedah, first to Ligor, then to the Burmese, and then to the Siamese. He quotes Grieg's *Report to Sir S. Raffles*, as his authority. *Cf.* gold and silver flowers in the Shân States: *Yule, Ava*, p. 308. In Perak, Wilson, *Documents*, Appx. p. lxxx. *Cf.* Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. I. p. 3: Anderson, *Siam*, p. 43. They are called *bunga-mas* in the Malay States, Swettenham, *Malay Vocab.*, Vol. I. p. 230 *n*.

[87] Yule, *Far Cathay*, Vol. II. pp. 564, 582 f.

IV.

Conventional Currency.

(1) Cowries. — The last main point for consideration is that of a true conventional currency, non-metallic in its nature. The most primitive and perhaps most typical article that is not of metal and that has been widely used for money is the **cowrie shell**. It has for ages been used all round Burma; but it is not now, and all writers seem to be agreed that it has never been, used among the Burmese, which is rather a curious fact in the circumstances.[88] It is, indeed, almost inexplicable that the currency of cowries should never have spread into Burma.

Centuries ago it was common in Yunnan,[89] Siam,[90] Shân States,[91] Silhet,[92] and Kachâr, doubtfully among the Kachins and Lolos,[93] in Java,[94] the Maldives,[95] which are the chief Cowry source, and the Philippines;[96] while Bengal[97] Proper is, and always has been for centuries, the great home of the Cowry Currency. Again Cowries still are, or were until quite lately, common in the Shân States,[98] Siam[99] and Maṇipûr.[100]

There is in Maṇipûr one of the most interesting of survivals of the former universal use of cowries, in the denominations of the exsisting bell-metal small change or *sêl* of that country. In Primrose's *Manipuri Grammar*, 1888, p. 30, is recorded the "system of calculating the *sêl* or cowrie." The author tells us that "all fractions of a rupee are expressed in *sêls*, the only national coin in use. Pice are not current in the bazâr. The *sêl* is a small round coin made of bell-metal."

Now the word for 8 *sêls* is *châmâ*, which means literally "100." So 16 *sêls* are called *chani*, literally "200"; 24 *sêls* are called *chahûm*, literally "300"; 80 *sêls* are called *lising-amâ*, literally "1,000." Five *lisings*, or 400 *sêls*, go to a rupee, the word being *lising-mangâ*, or "5,000." One to seven *sêls* are expressed by words representing the appropriate fractions of 100; thus 4 *sêls* are called *yânkhai*, literally "50." And so on.

The interesting part of this nomenclature is that 5,000 cowries to the rupee was the approximate ruling rate of exchange in Silhet and the adjoining parts of Bengal between rupees and cowries, when the latter formed practically the sole currency of that part of India.[1] The authoritative evidence on the point is in the *Lives of the Lindsays*, Vol. III. p. 169f. When the Hon. Robert Lindsay was Resident and Collector of Silhet in 1778, cowries constituted nearly the whole currency of the country. The yearly revenue amounted to Rs. 2,50,000, and this was entirely paid in cowries at the rate of 5,120 to the rupee.[2]

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[88] Yule, *Ava*, p. 259: Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.* Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 38: and excluding an exceedingly doubtful reference to cowries in Pegu by Masû'di; see Yule, *Cathay*, p. clxxxv. f.

[89] Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 44 f.

[90] Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 222: Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 399: La Loubère, p. 72 ff.: Anderson, *Siam*, p. 207: *Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. II. p. 484.

[91] Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, p. 220.

[92] Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 44: Soppitt, *Account of the Kachari Tribes*, p. 20.

[93] Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 45, read with pp. 56, 85.

[94] Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 219.

[95] Anderson, *Siam*, p. 95: Yule, *Cathay*, p. 323: *Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I. p. 237 ff., where Gray has capital notes on the subject; Vol. II. pp. 431, 443, 473, 484: Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 134.

[96] De Morga, p. 285: — "In some of these islands, on the coasts, a quantity of small white snails are found, which they call *signey*: the natives collect them and sell them by measure to the Siamese, Cambodians, Pantan men and other nations of the mainland, where they serve as coin." Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. II. p. 135, mentions these *signey* in 1718, quoting from *Historia General de las Filipinas*, Vol. XIV., without knowing what they were. La Loubère, *Siam*, p. 72, Ed. 1693, knew, however, that "*coris*" were the same as "*segnejes*."

[97] Elliot, *Hist. of India*, Vol. II. p. 308: *Lives of the Lindsays*, Vol. III. p. 169 f.: *J. A. S. B.* 1855, p. 121, and many other books.

[98] Holt-Hallett, *Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, p. 164.

[99] Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 141: Crawfurd, *Siam*, pp. 381, 382: Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. I. pp. 244, 257.

[100] Brown, *Manipur*, p. 41.

[1] After the manner of all savages or semi-savages, the Maṇipûrîs have devised an exceedingly complicated method of expressing their fractions: a detail of which is given by Mr. Primrose, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 44. The whole question will be found elaborately discussed later on in Chapter II., Section on Maṇipûrî Weights.

In Siam, where cowries have been largely used for centuries, the exchange was about 5,000 to the rupee up to the middle of this Century. The evidence is as follows: —

1636. — Van Schouten, quoted by Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. I. p. 244: 6,400 to 7,200 to the tickal, = 4,800 to 5,400 to the rupee.

1688. — La Loubère, *Siam*, p. 73: same rate as above.

1823. — Crawfurd, *Siam*, p. 133; same rate.

1855. — Bowring, *Siam*, p. 257: 9,600 to the tickal, = 7,200 to the rupee.

1884. — Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 141: same rates.

Cowries have of course varied enormously in value in different places at different times. *E. g.*, we learn from Gray's notes to *Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I. p. 239, that in Bengal Proper, *c.* 1800, they ran 3,840 to the rupee, and in 1820, as much as 6,000 to the rupee: while at the Maldives, their great source, they were, *c.* 1800, 12,000 to the rupee. However, to such a people as the Maṇipûrîs 5,000 cowries to the rupee must have long been the established rate.[2a] We thus have the curious spectacle of a people, who have exchanged the actual use of the cowry for a bell-metal piece of 12½ times its value, still calculating the new currency in terms of the old.

(2) Paper. — Paper currency, being based on national credit, and arguing a high state of civilisation, has no connection with those above described except in being non-metallic. Despite the misuse to which it has been put in the Far East, the principles upon which it should be based have long been understood, in China at any rate.

Ma Twan-lin, whose work was published in 1319,[3] is quoted by Yule to the following effect:— "Paper should never be money. It should be only employed as a representative of value existing in metals or produce, which can be thus readily exchanged for paper, and the cost of its transport avoided. At first this was the mode in which paper currency was actually used among merchants. The Government, borowing the invention from private individuals, wished to make real money of paper, and thus the original contrivance was perverted." How exactly the situation was grasped by these medieval merchants of China may be seen by a reference to the *Indian Paper Currency Act* (XX. of 1882). Sections 19, 20, 21, and 22 run to the following effect:—"(19) The whole amount of the coin and bullion received under this Act . . . . for currency notes, shall be retained and secured as a reserve to pay those notes, with the exception of . . . . an amount not exceeding sixty millions of rupees . . . . (20) The amount (so excepted) shall be invested in securities of the Government of India. (21) The said coin, bullion and securities shall be appropriated and set apart to provide for the satisfaction and discharge of the said notes; and the said notes shall be deemed to have been issued on the security of the said coin, bullion and securities, as well as on the general credit of the Government of India . . . . (22) The securities purchased . . . . shall be held by the Head Commissioner and the Master of the Mint at Calcutta, in trust for the Secretary of State for India in Council."

Paper currency prevailed in China for a long while, apparently in every part of the Empire, and at least from the IXth to the XVth Centuries, A. D. At any rate we can gather as much from Marco Polo, Hayton the Armenian, Friar Odoric and other Missionary Friars, Pegolotti, Ibn Batuta, Toscanelli, Barbaro, and Shâh Rukh's Ambassadors.[4] But, excepting in two doubtful reports in Bock and Bowring from Siam, I have never heard of the Chinese paper currency spreading South, though it spread East into Japan. The kings and rulers of the Southern Kingdoms must, however, in any case have long been familiar with it, for, from the *History of*

[2a] In 1873 in Maṇipûr cowries ran in account 5,000 to the Re., in cash 5,250 to 5,800. In 1778 in Silhet they ran 5,120. In Northern India they ran in 1740, 2,400; in 1756, 2,560; in 1869, 6,500. See Brown, *Manipur*, p. 89: *Lives of the Lindsays*, Vol. III. p. 169 f.; Beames' Elliot's *Glossary*, Vol. II. p. 316.

[3] Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 149: *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. 290.

[4] The places actually mentioned by these European and Asiatic travellers as those in which they found a paper currency are:—XIIIth Cent., all over the Empire; XIVth Cent., Hangchenfu to Pekin, Canton, and Chinchau; XVth Cent., Pekin, Chingtungfu. See Yule, *Cathay*, Vol. I. pp. cxcvi., cxcix., ccviii., 115, 245; Vol. II. pp. 287, 480; *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 380.

the Ming Dynasty, Bk. 325, we find that "King Maraja Kala of Puni" (West Coast of Borneo) went to Fukien in 1408, and seems to have died there. He was succeeded by his son Hia-Wang (Chinese title), and to him on his departure was given paper money amongst other things. Again in 1411 the King of Malacca, "situated at the South of Champa (Cambodia)," visited the Emperor, and "on the moment of starting" back again, he received, among other things, "400,000 *kwan* of paper money."[5]

The above and other similar quotations, which might be extracted from the Chinese annals, may explain an otherwise inexplicable statement in Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 399, who there tells us, in his description of the Siamese Exhibition held at Bangkok in 1882, that there was a "show of ancient coins, some flat and some spherical, solid bars of silver and gold with a stamp at one end, side by side with old paper currency, lead, crockery and porcelain tokens, and cowries."

It may, however, be possible that a paper currency has been long established in Siam, for we read in Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. I. p. 257:—"The Government issues (in 1855) promissory notes of various amounts, even to one-eighth of a tical. They do not seem to be extensively current, and, I believe, have not experienced any depreciation."

I must conclude this long disquisition on barter and the like by a quotation from Nicolò Conti, who travelled in the East between 1419 and 1444. In answer to Poggio's questions, as recorded in the *Historia de Varietate Fortunae*, he gave, among other things, a remarkable account of the currencies he encountered "in India"; but in reality he must have spoken also from what he had heard or seen in China and Indo-China, for he had, in the course of his many peregrinations, "arrived at a river larger than the Ganges, which is called by the inhabitants Dava" and "at a city more noble than all the others, called Ava, the circumference of which is fifteen miles."[6] In his account he wanders over the whole range of civilised currency, as he found it in the East, in a confused and discursive, but withal most quaint and instructive manner.[7] "Some regions have no money, but use instead stones which we call cats' eyes. In other parts their money consists of pieces of iron, worked into the form of large needles. In others the medium of exchange consists of cards inscribed with the name of the king. In some parts again of interior India, Venetian ducats are in circulation. Some have golden coins, weighing more than double of our (Italian) florin, and also less, and, moreover, silver and brass money." To shew, however, that he mixed up India, China and Indo-China in this account, he follows it up in the same paragraph by saying: — "They do not write as we or the Jews do, from left to right or right to left, but perpendicularly, carrying the line from the top to the bottom of the page (Chinese). There are many languages and dialects in use among the Indians. They have a vast number of slaves, and the debtor who is insolvent is everywhere adjudged to be the property of his creditor (Siam)."[8]

(*To be continued.*)

[5] *Indo-China*, 2nd Series, Vol. I. pp. 233, 249. For an account of Chinese intercourse with Siam, see Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. I. p. 172 ff.

[6] *India in XVth Century*, Vol. II. p. 11. For the River Dava read d'Ava.

[7] *Op. cit.* p. 30 f.

[8] There are two exceedingly interesting cases of paper money introduced, one temporarily by a British official, and one by a private Englishman, in modern times among the Oriental Islands.

In 1861 there was introduced into the Andaman Islands a token currency in copper, which lasted till 1870, being abandoned as a failure, chiefly on the *Inspection Report* of Nelson Davies of 1867; *vide* Vol. I. pp. 18, 38, 62: Vol. II. pp. 49, 245. The communications between the Andamans and India was then intermittent and infrequent, and in 1867 there was introduced temporarily on 8th July, 1867, a paper card token by Col. Ford, the Superintendent of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair, owing to the supply of copper tokens running short, while waiting for the fresh supply ordered from Calcutta. These card tokens ran till the 26th October, 1867. They were printed on both sides as follows:— *Obv.* — "Superintendent's Office. | Royal Arms, as then used in the Settlement, crossed diagonally by signature in facsimile 'B. Ford.' | Port Blair." || *Rev.* — "Value one rupee in the Port Blair Treasury. | Number in blue ink."||

In the Cocos-Keeling Islands, the property of the Ross family, the currency "is a parchment currency, convertible at a fixed ratio into rupees or dollars, when an Islander makes a rare visit to Batavia or Singapore, or when a Bantanese cooly leaves the Islands to return home." *Sat. Review*, 29th May, 1897, p. 599, quoting a blue-book *Papers Relating to the Cocos-Keeling and Christmas Islands.*

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 279.)

Zoting is the ghost of a man who dies unmarried, leaving no relation. He seizes and annoys people without provocation. He lives in an old empty house, or in some burning or burial ground. He is the most obstinate and faithless of spirits. His promises and oaths have to be received with caution. He extorts offerings of kids, chickens, cooked rice and clothes which he demands at most inconvenient times, and even after getting what he asks he will come again and demand a fresh offering. Many are the pranks and tricks played by Zoting.

Water-Spirits. — The most important and widely known of Konkân water-spirits are Asrâs, Bâpdêv, Girâ, and Hadal or Hedalî.[84] **Asrâs** are the ghosts of young women, who, after giving birth to one or more children, commit suicide by drowning. They live in water, and attack any one who comes near them, especially at noon, in the evening, and at midnight. When Asrâs make their rounds they generally go in groups of three to seven. Their chief objects of attack are young women. When a woman is attacked by the Asrâs a female exorcist is called to get rid of them. Their favourite offerings are cooked rice, turmeric, red powder, and green bodice cloths. Bâpdêv is the ghost of a drowned sailor. He is much feared by mariners, who please him with offerings of fruit and cocoanuts. **Girâ** is the spectre of a man who has either left money or has been drowned in a well, tank, channel, or river, or in the sea. His feet are turned backwards. Whoever Girâ attacks, the feet of that person become crooked. He is said to allure travellers by calling them by their names. He sometimes offers to guide lonely travellers, and taking them into deep water drowns them, thus making them members of his clan. The Girâ is supposed to fear the sight of knives and scissors. Should any person happen to cut the *shêndî* or top-knot of the Girâ he will come to him at night to ask for the top-knot, and in return will do any work the person may require of him. **Hadal** or **Hedalî** is supposed to be the spectre of a married woman who has been drowned in a well, tank, or river. She wears a yellow robe and bodice and green bangles, and lets her hair fall loose down her back. She is said to be plump in front, and a skeleton behind.[85] She generally attacks women. A woman who is attacked by a Hedalî lets her hair fall loose, shakes all over, and shrieks. The Hedalî is said to be much afraid of the Brâhmanical thread.

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84 Compare: — The Romans worshipped water nymphs (Smith's *Classical Dictionary*). The Greeks believed that water-nymphs inspired men. The Swedes believe that drowned men, whose bodies are not found, have been drawn into the dwelling of the water-spirits (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 497). The Germans had water-spirits called Nichus and Nix (*op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 489). Scott (*Border Minstrelsy*, p. 444) mentions a class of water-spirits, called Dracæ who tempted women and children under water by shewing them floating gold. The water-spirit was greatly feared in Mexico (Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 422). The Nix or water-man was also greatly feared in Middle-Age Europe Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. pp. 108, 109, 131; Vol. II. p. 209). Heywood quoted in Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, (Vol. II. p. 122, Edn. 1810, says: —

" . . . . another sort
Ready to cramp their joints who swim for sport.
One kind of these the Italians Fatæ named,
Fee the French, we Sibyls, and the same
Others white nymphs, and those that have them seen,
Night ladies some, of which Habundia queen."

The water-spirit was also known as the Kelpi. It appeared in the form of a horse, a bull, or a man, and deceived people by sending dancing lights or will-o'-the-wisps (Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 437; Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 540). Some Kelpis live in the sea, where they cause whirlpools and shipwrecks (Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 124; Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, pp. 507, 509). In China, the great flood-land, Confucius (B. C. 500) found water-spirits overflowing and surrounding worshippers. Though unseen and unheard the water-spirits entered into all things, nothing was without them. *Doctrine of the Mean*, Vol. XVI. p. 3.

85 Compare: — In Denmark, the popular belief pictures the Ellekone as captivating to look at in front, but hollow at the back like a kneading trough (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 449).

Underground Spirits. — In the Konkân, it is believed that all **buried treasure**, all mines[86] of gold, silver and precious stones, all caves, and all ruined fortresses are guarded by underground spirits in the shape of hairy serpents or frogs. These spirits never leave their place, and they attack or injure those only who come to remove the things they are guarding.

Fear of spirits and belief in their doings are not peculiar to the Konkân. The Bijâpur Gaolîs of Marâṭhî origin, perhaps because their lives are spent with cows, are said not to believe in witchcraft, because no Gaolî ever becomes a ghost.[87] It has been held that, as they leave their dead behind them, wanderers are not troubled by the thought of spirits. It has been specially alleged that the Scythians were so stout and warlike that they saw neither sights nor spirits.[88] The correctness of this view, especially in the case of the Tartars, is doubtful. Details of the doings and position of the *śrâmans* or spirit-mediums shew a general and extreme fear of spirits among the peoples of Central Asia.[89] Similarly, the Arabs, the other great nomads, are rich in spirits of special fierceness and cruelty. From very early times (B. C. 4000) the Chaldeans have had hosts of spirits or angels in heaven, on the earth, and in the under-world, and other spirits, partly evil, partly good.[90] Gujarât Musalmâns, besides the great army of fire-sprung Jins, dread Bhênsâsurîs, Chuṛails, and Jhâmpdîs, the ghosts of the damned, of the unclean, and of the murdered.[91] In Kumaon in the Himalayas, in 1823, the mountaineers believed in the existence of various tribes of ghosts, evil spirits, demons, goblins, fairies and elves.[92] The wild Oṛâoṅs of East Bengal fear **Charail**, the spirit of a woman who has died in child-bed. She lives among tombs, is fair in front and black behind, and has her feet turned backwards. She catches passers. If the passer has his wits about him, Charail can do him no harm; if he has been drinking, she will make him senseless.[93] The Gonds[94] people hills valleys and trees with Gond spirits; the Bhutias of Bhutân believe in a countless host of spirits;[95] and the Karens have a spirit in every object.[96] In the Karnâṭak and Mysore, the spirits called **Munis** are worshipped, and are considered demons of the first magnitude. The local Brâhmaṇs do not worship them openly, but send offerings secretly.[97] The Baydarus of Mysore pray to Marimâ, the goddess of small-pox, and offer her flesh.[98] In Mysore, during an epidemic, the head-man and leading villagers collect pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread and plantains, and start from the village to the village boundary with a basket in their hand. As the party passes each house the family throw a handful of rice into the basket, in the hope that the evil spirit of the epidemic may go in the rice. The basket is carried to the boundary and left there.[99] In rural Mysore, the object of universal worship is **Amma**, the Mother. She corresponds to Durgâ, Kâli, or Châmundi, and like them sends small-pox and measles. Human victims were formerly offered to Amma: now she is satisfied with a yearly buffalo.[100] Munis or destructive male spirits are much worshipped in Koimbator. Unless a Brâhmaṇ reads texts, the dying Koimbator weaver believes that he is likely to become a Muni. Even a Brâhmaṇ becomes a Muni if he meets with a violent death.[1] The Tulus, and also the Karens of Burma, consider the Rainbow a spirit.[2] The Kurgs stand in special dread of evil spirits called Kutilo,

86 Compare the European Middle-Age belief in the spirits Getuli and Cobali, who guarded mines and caused earthquakes (Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 126).

87 From MS. Note.

88 Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 122.

89 Compare the Shâman among the Tungus of Central Siberia (Baring Gould's *Strange Survivals*, pp. 153, 154).

90 Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 8. Coleridge's classification of spirits (Note on *Ancient Mariner*) into human, angelic and a third sort found in every climate and element probably goes as far back as the Chaldeans.

91 Information from Mr. Fazal Latfullah. In Kashmere, in 1840, the traveller Vigne recorded Jins, Deyus (cannibal giants), Yech (satyrs), Dyut (house-spirits), Bram-bram-chuk (Will o' the wisps), Whop (cat-shaped), Mushran (old men), Ghor (the same as yech, a feeder on dead bodies), Rantus (tralls), and Rihs (non-descript female fairies). (*Travels*, Vol. I. pp. 328, 329.)

92 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 220.

93 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 258.

94 Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 4.

95 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 97.

96 *Op. cit.* p. 117.

97 Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 168.

98 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 359.

99 Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 265.

100 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 365.

1 Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 265.

2 Black's *Folk-Lore Medicine*, p. 11.

to please whom dances or masks are held.[3] Bhairav Dêvaru, the god of the Kurubars, is an unfriendly male spirit.[4] The Parias of Malabâr believe that, after death, good men become gods and bad men evil spirits.[5] The Telugu Baydarus or Bedars, who, according to Buchanan, are the true husbandmen of Telangâna, believe that, after death, wicked men become devils and good men are reborn as men.[6] The Kad Kumbarus, a wild Mysore tribe, believe that the spirits of the dead come to the aged, and tell them to make offerings to the hill goddess.[7] The following male spirits — Pishâchâs, Gudghakâs, Siddhâs, Bhutâs, and Chârans — live with the gods, especially with Shiv, as servants; and the following female spirits — Yoginîs, Dâkinîs, Kakinîs, Shâkhinîs, Bhutinîs and Pretinîs — attend on Durgâ, the wife of Shiv.[8] According to the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 620), the reason for abandoning the convent at Dharnâkôṭ, near the mouth of the Kṛishṇâ, was that the spirit of the hill changed itself. It became a wolf or an ape and frightened travellers.[9]

In **Ceylon,** in 1820, the people were slaves to the belief in the influence of evil spirits. The people sang and danced all night, made offerings, and carried away charms, to keep off disease and evil.[10] The evil spirits belonged to two main divisions — those approaching to the nature of gods, wise, powerful, and not merciless, living in the upper regions of the sky, in magnificent palaces decorated with gold, silver and precious stones, enjoying an amount of happiness little inferior to that of the gods themselves, and some times called *dewatawas;* and those who with wild, savage, gross, beast-like natures pass their time near the surface of the earth, revelling in scenes of blood and misery, bringing disease and death on men, and in return receiving offerings of rice, meat, and blood.[11] To the second division belonged four classes: — Balli-caama, lovers of *bali*, or coooked rice offerings; Billi-caama, lovers of live offerings; Ratti-caama, lovers of music, dancing, and other such pleasures; Hantu-caama, lovers of death.[12] The names of the leading spirits were Reeri Yakseya (demon of blood), Calloo Yakseya (black demon), Sanny Yakseya (the great demon of fatal diseases), Maha Sohon Yakseya (great graveyard demon), Calloo Cumare Dewatawa (the black prince), and Hooniyan Yakseya (sorcery demon). The other spirits were Athemana Yakseya, Tota Yakseya, Bahirawa Yakseya, Madana Yakseynio (female demons of lust), Morottoo Yaka (demon of Morottoo or Rata Yaka, that is, foreign demon), Gopolu Yakseya (demon of cattle), Anjenam Dewi, Baddracali, Riddhi Yakseniyo, Uda Yakseyo, Curumbera Yakseyo, Hanuma, Gara Yaka, Gewal Yakseya, Bodrima, and Pretayo.[13] The chief of all Ceylon demons was Wahala Bandara Dewiyo. The usual haunts of these demons were trees, roads, wells, woods, old deserted houses, temples of gods, and graves and graveyards. They frightened people not by actually seizing them but by other means quite as effectual — by throwing sand or stones handful after handful, by appearing as a dark-featured man or like the passing shadow of a man, followed immediately by a loud crashing noise as if a number of elephants were forcing their way through the jungle, and sometimes appearing in the disguise of an old man or of a young woman with a child in her arms.[14]

The Parsîs had a half-man, half-spirit class, who were incarnate devils.[15] And among the Persian spirits were Yatus, Pairikas, Cathras, Koyas and Karafnas.[16] Chengiz Khân (1162) was visited by spirits and made revelations.[17] When the Turk finishes his prayers he bows to the right and left, saluting the spirits of good and evil.[18] Arab tradition mentions forty troops

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3 Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 261.
4 Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 141.
5 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 493.
6 *Op. cit.*. Vol. I. p. 359.
7 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 128.
8 Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 192.
9 Julien's *Hiuen Thsang*, Vol. III. p. 3.
10 *Journal* of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1865, p. 10; Marshall's *Diseases of Ceylon*, p. 26.
11 *Journal* of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1865, p. 14.
12 *Op. cit.* p. 16.
13 *Op. cit.* pp. 21-43.
14 *Op. cit.* pp. 45, 46.
15 Bleek's *Vendidâd*, p. 81.
16 Bleek's *Yaśna*, Vol. IX. pp. 52-56.
17 *Dabistân*, Vol. III. p. 113.
18 Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 144.

of *jins*, each troop 6,00,000 strong. Some are land-spirits, some sea-spirits, some air-spirits; some fly, some lodge in animals, some lodge in men.[19]

Arabs believe that bad smells are caused by spirits, who they think get into the body through the nose, and affect the health. The Bedouins seldom go into a town because of the smells. If they do, they stop their noses with a cloth.[20] "The Arabian desert," says Mr. H. Spencer, "is so thick with spirits that no one can throw anything without striking a spirit."[21] The prophet mentions five classes of Arab spirits: Jâns, Junus Efrits, Mâûds, and Shaitans.[22] Other accounts add: Dulhân, an ostrich-riding sea-spirit; Ghaddâr, a Yemen man-torturer; Ghûl, a female cannibal; Nesnâs, a half man cut lengthwise; Saalah, a man-eating forest spirit; Shikk, a man cut lengthwise.[23] The Arab Ghûl (a female man-eater) belongs to the order of Shaitâns or Evil-Jins. Some authors describe the Ghûl as an enchanter that appears in human or in animal form or in some monstrous guise. The Ghûl haunts burial-grounds, lonely places, deserts, and wastes, and allures and eats travellers. Another opinion is that when the devils (Shaitâns) attempt to overhear some of the heavenly words of power on the skirts of the lowest heaven they are driven out by falling stars. Of the fugitives some are burnt, some fall into the sea as crocodiles, others fall on land and become Ghûls. The male of the Ghûl class of spirits is by most writers called Kutrub.[24] Mas'ûdî[25] (A. D. 930) says:—"The Arabs have many accounts of Ghûls assuming different shapes. They believe that Ghûls appear in lonely places, and Arabs say they have often entertained Ghûls as guests." Arab poetry is rich in allusions to Ghûls. The Arab poet, known as Ta-abbata Sharran (the carrier of evil under his arm), says:—

"The black one whose pavilion I entered as readily
As the high-bosomed maiden enters her corset
Her at morn when I awoke I found to be a Ghûl.
Alas! for one whose companion is so hideous.
I asked her for my dole. She discovered herself
In a monstrous face and changing form.
'Tell him who wishes to ask for my fair comrade,
She pitches her tent at the edge of a winding desert.'"

The Arabs believe that the Ghûl is cloven-footed. When they meet in the desert a person whom they suspect of being a Ghûl they say:—

"Oh cloven-foot, bleat me news
Whether thou hast come along a way or path."

If the form is a Ghûl it will disappear; otherwise in the dusk the traveller might take the form for a woman and follow her to destruction, for Ghûls lure men with songs and bon-fires. Some of the companions of the Prophet (on whom be peace) have related stories of Ghûls. The Khalîfa 'Umr (A. D. 630) tells how, on a journey to Syria, he struck a Ghûl with his sword, and she disappeared.

Two classes of female spirits, the Kirâb and the Kidâr, roughly correspond to Succubus, the female, and Incubus, the male, nightmare, not mentioned by Lane-Poole, are described by Mas'ûdî. Mas'ûdî says:—"The Kirâb and the Kidâr have connection with men and women with a result generally fatal to the human lover. The Kirâb hides itself and frightens people

[19] *Arabian Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 34.

[20] Burkhardt's *Arabia*, Vol. II. p. 85. Compare the merchant in the *Thousand and One Nights* who killed a jinni by throwing away a date stone (Lane's *Arabian Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 223).

[21] Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 236.

[22] *Arabian Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 27. All of these are Jinns. The Persians call good Jinns Parîs, and evil Jinns Narah, literally male.

[23] *Op. cit.* pp. 44, 45.

[24] *Arab Society in the Middle Ages*, pp. 42, 43.

[25] *Prairies d' Or*, Arabic text, Vol. IV. pp. 113-120.

shouting — 'Art thou one who was married or frightened?' If the answer is, 'Married,' the friends despair of curing the person affected. If the reply is, 'Frightened,' they console him and assuage his fear, and he often recovers." As regards the Jins, Wâhhâb, son of Munabbih, the son of Ishâk, has written that God created the Jin out of smokeless fire, and made him a wife out of the Jin's own body, as God created Hawwa (Eve) out of Adam's rib. His wife bore Jin thirty-one eggs. The first lodger to crack his shell was Kutrub the male Ghûl as well as the kitten-shaped female Ghûl or Kutrubah. One of the next eggs to crack shewed Iblis, whose home is Mesopotamia. Other eggs gave forth other classes of spirits, the Saâlâts who live in baths and dunghills. The Hawâms or Hamânis in shape like winged serpents, and the Hawâtif a wandering formless voice, airy tongues that syllable men's names in sands and wastes and desert wildernesses. Indian Musalmâns believe that a hundred-years old cobra developes a tumid knot at its tail and every century adds a knot. A cobra with six knots becomes a Nas-nâs and gains the power of assuming any shape. A prince married a Nas-nâs whom he met on his way from hunting in the form of a beautiful woman in deep distress. His married life weakened the prince till at last he could hardly walk. One night he awoke and saw the lamp at the end of the room flamy. As he could hardly walk he asked his bride to trim the lamp. She stretched an arm that lengthened down the room and put right the lamp. The prince told his father that his bride was a witch. The father called his soothsayers, and the Nas-nâs was burned alive, abusing the idiotcy and the ingratitude of mankind. The Muslims of Egypt hold that the Afrît and the Mârid are the most powerful and malicious of spirits.[26]

The Burmans have good spirits and bad spirits, as the butterfly soul and the true soul. They have guardian *nàts* or house-spirits, twelve in number, six male and six female.[27] The Burmans believe that some *nàts* have regular houses or abodes; and that others live away from houses and villages.[28] Some spirits live in tree-tops, as the Akakasohs; some in tree-trunks, as the Shakkasohs; some in roots, as the Boomasohs. The presence of spirits in trees can be known by the quivering and trembling of the leaves when other leaves are still.[29] The ranks of Burman spirits are recruited from men who die a violent death, or who have been executed for bad deeds.[30] Burmah is supposed to be plagued with *bilûs*, creatures in human guise who devour men.[31] The Burmans wash the head once a month. The Pegu people believe that frequent washing destroys and irritates the genius who dwells in the head, and protects man.[32] For the comfort of the house-spirits the tops of all the posts in the house are covered with a hood of cotton cloth wherein the spirits live.[33] The house-spirit Eling-Soung Nàt lives in a cotton night-cap or hood on the top of a pillar.[34] The spirit Moung Inn Gyee was feared all round Rangoon as far as Pegu. He is said to live in water and to cause death. A yearly festival is held in his honour.[35] At the boat races the Burmans offer plantains to the water-spirits.[36] The Burmans have so great a fear of water-spirits that they dare not rescue a victim from drowning. The Buddhist Burmans, who never kill even an insect, will stand by and see a man drown without helping him.[37] The Chinese have an extreme fear of spirits.[38] The Chinese refrain from saving a drowning man, because it is a spirit that drags him down. A similar idea used to be prevalent in England and Scotland.[39] The Chinese believe that their waters are full of angry spirits anxious to drown men. To prevent this they put up pillars on the bank to Fat-Pee, the coming Buddha; and offer white horses.[40] In China, women who commit suicide, children who die in infancy, unmarried women, and beggars who die at street corners become spirits.[41]

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26 *Arabian Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 224.
27 Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 280.
28 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 284.
29 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 286.
30 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 286.
31 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 100.
32 *Op. cit.*, Vol. II. p. 92.
33 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 281.
34 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 281.
35 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 285.
36 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 59.
37 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 151.
38 Mrs. Gray's *Fourteen Months in Canton*, p. 442.
39 Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 84.
40 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 35.
41 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 18.

The Australians suppose that thickets, pools and rocks swarm with spirits.[42] They believe that white men are the ghosts of dead Australians,[43] and that the Kinir-Kinir or spirits of the departed, wander over the earth.[44] The Australians have crowds of spirits called Ingnas, who worry and trouble men. They throw heated stones and sit upon men as nightmares.[45] The Australians believed in innumerable evil spirits. The ghosts of hostile or unburied dead filled heaven and earth and caused evil. Australians hated to name the dead, to go near a grave, or to dream. They did not attempt to propitiate with charms the spirits. The object of their rites was to counteract the power of the unfriendly spirits.[46]

The Dayaks of Borneo and the Papuans of New Guinea believe in evil spirits of the clouds, the sea, the rocks, and the forests.[47] Before cutting down a tree the Dayaks are careful to please Pulang Gana, the place-spirit.[48] The Philippine Islanders see phantoms, called *tibalong*, on the tree-tops. Children are carried off by their dead mothers who are vastly tall, with long hair, little feet, long wings, painted bodies and a peculiar smell. The Islanders shew the ghost-mothers to the Spaniards, but the Spaniards cannot see them.[49] The Motus of New Guinea believe that the departed sometimes appear on earth. Children will run into the house and tell their widowed mother that their father has come back to see them; she goes to the door, and true enough sees her husband standing with his feet in the ground, as if he had risen out of it. She tries to catch hold of him, but he sinks back into the earth. The people do not cite these experiences as nursery tales. They firmly believe them, and in confirmation of these appearances appeal to the evidence of their own eyes. They also believe that when a person dies, the spirit of some departed friend comes to carry the spirit away.[50] The health and lives of the Shoas and Gallas of North-East Africa are in the hands of a class of demons called Zar to whom tobacco smoke is as incense.[51]

In Madagascar, the spirits of the dead are supposed to dwell on lofty mountains.[52] In the Lovale country, in the west of South Central Africa, inland from the Kongo River, men dress as sham devils and clear the wood of real spirits.[53] In South Central Africa, one of the natives came close to Captain Cameron, and after a good look covered his face with his hands, and yelled. He had never seen a white man, and took Cameron for a devil.[54] The Bongos of the White Nile and other negroes hold that no good ever came from a spirit. The only thing they know about spirits is that they do harm.[55] In Kulongo, near the White Nile, a great cavern is supposed to be full of spirits. Really it is full of bats and porcupines.[56] Kafirs refuse to save a drowning man. They think the water-spirit has dragged him in.[57]

In Mexico, women who die in child-bed are feared and honoured. After death they become spirits, and act as guardians or attendants of the sun. Formerly young men tried to cut off the hair of such women, and wizards to cut off the left arm.[58] The Mexicans deified all women who died in child-birth. Shrines decked with paper images were raised to their honour in every ward that had two streets. Once a year all persons sentenced to death were slain in honour of the goddess, that is, of the spirits of dead women. The spirits of these women moved through the air, and entered into people. They made children sick, sending paralysis and other sudden diseases. Their favourite haunt on earth was cross-roads, and on certain days of the year people would not go out of the house for fear of them. They were propitiated by offerings of bread and roasted maize.[59] The wild tribes of Brazil live in constant fear of spirits. However brave in

[42] Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 236.
[43] Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 100.
[44] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 250.
[45] Reville's *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 154.
[46] *Descriptive Sociology*, 3 Table 4.
[47] *Trans. By. Geog. Soc.* April 1884, p. 210.
[48] *Straits Journal*, June 1881, p. 147.
[49] *Careri* in *Churchill*, Vol. IV. p. 430.
[50] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. pp. 485, 486.
[51] Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 391.
[52] Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 312.
[53] Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. II. p. 189.
[54] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 146.
[55] Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 306.
[56] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 233-235.
[57] Cunningham's *South Africa*, p. 325.
[58] Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 364.
[59] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 363.

war, a Brazilian rarely goes out alone at night. They have numbers of spirits unconnected with material objects. The chief of these are Gourouperas (ill-natured spirits), who come under many forms and stir disputes among men; Yanchous like dwarfs or big dogs whose barking is heard in the storm, like the German and French wild chase, and Sponpiaras (sea spirits), who entice sailors on to the rocks[60] Several American tribes people earth, air, and sea with good and evil spirits.[61] The Alaskas, or North American Eskimos, believe that as in life the mass counts little the mass of spirits do little good and little harm. They shew their presence only by a slight whizzing. Robust spirits make the ears to tingle with their demands for food. The still sturdier take their abode in some human body. The sturdiest, who when alive have been sorcerers, suicides or murderers, enter into bodies and so affect the owner of the body as to drive him mad or witless.[62] The Zaparo Indians of South America fear that a woman who dies in child-bed comes back longing for her child; they, therefore, bury the live child with the dead mother.[63] The Americans thought Will-o-the Wisp a very dangerous spirit.[64] In British Guiana, the Kenaimas, spirits who cause sickness, are much feared. They are driven out by healers or *peaiman*, who in proof take a caterpillar out of the patient.[65]

Among the ancients the Accadians or early Chaldeans (B. C. 4000-2000) had five classes of ill-wishing spirits: *utugo* second class spirits, *alals* destroyers, *geguns* (?) unknown, *telals* warriors, and *maskin* snarers.[66] The Assyrians (B. C. 1200-800) and the Babylonians (B. C. 800-530) believed that the world was swarming with bad little spirits who might be swallowed and cause disease.[67] The Persians (B. C. 580-330) developed a system of guardian angels so elaborate as to give rise to the saying — "An Angel falls in every raindrop." [68] This theory of spirit-rule was adopted both for men and for countries by the Jews and to some extent by the New Testament. The Christian elaborated the idea. The poet Spencer (A. D. 1600) saw bright squadrons of golden-pinioned angels planted round men to guard them against foul fiends; and in later times (d. 1711) Bishop Ken has passed on the doctrine of the individual guardian.[69]

Among the Greeks, the Stoics believed in countless immortal spirits that abounded in the air.[70] The Romans had chimney spirits.[71] The Roman Lars, or nobles in the original Etruscan, were supposed to guard crossways and to watch houses. They were of two classes, public and private.[72] The Roman Lemures[73] were spirits either of all dead or of bad dead, generally of bad dead.[74] Among the Middle-Age Europe (1493-1541) spirits were Dases, spirits of wood; Enur, spirits of stones; Gnomes, under-ground spirits; Lemures, water-spirits; Penates, fire-spirits; Sylphs, dwarfs; and Travames, ghosts.[75] The Germans believed in dwarf spirits called Kobold, Goblin and Bogie, also in Pottergeist, the knocking or death-watch spirits. According to one account (Conway's, *Demonology and Devil-lore*, Vol. II. p. 318) the Pottergeist are unwashed children whom Eve kept out of

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60 Reville's *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. I. pp. 366, 370.

61 Bancroft, Vol. III. pp. 112, 481.

62 Reclus' *Prim. Folklore*, p. 82.

63 *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 507.

64 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 540.

65 *St. James's Budget*, 7th December 1883.

66 Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 26, 144.

67 Black's *Folklore Medicine*, p. 8.

68 *Dabistan*, Vol. III. p. 144.

69 Seafield's *Dreams*, Vol. I. p. 47.

70 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 139.

71 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxxvi. Chap. 27.

72 Riley's *Trans. of Ovid's Fasti*, p. 74. According to Douce (*Dance of Death*, p. 3) the Larvoe or Lares, unless cared for, were apt to become unfriendly.

73 Festivals in honour of the Lemures, or evil dead, were held in Rome on the 9th, 11th and 13th May. The details illustrate the fear of spirits. The temples of the gods were shut to keep out the spirits; no marriage took place for fear of their unfriendly influence. In the festival the people walked bare foot, because spirits would be enraged by leather, washed hands three times, and threw black beans, which spirits disliked.

74 Cunningham's *Classical Dictonary*.

75 Friswell's *Varia*, p. 183. Reginald Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 415; *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. VII. p. 78. Jamieson (*Scottish Dictionary*, s. v. "Elfmill") gives the following classes of Saxon spirits: *munt elfen* (hill elves), *wunder elfen* (field elves), *wylde elfen* (moor elves), *dun elfen* (hill elves), *water elfen* (water elves), *sae elfen* (sea elves). Compare Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, Vol. II. p. 110, 1810 Edn.

God's sight.[76] The Skandinavians believed in spirits called Duergar who lived in hills.[77] Among the Fins and among the Samoiedes of North-West Siberia every object is full of small spirits called Maahinen, that is, earth-spirits. These spirits have power over everything. Under their influence crops grow, cows yield milk, and milk yields butter.[78] In return milk and other good things are set apart for the Maahinen. Dolls also are made for them, because when the Maahinen go into any object and feel at home in it, they are kindly, and act as guardians.[79] In Russia, the worship of the great spirit of cold, of which trace remains in the English Jack Frost, continues.[80] The Croatians believe in spirits called Vilas, who float about and make storm and flood.[81] In North and North-East Europe, the belief in the forest spirit Rusialki, the wicked souls of unbaptised girls, is general. The Slavs pray:— "Oh Rusialki, touch not our crowns."[82] But the terror of Rusialki pales before the Vampire, which is believed to be the spirit of a wizard or heretic, who, from his lodging in some corpse, steals in at night and sucks the blood of the living. The corpse in which the Vampire lodges should be taken out of the grave, a white thorn stake driven through the corpse at a single stroke, and the corpse burnt.[83] Another leading Russian spirit is Domovoi, the house-spirit, who, though he bears the blame of any domestic mishap, is of the guardian or helpful class like the English Brownie or Robin Goodfellow.[84] In Brittany, in West France, in 1825, a class of tiny spirits called Gawrics danced and made passers dance among the standing stones, which were known as the Giant's Dance.[85]

The fairy spirits of the Irish were Shefro, Chericaune, Banshee, Phooka, Merrow, Dullahan, and Fir-darrig. The name Shefro was a generic name for the elves who lived in troops or communities, and were popularly supposed to own castles or mansions. The Chericaune was distinguished by his solitary habits. The Banshee, an attendant fairy or spirit, mourned the death of any member of a family to which she attached herself. The Phooka appears to be a modification of Robin Goodfellow or Puck. The Merrow was a mermaid. The Dullahan was a malicious sullen spirit or goblin, and the Fir-darrig a little merry red man.[86]

Old England (1000-1400) was full of fairies.[87] Among them were Lads, Radiant Boys, Silky, Pick-tree Brag, Padfoot, Barguest, and Powries and Dunkers who inhabit forts.[88] In the twelfth century, Gervase of Tilbury found in England, Portûni, goblins who leaped on horses and set the riders astray, Follets who were harmless, and Incubus which was the Roman Fawn.[89] In 1290, a cavern in a castle of Lord Gifford was called Boh, that is, Hobgoblin, Hall.[90] The English catechism of the fifteenth century states that some of the angels who

[76] Scott's *Demonolgy and Witchcraft*, p. 121. Tylor (*Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 144) gives six classes, in Middle-Age Europe — fire, air, earth, water, under-earth, light-flyers.

[77] Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 441.

[78] Compare Coleridge on the functions of the higher nature-spirits: —

"Some nurse the infant diamond in the mine,
Some roll the genial juices through the oak;
Some drive the mutinous clouds to clash in air,
And rushing on the storm with whirlwind speed,
Yoke the red lightnings to their volleying car."

[79] Reville's *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 214. These are notable instances of the two laws: (*a*) a doll is an idol; (*b*) a guardian is a squared or housed fiend.

[80] Ralston's *Russian Folktales*, p. 214.

[81] Victor Tissot's *Unknown Hungary*, Vol. I. p. 237.

[82] *Folklore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 56.

[83] Student's *Ency.*, "Vampire." The union of two experiences compels the belief in the Vampire. (1st) The common grief for a young man or woman wasting in consumption as if the blood which is the life was sucked out of them. (2nd) The occasional unearthing of a long dead corpse from which when cut fresh blood flows. The sense seems to be: the guardian white-thorn stake prisons the Vampire, and with the corpse the Vampire's power is consumed. In Bulgaria, it is believed that any one may become a Vampire over whom a cat or a boy jumps or a bird flies: that is, when they are above him an evil spirit may pass from the boy or the cat or the bird into the person overleapt, and so the spirit may become a Vampire.

[84] Ralston's *Russian Songs*, p. 124; *Englishwoman in Russia*, p. 161.

[85] Hone's *Every Day Book*, Vol. II. p. 981.

[86] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 508.

[87] Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 106.

[88] Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 256, 267-274.

[89] Tyrwhitt's *Chaucer*, p. 189.

[90] Sharpe's *Witchcraft*, p. 24.

were cast out of heaven were sent into hell, some reigned in the sky, some in the earth, some in the waters, and some in the woods.[91] The Rosicrusians (A. D. 1600?) peopled the air with Sylphs, the earth with Gnomes, the fire with Salamanders, and the water with Nymphs.[92] Boh or Hobgoblin was afterwards, or at least was better, known as Puck or as Robin Good-fellow. Shakespeare (1600) describes Robin as a shrewd and a knavish sprite, who frights the maidens of the villagers and skims milk. He sometimes labours with the quern or hand-mill, makes the churning of the breathless housewife useless, works the drink so that it bears no barm, and misleads night wanderers, laughing at the harm.[93] In England, about 1620, the leading spirits were genii, fauns, satyrs, wood nymphs, foliots, fairies, robin good-fellows, and trulls.[94] The bigger kind of spirits were hob-goblins, who ground corn, cut wood and mended iron.[95] In Welsh mines, in 1750, fairies were often heard at work. They were friendly and guided the human miners to rich veins.[96] In 1800, a demon called Barguest, haunted Yorkshire lanes and forboded death.[97] In 1830, bogles (bug a scare crow) drove all traffic from the Gallows Lane at Lincoln.[98] During the last three hundred years English poets have maintained the belief in countless spirits. According to Milton (1660) :—"Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep."[99] And two hundred and fifty years later, in spite of the desolation of progress, the poet eye of Coleridge had the same vision as Milton : — "Oh ye numberless and rapid travellers, what ear unstunned, what sense unmaddened, might bear up against the rushing of your congregated wings?"[100]

So many forms of the devil do the seventeenth century **witch-trials** shew that it seems the devil might alone people the earth. Man in many forms, beautiful women, youths, priests, and black men : of animals the cat, toad, rabbit, pig, rat, dog, deer, ass, and snake : of birds the crow, kite, chicken, magpie, goose, and duck : of insects the bee, fly, and flea : of other shapes a winged child, a ball, a hay-stack, a tree-trunk, and a coach wheel. These seem a collection of the leading objects which in former times were believed to be spirit-homes.[1] In seventeenth century Scotland, among the noble army of spirits held in respect and constantly seen were devils, bull-beggars, witches, elves, hags, faeries, Satyrs, Pans, Fawns, Sylvans, Kit with the Caustic, Tritons, centaurs, dwarfs, giants, imps, calcars (?), conjurers, nymphs, changlings Incubus, Robin Good-fellow, the man in the oak, the hell waine, the fire-drake, the pickle, Tom Thumb, Hob-Goblin, Tom Tumbler, Boneless, and others.[2] In Scotland, in 1670, the common people called familiars white Devils. They were the same as the useful spirits formerly known as Brownie and Robin Good-fellow. They passed as human beings. Sharpe tells of a lady who had a little old serving man, Ethert, who was really a familiar.[3] Beaumont, about the same time, had two familiars to wait on him, brown women three feet high in black net-work gowns and white caps with lace.[4] In Europe, at this time (1650), were seven good and seven bad familiars or evil genii. The good genii adapted themselves to the character of each person's soul. They suggested good, but if the soul preferred evil the seven good genii gave place to their seven evil companions.[5] In Scotland, in the county of Kircudbright, in 1730, people firmly believed in ghosts, hob-goblins, fairies, elves, witches, and wizards. The ghosts and spirits often appeared at night. The people used many charms and incantations to preserve themselves, their cattle and houses from the malevolence of witches, wizards and evil spirits, and believed in the beneficial effects of these charms. They frequently saw the devil, who made wicked attacks upon them when they were engaged in their religious exercises. They believed in benevolent

[91] Skeat's *Piers the Ploughman*, p. 110.
[92] *Op. cit.* p. 110.
[93] *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II. Scene I. p. 99.
[94] Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 124.
[95] Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 124.
[96] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," pp. 152-154.
[97] Hone's *Everyday Book*, Vol. II. p. 557 ; *Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 98.
[98] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 32.
[99] *Paradise Lost*, Book iv. line 677.
[100] *Tragedy of Remorse*, Act I. Scene 2.
[1] Compare *Notes and Queries*, Vol. V. pp. 421-423, Fifth Series.
[2] Reginald Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 122.
[3] Sharpe's *Witchcraft in Scotland*, p. 142.
[4] *Op. cit.* p. 218.
[5] Reginald Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 496.

spirits, whom they termed Brownies, who went about at night and performed for them some part of their domestic labour, such as threshing and winnowing their corn, spinning, and churning. They fixed branches of the mountain ash or the narrow-leaved service tree above the stalls of their cattle to preserve them from the evil effects of elves and witches.[6] In the Highlands of Scotland, there was a lake called Lochn-an-Spoiradan, the Loch of Spirits. In the lake two spirits frequently made their appearance — the horse and the water-bull. The mermaid was another spirit. Before the rivers were swelled by heavy rains she was often seen, and was considered a fore-sight of drowning. Celtic mythology added a fourth spirit. When water is agitated by violent currents of wind, and spray is swept from its surface and driven before the blast, or whirled in circling eddies high in the air, the people consider the spin-drift the child of the angry blast and call it Mariach Shine, the Rider of the Storm.[7] Suffolk people believe in mermaids who live in ponds, and mothers use the name mermaid to frighten their children.[8] Waldron heard the following mermaid story from an Isle of Man fisherman : — "During the time that Oliver Cromwell usurped the government of England few ships resorted to this island, which gave the mermen and mermaids frequent opportunities of visiting the shore. On moonlight nights they have been seen combing their hair, but as soon as any one came near they jumped into the water. Some people, who lived near the shore, spread nets and watched for their approach, only one was taken, who proved to be a female. She was very lovely; above the waist she resembled a fine young woman, and below all was fish with fins and a spreading tail. She was carried to a house and used tenderly; but, although they set before her the best of provisions, she could not be prevailed on to eat or drink, neither could they get a word from her. They kept her three days; but, perceiving that she began to look very ill and fearing that some calamity would befall the island if they kept her till she died, they opened the door, when she raised herself on her tail and glided with incredible swiftness to the sea-side. Her keeper followed her at a distance, and saw her plunge into the water."[9] It is customary in Yorkshire for people to sit and watch in the church porch on St. Mark's Eve, April 25th, from eleven o'clock at night till one in the morning. The third year (for this watch must be kept thrice) the watchers are supposed to see the ghosts of all who are to die the next year pass into the church, infants and young children not able to walk roll along the pavement.[10] In 1800, Sir Walter Scott noticed that the belief in spirits who inhabited the air and the water was still general in Scotland.[11] In England, the Gypsies keep alive the belief in spirit swarms. Gipsy boys at dawn see little men and carriages sitting in oak branches, beautifully dressed in green, white and other colours.[12]

In connection with the numbers and swarms of spirits it is to be noted that instead of the six or seven spirits which in modern Europe are supposed to lodge in the human body, namely, life, wind, soul, spirit, conscience, genius, and heredity, according to earlier ideas, spirits or at least the greater spirits include swarms of distinct beings. The experience of conscience, or the voice of conscience, has been accepted as one of the strongest grounds for believing in more than one indwelling spirit. The Christian poet, Herrick (1660, *Poems*, Ed. 1869, Vol. I. p. 159), makes conscience a God in man, agreeing with the saying in the Emperor Akbar's (A.D. 1600) religion :— "Deep in our soul lives the true agent God without equal who raises a stormy strife to stir us to the search of truth."[13] The Arab who has heard the voice describes it as the voice of Hâtif the crier, a species of *jinn*.[14] The Hindu has a strong sense of the divisibility of spirit.[15]

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6 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. xvi.

7 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 377.

8 Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 678.

9 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 413.

10 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 193.

11 Note M to *Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

12 Groome's *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 266.

13 *Dabistan*, Vol. III. p. 130.

14 *Arabian Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 46.

15 This law is not so clear to the fishers of Nairne in Scotland, who (Guthrie's *Old Scotch Customs*, p. 96) object to more than one couple being married at the same time, as there would be a struggle who would be first to leave the church, because the first to leave would carry away the blessing.

In a Hindu temple some of the spirits, or some of the spirit of the object worshipped, passes into every portion of the sweetmeats which are handed to the worshippers. So an epidemic is a spirit which can divide itself endlessly and pass into the bodies of the whole population of a city or country. Compare, among the Jews, in the Old Testament (*Numbers*, xiv. 25) : — "The Lord took the spirit that was on Moses and put it upon the seventy elders and they prophesied." And in the New Testament (*St. Luke*, viii. 27; *St. Mark*, v. 9) : two thousand devils pass out of a man who is described as having only one devil. The experience of the spirit that suddenly sways a gathering of men, of cattle, or of other animals, makes easy the belief in the divisibility of spirit. A large gathering may be possessed by the guardian spirit, and yet the spirit in the guardian be undiminished. Part of a witch's familiar or house-spirit may go and worry some one and still not forsake its black cat or other everyday home. A similar experience explains such phrases[16] as "the Spirit or Genius of the Age," which seems a trace of the belief that[17] like every planet each age is under the influence of some special spirit. Another case of spirit divided and yet unlessened is Glamour. "Glamour," says Napier,[18] "is a witch-power which makes the people see whatever the witch wishes them to see." The spirit of the witch passes into each of the crowd, and looking through their eyes makes them see as the witch wishes, the witch's spirit being all the time unlessened in the witch's body.

Again, among the Hindus, swarms of spirits constantly pass into the great Gods or Guardians. The Almighty is the home of spirits; Ganpati, the leader of the hosts, has a host in himself; Mahâdev has his 1,000 names. His worshippers welcome Khandoba with the shout "*yelkot*, seven crores." The experience in the death of a man — the fading of the warmth, the ceasing of the pulse, the failure of breath, the disappearance of the image from the eyeball, seem to imply the departure of a set of distinct sprits.[19]

Two other classes — strangers and enemies — have added to the hosts of evil spirits. In most countries and at most times, as in Germany, where fiend means foe, enemies have been considered either devils or devil-possessed. The Chinese call all strangers devils; the Tartar retorts by speaking of the Chinaman as a *dêv* or magician.[20] Mr. Conway[21] finds in the demons, in which men have believed, a catalogue of the obstacles in the fight of life. He holds that the number of survivals or custom traces of a demon pretty faithfully shew the degree to which the special evil the devil represents affected the early man. Conway arranges his demons or early unfriendly forces under twelve heads : — hunger, heat, cold, physical convulsions, destructive animals, human enemies, barrenness, obstacles, river or hill, illusion, darkness, disease, death. This grouping of early spirits seems artificial. The early man dreads not the head of a class of spirits : he dreads the attacks of individual spirits, generally ancestral. The un-moral demon who rules a class of facts corresponds to the un-moral guardians, the gods of the *Vêdas* or of Greece and Rome. So the immoral devil belongs to the same later stage as the moral God or guardian of the Jew and Christian. With the teaching of universal experience the whole world became spirit-ruled and spirit-explained. Again, as knowledge and power grow spirits retire. In one branch after another spirit is replaced by law. Spirit fades from plant and animal : it stays in man because man's consciousness seems to imply at least a two-fold nature — body and mind. Even in the thought of man the domain of spirit keeps shrinking. Disease, even madness, is physical, dreams are children of the body, passions are not prompted from without, sin is not spirit-possession, desire is not a fiend's hint, humour is not a demon's chuckle, neither freshness nor skill is genius-caused. In spite of this steady drawing in of the borders of

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16 Brown's *Christian Morals*, Vol. I. p. 26.

17 Henry Vaughan (1660), *Poems*, Ed. 1883, p. 7.

18 Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 132.

19 Hindu doctors (Wise's *Hindu Medicine*, p. 203) consider the pulse a spirit, because it is a test of life. Fuller reference to this subject comes more suitably under "Funeral Rites."

20 Shea's *Early Kings of Persia*, p. 53, note 1. The idea that the stranger is a spirit appears in the wide-spread belief that, at the skirts of traffic, far-travelled traders deal with spirits. Compare *De Guignes Huns*, Vol. I. p. 139.

21 Moncure Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 35.

spirit-land the belief remains that, unlike other animals, man has a two-fold nature — body and mind.

The earliness of the belief, that there is one or many spirits in man, suggests that this experience is **the base of all belief in spirit.** Before you have the idea of a disembodied spirit you must have the idea of an embodied spirit. But the early man's idea of himself is probably a spirit haunt. He knows the spirits in life pushing him to pleasure, to sin, to passion, haunting him with strange ideas. He sees them in life, the image in the eye, the warmth, the breath, the pulse in the breast, wrist and heel. He sees proofs of them at death when the eye grows glassy, the warmth cools, the pulse flutters and ceases. The conclusion seems to be: the idea of an embodied spirit starts earlier and will last longer than the idea of a disembodied spirit. In the development of spirit ideas the relation between the spirit in a man and the spirit in an animal has undergone one important change. The spirit in man is now supposed to be distinct from the spirit in animals. Among Hindus an old-fashioned groom keeps talking to his horse, apparently never doubting that the horse understands. So the Bakhtyari or South Persian highlander talks to a lion as he would talk to a human foe: "O cat of Ali, I am the servant of Ali, pass by my house by the head of Ali."[22]

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(Continued from p. 252.)

XL.

BY far the best of monarchs that wielded sway over the **Nishâda** country was **King Sibi,** who was the type of virtue, a well-wisher of his subjects. He would even forego his life to protect the refugee. Once upon a time the **Gandarvas** began praising his talents and virtuous qualities at the Court of their king **Dêvêndra,** who heard them, and, coming to a resolve to put them to test, assumed the form of a hawk and called upon his friend **Agni** to take the form of a dove. The hawk, then, pursuing the dove, reached the earth. The dove came to King Sibi and said :—" O King! there comes a hawk to put an end to me, and make me its prey. Shield me." So saying, he took refuge. Not long after, the hawk approached the king and said :— " It is unfair of you to protect my prey, for that will lead to my certain death. Refrain, therefore, from protecting the dove." To which the king replied that he would give the dove's weight of flesh from his body, instead of the dove itself. The hawk consented to the proposal. The king thereupon brought scales, put the dove on one pan and his flesh on the other, and seeing that even a great quantity of his flesh did not equally balance the dove's, the king himself sat in one of the pans, when the scales were rendered equal. Whereupon the hawk and the dove thought very highly of the king, assumed their own forms, stood before the king, praised him, conferred certain boons on him and went to their respective worlds.

Moral :— Good men will even forego their lives in order to protect those who trust in them.

XLI.[1]

Nârada, the greatest of Ṛishis, was once upon a time, while on a visit to Nandikêśvara, requested by him to narrate any important news he had of the *lôkas* (worlds), whereupon he informed him of the stories told by **the two and thirty images on the throne of Vikramarka.**

In **Vêdanârâyaṇapura** Agrâhâra there lived a Brâhmaṇ, Vishṇusarma by name, who had four sons, Yajñanârâyaṇa, Vêdanârâyaṇa, Vîranârâyaṇa, and **Chandrasarma.** The first three were thoroughly conversant with Vedic literature and all the *śâstras,* and displayed their learning at the courts of various kings, receiving very valuable presents ; while the fourth, as he was not instructed in any of the sciences, acted as their servant. Matters went on thus for some time, till the fourth son became disgusted with his lot and resolving to visit foreign parts for the purpose of becoming educated, left his home at dead of night without telling anyone. The next evening he reached the bank of

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[22] Layard's *Early Adventures*, p. 445.

[1] [It may be taken as certain that this is a translation from a local *Mahâtmya* or some such MS. — ED.]

a river near an *agrâhâra*, performed his daily ablutions in it, and came out to perform the *japa* alone.

A **Brahmarâkshasa,** dwelling in an adjacent *pîpal*-tree, assumed the form of a Brâhmaṇ, descended from the tree and stood before Chandrasarma, and enquired who he was; whereupon Chandrasarma, thinking him to be a Brâhmaṇ of the adjacent *agrâhâra*, told him his errand and his story. The Brahmarâkshasa then said:—"Well then, you are intent upon learning." Chandrasarma, right glad of the turn events had taken, consented to receive instruction from the supposed Brâhmaṇ, who thereupon appeared to him in his true colours and asked him not to be afraid of him. But for all that Sarma[2] shook with fear, and shut his eyes, and so the Brahmarâkshasa immediately resumed the form of a Brâhmaṇ, consoled Chandrasarma, took him up to the top of the *pîpal*-tree, taught him without a moment's stop,—without sleep or food for six months,—and then informed him that he was rid of his curse. He himself would now go on a visit to Banâras, but Sarma was at perfect liberty to go home, being completely trained in all the sciences, and ere long would rise to a very prominent position, and he further blessed him with four very intelligent sons. Chandrasarma thereupon enquired of his preceptor the circumstances under which he became a Brahmarâkshasa, and why he had to go on a visit to Banâras. To which the latter replied:—"I was living sometime ago at **Sârasvatîpura,** on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ, and learnt the various sciences. While there, a Brâhmaṇ pupil visited the place and requested me to instruct him in some of the sciences, which I refused to do, feeling very proud of my learning, and so my would-be pupil became very much infuriated and said:—'Reserve your learning to yourself; you need not teach me at all: I shall learn from some other person,' and cursed me to become a Brahmarâkshasa. Quaking with fear, I requested him to inform me how best I could be relieved of the curse. And he replied:—'After some time, Chandrasarma, a Brâhmaṇ, intent upon learning, will visit foreign parts. You will accidentally meet him on the bank of a river. He will learn the various sciences from you, and if you will then visit Banâras and bathe in the sacred waters of the Ganges, you will be relieved of your curse and become a Brâhmaṇ once more.' I therefore became a Brahmarâkshasa and took up my abode in yonder *pîpal*-tree, eagerly awaiting your arrival. As I have instructed you in all the sciences, I shall now go on a visit to Banâras to rid myself of the curse. Chandrasarma then took a different route, as he had forgotten the way by which he came to the *pîpal*-tree, and while going through the palace street of Ujâyiṇi, saw the house of a public woman and mistook it for a Brâhmaṇ's quarters, and as he was very tired, having had neither sleep nor food for six months past, went in, spread his upper garment on the verandah and quietly went to sleep. Not long after the house-owner's daughter came out, perceived the sleeping person, and thinking that he would be a fit husband for herself went in and informed her mother of the fact with great glee.

The mother, intent upon appropriating the new-comer's money, came out to see if he were a wealthy man, and perceiving him to be a poor Brâhmaṇ, became enraged at her daughter. But the daughter gave a deaf ear to her mother's words, and insisted on possessing the Brâhmaṇ. The mother consented, as she was unable to win her daughter over to her arguments. The Brâhmaṇ did not rise the next morning, nor did he move a muscle. This made the mother inform the king of what had transpired, who immediately sent the palace doctors to the spot. They felt the pulse of the sleeping person, and went and informed the king that as, for some reason or other, he had had neither food nor sleep for six months past, his body should be smeared all over with boiled rice for some time, and if this were repeated for a time, he would enjoy the honey-heavy dew of slumber and would rise. After six months' tending, according to the doctors' advice, Chandrasarma rose one fine morning just as an ordinary person would, who had enjoyed a very refreshing sleep. Then he began to think:—"Whose house is this? Who is this girl? What brought me here? But what care I for all this?" He was preparing to go his own way, when the girl taking hold of the hem of his garment asked him:—"Are you going to quit me? I have been eagerly waiting for you and tending you for these six months. You are my husband: I am your wife." On hearing this, the Brâhmaṇ replied:—"I am a Brâhmaṇ and you a Śûdra, this sort of talk is, therefore, unfair of you. What have I to do with you?" So saying, he rose, but the girl accompanied him closely wheresoever he went. The matter was reported by the townsfolk to the king, who summoned the Brâhmaṇ and the Śûdra girl before him, and as he was not able to effect a compromise between them, he invited a certain number of the best *paṇḍits* and requested them

[2] *I. e.*, Chandrasarma.

to judge of the affair, who pacified Chandrasarma by saying that a Brâhman is at liberty to marry from among all the four castes.

The king then married Chandrasarma first to his *purôhit's* daughter, then to his own daughter, thirdly to the daughter of the wealthiest merchant of the locality, and lastly to the girl in question. As the king had no male issue, he transferred one-half of his kingdom with the necessary army to Chandrasarma, retained him at his own place and lived happily. Chandrasarma had four lodgings prepared for his four wives, kept each of them in a separate house, performed his daily ablutions in the house of his Brâhman wife, and lived happily, not swerving from the injunctions laid down in the *Śâstras*. Sometime after the king died and as he had left no sons, Chandrasarma was installed king of the whole realm by the ministers, *purôhits*, and the people. He had by his Brâhman wife a son named **Vararuchi**; by the second, **Vikramarka**; by the third, **Bhatti**; and by the fourth, **Hari**. All the four sons were well educated. Chandrasarma being very much pleased with the noble qualities of Vikramarka, and as he was moreover the collateral grandson of the late monarch, installed him king and made Bhatti his premier. Vikramarka then prayed to the goddess, Kâlî, who, being greatly pleased with his severe austerities, appeared before him and granted him a boon, that he would rule for one thousand years, that neither gods, spirits, demons nor giants should be able to vanquish him, and that he would meet his death by the hand of a child, born to a girl thirteen *months* old. Vikramarka then came home and informed Bhatti of what had transpired, when the latter said that he would extend the period of the life of Vikramarka by an additional one thousand years. On his questioning the former how he was able to grant the boon, Bhatti replied:—"The goddess Kâlî has blessed you that you should *rule* for one thousand years. Rule over the kingdom for six months and travel over the world for the other six months, so that by the time you have ruled for one thousand years, you will practically live for two thousand years." Vikramarka was greatly pleased with the tactics of Bhatti and did as directed. He became afterwards one of the world's best rulers.

Once upon a time a *sannyâsin* came to Vikramarka, blessed him and gave him a fruit. The same thing was repeated day after day and the king used to give it over to his steward. On a certain day the fruit was given by the king to a monkey standing near, and when the latter bit a portion of it, a large number of diamonds fell out of the fruit. The king was wonderstruck and called upon the steward to produce the fruit entrusted to him. On their being produced and broken open, the king found to his utter amazement an additional number of diamonds. The king, feeling very pleased with the *sannyâsin*, enquired of his errand, when the latter informed him that he was intent upon performing a great *tapas*, that he needed therefore the king's help and that he would tell him the business, should he (the king) come to his abode on the fifteenth day from that date at dead of night. He would then help him, for his *tapas* would be fulfilled. The king consented and dressed himself like a warrior, and, with sword in hand, went to the spot, appeared respectfully before the *sannyâsin* and asked him what he wanted him to do. The *sannyâsin* said:—"O king! you do not fail to abide by your promise. I am very glad you have come here. Whenever I intend to perform a *tapas*, one **Bêthâla** throws as many obstacles as he can in the way, and never allows it to reach completion. As you are the strongest and bravest of men, if you will bring Bêthâla here, tied hand and foot, there will be no one to throw obstacles in the way of my *tapas*. If you talk to Bêthâla while bringing him here, he will assuredly run away. You should therefore not talk to him at all." Vikramarka then enquired the whereabouts of Bêthâla, went and tied him up and carried him on his back. Bêthâla said to him that he would put him a question which if he knowingly failed to answer, would break his head into a thousand pieces:—

"O king! In days long gone by there lived a king named **Yasakêthu**, who held sway over **Sôbhâvatîpura** according to the *dharmas* laid down in the *Śâstras*. Close to the town was a temple of the goddess Kâlî, to whom the townsfolk were in the habit of performing *jâtras* year after year. Once, while the women of the town were bathing in the temple tank, **Dhavala**, a washerman of another town, while going to Sôbhâvatîpura on business, passed through the temple and saw the women bathing. He fell in love with one of them, and hid himself in a certain quarter, and not being able to bear the finely-pointed darts of Cupid, followed her to a little distance from her home, promising, meanwhile, to offer the goddess Kâlî his head a few days after the accomplishment of his cherished object. He was terribly love-sick, and did not go to Sôbhâvatîpura at all, but went home and became more and more emaciated day by day. His parents, who learnt the whole affair, enquired of their son of

the whereabouts of the girl, went and negotiated with the girl's parents and effected a marriage between the two. A few days after this the girl's parents sent her to her mother-in-law. Sometime afterwards, they sent their son to inform the boy's parents and bring his brother-in-law and sister to their house. Dhavala's parents were very glad, and sent their son and daughter-in-law with the new-comer. They set out, and while resting themselves a little on the way near the temple of the goddess Kâlî, Dhavala went in and offered his head as a sacrifice to the goddess, as he had promised, and died. The new-comer, who was eagerly awaiting the arrival of his brother-in-law, not seeing him come out, went into the temple, and to his utter disappointment and sorrow saw his brother-in-law lying there dead, and died himself. The girl, amazed at both her husband and her brother not coming out for so long a time, went into the temple, and was wholly immersed in sorrow and was about to slay herself, when the goddess Kâlî appeared before her and said that she was pleased with her chastity, and that it was unfair of her to venture on suicide, and said further that if the two heads of the slain be brought and attached to the other parts of the bodies, they would once more come to life. In her haste she brought the head of her husband and attached it to the body of her brother and *vice versâ*, and they both rose up. She was now on the horns of a dilemma, and did not know what to do." Bêthâla then asked Vikramarka who should be taken to husband by the girl. Vikramarka replied that, as the head is the most essential part of the whole body, to whatsoever body the head of her husband was attached, that man should become her husband. Bêthâla upon this immediately disappeared.

Bêthâla, however, was once more fetched, and he again began to tell a story. "There remained with **Sakatasriṅga**, king of **Mallikâpura**, without a moment's severance, his attendant, **Kârpataka** by name. Once upon a time, the king set out on a hunting excursion with his large army to a wood, mounted a horse, went with Kârpataka to an uninhabited place a great distance off, and being very much fatigued, rested under the leafy spreading branches of a huge *barh* tree, when Kârpataka brought and gave him two fruits of the emblic myrobalan (*amalaka*). The king then went home, and sometime after informed Kârpataka that he had conceived a passion for the daughter of the king of Simhaladvîpa (Ceylon), and wanted him to arrange for a marriage between them. Kârpataka set sail in a merchant vessel, which unfortunately was wrecked and all the people perished. Kârpataka alone, while swimming with the greatest difficulty, caught hold of a twig which carried him to Nâgalôkâ, where he saw a temple to Durgâ, at which he rested. He there saw a number of Nâga girls visiting the temple, worshipping the goddess, and dancing and singing. He conceived a passion for one among the number, and communicated it to her maid-servants, who in turn informed the lady. The lady seemed to agree to the proposal and wanted Kârpataka to bathe in a tank near by. No sooner was that done than he found himself, to his utter amazement, floating in the tank of Mallikâpura. He then informed the king of what had transpired. The king thereupon wanted Kârpataka to shew him the woman. The whole route was re-traversed and the woman in the temple to Durgâ was shewn. The girl with whom Kârpataka had fallen in love, fell in love with the king, and told him that she would supply him with everything, if he should fulfil her cherished object. The king thereupon told her that Kârpataka was his son, a fair-looking, intelligent young man, a person who would act up to his promise, cost whatever it might, and that she should marry and live comfortably with him, to which she consented. The king took hold of Kârpataka's hand, and saying that the union effected between the latter and the Nâga girl was equal to one of the *amalakas* given him, and that he should do some service for the other fruit, went and immersed himself in the waters of the tank, and reached his capital safe. Kârpataka then lived happily with the girl." Bêthâla then asked Vikramarka: — "Which of them did the greatest good?" To which Vikramarka replied that it is but natural for a servant to do good to his master, but the master repaid him the good, thinking very highly of the servant's services — that must be considered the greatest. Bêthâla, on hearing this, once more disappeared.

Bêthâla was again brought, and again began to narrate a story. "In days long gone by there lived at **Vijayanagara** a king named **Danduvakêsa**, who married **Satyavratâ**, and was so wholly immersed in the luxuries of her charms that he was practically dead to the outer world. **Tîrthadarsi**, his minister, was then guiding the helm of the State. It was rumoured abroad, however, that the minister had appropriated the State to himself, and he, not being able to endure the calumny, went away to a foreign place. The king then entrusted his government to another minister of his, and pursued his old habits. After wandering through various countries, Tîrthadarśi reached a port, contracted friendship with a merchant there, and remained always

with him. One day the merchant informed him that he was about to set sail to an island afar off, and asked him to look after his affairs till he returned. The minister thereupon said that he would accompany the merchant, as he could not endure the pangs of separation. They both went on board the vessel, and saw a very beautiful woman on an island. On being questioned by the minister who she was, the merchant replied that he did not know, but that he saw her every time he crossed that way. As soon as their business was finished, both of them reached home safely. Sometime afterwards the minister took leave of the merchant, went to his own place, was received very cordially by the king, who enquired of him why he had left him. To which the minister replied: — 'You were wholly immersed in female charms, and as I guided the State, numerous scandals were spread abroad that I had misused my authority, and so I went away to a foreign place. I then made friendship with a merchant, and went on board his vessel to a far off island and there saw near the temple of the goddess Kâlî a large *baṛh* tree, underneath whose umbrageous branches was a woman, the very type of perfect womanhood.' On hearing this the king was very much astonished, and wanted to see the girl, and having received instructions from the minister, reached the island, saw the girl and thought that the minister was an unusually self-controlled man, for every man who had seen her had conceived a passion for her. Thus he praised the minister, and went and prostrated himself before the goddess Kâlî, and then approached the girl, who turned her back on him. The king then took hold of the hem of her garment and asked her not to treat him with contempt. The girl, understanding that he was the greatest of kings, did according to his wishes. Sometime after, the girl went to bathe in the waters of a tank for the observance of a *vrata*, when she was unfortunately devoured by a *râkshasa*. The king, on seeing this, immediately drew his sword and slew the *râkshasa* and drew the girl out of his body. The girl then informed the king why she was devoured by the *râkshasa*, and lived happily with the king as usual. The king then took her to his capital and remained there more than ever addicted to female allurements. The minister then poisoned himself and died." Vikramarka was then questioned by Bêthâla: — "Why did the minister die? For the king's return? For the king's marrying the girl whom he (the minister) had fallen in love with?" To which Vikramarka replied that the minister poisoned himself because he foolishly communicated to the king the excellence of the girl in question, being fully aware of the king's previous conduct. Bêthâla once more disappeared.

Thus did Bêthâla abscond twenty-four times, and thus was he fetched again and again by Vikramarka.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DAYS OF REST.

TO-DAY (29th November 1883) in passing through the Jât and Ahîr villages in Rohtak, I noticed that no work was being done at the wells or in the fields, and that the peasants, usually so hard at work, were idling in the village homestead. On enquiring the reason, I was told that to-day was the **amâwas**, the last day of the moon, and that on this day of the month the bullocks are always given a rest. The men themselves do any work that is to be done without using the cattle, but no one yokes his bullocks in the plough or at the well, or, if he can help it, in the cart. I noticed that some of the peasants were busy making thorn-fences, or doing other light work, but no bullocks were at work anywhere, and as there is little to be done at this season without their help, the custom practically gave the men a rest also, and the unusual idleness gave the villages a sort of Sunday look. The bullocks are given this rest once a month, on the last day of the moon, and also on the **Makar kâ Sankrânt**, which comes about January, when the sun enters into the sign of Capricorn (Makar), and on **the Dîwâlî and Gôrdhan** (the day after the Dîwâlî) in the middle of Kârtik (October). Except on **these fifteen days** it is lawful for a man to yoke his cattle on all other days of the year, but these particular days are strictly a Sabbath for the cattle, and no one thinks of yoking them on these days. If any one did it would be a sin (*pâp*), and his fellows would at once stop him. There is no such Sabbath for man, and it is not thought wrong (*pâp*) for a man to work on any day of the year, though, of course, there are many holidays (*têohâr*) on which very little work of any kind is done. On the Makar kâ Sankrânt the cows are not milked, and the calves are allowed to suck the whole of the milk, and on the *amâwas* of every month the milk is not allowed to curdle, but is consumed while still sweet.

J. WILSON in *P. N. and Q.*, 1883.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p.* 292.)

10.

Exchange.

EXCHANGE between the metals used for currency has always varied greatly in the Far East from time to time and from place to place, being governed by local supply and the facilities for transport: while a third highly disturbing element occurs in the statements of travellers and writers, *viz.*, the quality of the metals mentioned by them. This last consideration renders the subject a specially difficult one to discuss with any degree of certainty. Yule, however, in his invaluable works, never misses an opportunity of going ino this point, and to his researches we are indebted for much of the available information upon it.

From his *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 59, we learn that in Yünân, the great traveller found, in the XIIIth Century, that, as one travelled Westwards, gold was to silver at first as 8 to 1, then as 6 to 1, then as 5 to 1 on approaching the Burmese borders. Here the silver mines of the Shân States, and the gold washing of Yünân, coupled with the difficulties of transport, must have come into play. It has done so elsewhere; for in, the then isolated, Japan gold was to silver as 3 to 1, when the country was first opened up. In Orissa, Babu M. M. Chakravari (*J. A. S. B.*, for 1892, Part I, p. 43) shews that, at the latter part of the XIIth Century A. D., gold was to silver as 5 to 1, a fact which seems to have prevented the use of silver for coinage. Orissa was then, as it is to a certain extent now, a gold producing land, whereas communications with North India, where silver has always been plentiful, were difficult and precarious. Then there is the well-known case of the gold treasure-find made in the Dakhan by 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî and Malik Kâfûr in the early part of the XIVth Century, which reduced the ratio of gold to silver in North India from 10 to 1 to 8 to 1, and then to 7 to 1.[9]

As one instance, of many others that I might quote, of the extreme difficulty of ascertaining precisely what writers mean by their statements of values, the following may be cited. Browne, in his, to local officers, invaluable work on the *Thayetmyo District*, gives a series of tables shewing local revenues reduced to rupees. I have taken the trouble to work out the value of the tickal of silver as shewn in several of these tables, and the following is the startling result, especially considering the dates given:—

1783 : value Re. 1 as. 7 ; pp. 94, 101, 107.
1825 : value Re. 1 as. 7 ; p. 111.
1840 : value Re. 0 as. 8 ; p. 96.

Most other writers, where they do not mix up the rupee with the tickal,[9a] value the tickal of this period between Re. 1 as. 3, and Re. 1 as. 4. Symes, *Ava*, p. 317, puts the confusion of ratios very neatly for us:—"300 tackal in money, about £40 or £45." If £40, then the "tackal" = Re. 1 as. 3: if £45, then it = Re. 1 as. 5. It was of no consequence! In the above value of the tickal at as. 8, in 1825, I rather gather, but am not sure, that Browne means to infer that the silver was bad.

Of the general rate of exchange between silver and gold all over civilised Asia, Yule has much to tell us, and arrives at the conclusion that in the Middle Ages down to the XVIIth Century it stood in China and in Central Asia at 10 to 1, while in Europe at that time it stood at 12 to 1.[10] The relatively higher European rate seems, however, afterwards to have become reversed, and the rate in the Far East to have relatively risen; *e.g.*, Yule shews that while the European

9 Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 46; Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 235; and several other works. In 1556, under Akbar it was 9¼ to 1: Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, pp. 5, 72. See also *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 318.

9a It is a very old mistake: "Siam weights; 1 Tekull, is 12 or 13 Fanams Madras, or ½ Rupee:" Stevens, *Guide to the E. I. Trade*, 1775, p. 88. Finlayson, *Siam*, 1826, puts the tical at nearly Re. 1½, p. 187.

10 *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. ccl.; Vol. II. p. 442.

rates varied between 15 and 16 to 1 in the early half of this Century the Chinese rates stood as high as 17 and 18 to 1, and I myself found in the Mandalay bazars in 1889 that, when in British India rupees were exchangeable at 17 to the sovereign, the exchange there was at 20 to the sovereign.

Turning to such references as I have been able to ak e as to definite relations between **gold and silver** at definite dates in Burma and its neighbourhood, the following statements are elicited.

c. 1786. — 25 up to 28 to 1 at Rangoon : Flouest in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. II. p. 41 : — "L'or se pese aussi et vant 25 à 28 Ticals d' argent selon la rareté."

c. 1824. — 13 and 3½ to 1 at Rangoon : Trant, *Two Years in Ava*, p. 90 : — "Eight rupees = £1; sixteen rupees = £2;" again, p. 201, "150 Ticals = nearly £20."

c. 1829. — 17 to 1 at Ava : Crawfurd, *Ava*, p. 433 : — "Gold is generally held to be about 17 times more valuable than silver."

c. 1835. — 18 to 1: Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 270 : — "By Burman estimate, gold is eighteen times the value of silver. It often rises to 20 or more, when the people are compelled to obtain it at any price, to pay their tax toward the gilding of some pagoda."

c. 1852. — 17 to 1: Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.* Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 38 : — "Gold is generally held to be 17 times more valuable than silver."[11]

c. 1855. — 19 and 20 to 1 at Ava: Yule, *Ava*, p. 259 : — "The best gold commonly fetches nearly 20 times its weight in silver." Again : p. 344:—"The gold as imported (from China) is remarkably pure. Its price, in 1855, was 19 times in weight of *yeutni* silver."[12]

c. 1884. — 20 to 1 at Mandalay : *vide* the Burmese will quoted *ante*, p. 208.

In the **Chinese Shân States** we find that **in 1868** the ratio was **13 to 1**: Bower's *Commercial Report on Sladen's Mission*, p. 122, which is quoted by Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 59.

For **Siam** we have the following evidence : —

c. 1687. — 13 to 1: Anderson, *Siam*, p. 326 : — "On acc:t of above 65,000£ Sterl. w:ch is upwards of rup:s 500,000."

c. 1688. — 12 to 1: La Loubère, *Siam*, E. T., p. 72: — "Gold is a Merchandize amongst them, and is twelve times the value of Silver, the purity being supposed equal in both metals."

c. 1884. — 16 to 18 to 1: Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 141: — "Gold coins are rarely seen : the value of the few that exist is calculated at 16 times their weight in silver." Again, p. 398 : — Gold of the first two grades realises in value from 16 to 18 times its weight in silver."

Lastly for **Cochin-China** we have the evidence of Crawfurd, *Siam*, in 1822, when the ratio was 17 to 1.[12a]

It has always been important in Burma, owing to the common use of a lead currency, to note the **ratio of silver to lead**. On this point I have the following evidence to offer :—

c. 1783. — 1,000 to 1: Browne, *Thayetmyo*, p. 102 : — "(1783) One tickal of silver was considered to be equal to ten viss of lead."

c. 1819. — 1,000 to 1: Sangermano, p. 167 : — "Sometimes a *ticale* of silver . . . . is equal to . . . . a thousand (*ticale* of lead) and even more."

c. 1829. — 500 to 1: Crawfurd, *Ava*, p. 433 : — "Lead . . . . in reference to silver may be commonly estimated in the proportion of 500 to 1."

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11 This reads like a quotation from Crawfurd.

12 This might be read to increase the ratio by 10 %, *i. e.*, to make it about 21 to 1.

12a By indirect evidence at p. 160 ff. of *Ridgeway's Origin of Currency* we get 12, 16, 16½ to 1 as the modern ratio of gold to silver in Cambodia, and the curious modern rate of 4 to 1 in parts of the Eastern Shan States. This is confirmed by Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I. pp. 135 and 301 f., where the exchange is given as 12 to 16 to 1.

c. 1850. — 2,000 to 1: Yule, *Ava*, p. 346 : — "Previously to the last war, it (lead) was not allowed to be exported, and the price then was five tikals per hundred viss, a price little more than sufficient to pay the carriage from the mines."

c. 1852. — 500 to 1: Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.* Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 38: — "Lead . . . . in reference to silver may be commonly estimated in the proportion of 500 to 1."[13]

c. 1855. — 1,650 to 1: Yule, *Ava*, p. 259: — "The price when we were at Amarapoora, was 100 viss of lead for six and a half tikals of the best silver." Again, at p. 346: — "The price now (1855) is eight tikals." It is to be noted that this last statement yields a ratio of **1,250 to 1.**

The above quotations point to impossible variations in exchange value, and are explicable only upon the supposition that the various writers referred to silver of greatly changeable quality, and this is the fact. They are all careful to state "the best silver," "*ywetnî* silver," and so on, while Sangermano expressly states that the quality of the silver entered into the calculation, for the full quotation from him should run as follows, p. 167: — "The inferior money of Amarapura and Rangoon is lead. Its value is not by any means fixed, but varies according to its abundance or scarcity. Sometines a *ticale* of silver with a portion of alloy is equal to 200 *ticali* of lead, sometimes to 1,000 or or even more." Yule, however, with his usual perspicacity gets to the bottom of the question, and shews us that the old trouble of royal monopolies had something to say to valuations, and in this case the action of these monopolies accounts for the violent fluctuations above quoted. Thus, he says (*Ava*, p. 346): — "The price now (1855) is eight tikals, for lead to be used in the capital and neighbourhood **(1,250 to 1)**, but, if required for exportation, it can only be purchased from the King who has monopolised the trade and at the rate of 20 tikals *Yuwetni* silver **(500 to 1).**"

That very observant writer Malcom, however, as usual settles the point. Vol. II. p. 70, he writes: — "Small payments are made in lead. Each vendor in the bazaar has a basket full of this lead. Its general reference to silver is about 500 to 1. It varies exceedingly, however, in its proportion. Sometimes 15 viss of lead is given for a tical (500 to 1), and sometimes only seven or eight at Ava (700 and 800 to 1). In distant parts of the country, where the silver is most alloyed, three or four viss are given for a tical (300 and 400 to 1)."

Tin, in various forms, has been used for currency in Southern Burma for centuries, and as to its **ratio to silver** there are two interesting statements.

c. 1530. — 480 to 1: "In trading they (of Malacca) use tin as their currency. Three caties of this metal are about equal to one mace of silver." — Groenveldt's *Researches into Chinese Geographical Literature, in Indo-China*, 2nd Series, Vol. I. p. 246.

c. 1820. — 100 to 1: "The metal was at that period selling in the bazaar at 109 ticals of silver for 100 viss of tin." — Tremenheere's *Second Report on the Tin of Mergui, in Indo-China*, 1st Series, Vol. I. p. 265.

Of **ancient**, or supposed ancient, **ratios** between gold and silver and silver and lead, there is an indication in Sangermano's book (p. 221), where he gives some extracts from the "*Damasat*," *i. e.*, the Burmese version of the *Dharmaśâstra*: — "A rupee of gold is equal to twenty-five of silver; and a rupee of silver to fifty of lead."

11.

Additional Notes on Barter.

The subject of barter is naturally one that could fill many volumes, and notes on it regarding Burma and the Far East could be added to what has been already written in this Chapter to an indefinite extent. The temptation to add as one reads further and further

[13] Here again Phayre seems to have followed Crawfurd *verbatim*.

among records and travellers' tales is one that has to be resisted, but the following notes are of such interest and value in the present connection that there is some excuse for inserting them here.

Alexander Hamilton, writing about 1710 of **Borneo**, *Travels*,[13a] Vol. II. p. 149, says: — "Sambas is the next Country of Commerce to the Northward of Succadaana. It produces but very little Pepper, but some Gold, Pearls, and **Bees-wax**, which makes it well frequented by the Chinese, who carry Surat Piece-goods from Malacca and Jahore, and barter to very good Purpose for the aforesaid Commodities. **Bees-wax is the current Cash in that Country.** It is melted but not refined, and cast in moulds of an oblong Square, the Breadth about two-Thirds of the Length, and the Thickness Half of the Breadth, and a Rattan Witby to lift them by, cast in the Wax. **A Piece** weighs a Quarter of a Pecul which comes to in English Weight, 34 Pound, and a Pecul is valued in Payments at 10 Masscies, or 40 Shillings Sterl. They have also for smaller Payments **Pieces of Eight to a Pecul and Sixteenths**, and for smaller Money they have Couries."

On the 5th of April 1896 the people of Mûs in **Car Nicobar** had occasion to buy a large canoe from the people of Chowra Island, which was valued at 35,000 cocoanuts, but after valuing it in cocoanuts they paid for it in other articles.

This shews **the use of cocoanuts as money of account**, payment in kind being accepted in *lieu*. The following things were paid in exchange for the canoe: —

Red cloth	5 pieces.	Knives	6 No.
Big spoons	2 pairs.	Baskets	6 ,,
Two-anna bits	20 No.	Pigs	10 ,,
Silver wire	3 strands.	Fowls	3 ,,
Silver rings	10 No.	Chisels	10 ,,
White long-cloth ...	5 pieces.	Big chisels	6 ,,
Spoons and forks ...	10 pairs.	Big *dâs* (knives) ...	6 ,,
Beads	a quantity.	Small *dâs*	6 ,,
Fishing hooks	12 No.	Rupees	12 ,,
Fishing lines	3 ,,	Axes	6 ,,
Carpenters' axes ...	6 ,,	Big iron spikes ...	6 ,,
Small iron spikes ...	6 ,,	Miscellanea	*ad lib.*

In addition to the evidence given *ante*, p. 264 f., as to the fixing by savages and semi-savages without a cash currency of a definite money value on articles of barter, there is a valuable note at p. 4 of Maung Tet Pyo's *Customary Law of the Chins*, 1884, on the point: —

"Hitherto there has been no **scale of valuation of articles given as fine or compensation by the Chins.** Consequently much confusion used to be caused when matters of this description were brought into Court. The Chin *pasâns*, or learned men, have been consulted on this point and the following scale of valuation has been laid down: —

Articles.	Value. Rs.	a.
(*a*) For presents: —		
5 calabash holding *kaung* (liquor)	2	8
1 full-grown hog	10	0
1 cowrie-embroidered bag	2	8
1 *chwêbyâ*	0	8
1 small *dâ*	0	4
1 forked *dâ*	0	8
1 bullock	30	0
1 Chin spear	5	0

[13a] *Cf.* Stevens, *Guide*, p. 108, as to barter with Madagascar in 1775 and previously.

Articles.	Value. Rs.	a.
(*b*) For compensation and fines : —		
1 gong a cubit in diameter	30	0
1 pair cymbals	5	0
1 silk sash	2	8
1 male silk jacket	5	0
1 male head-dress	0	8
1 mantle	5	0
1 slave	30	0
1 female jacket	5	0
1 female head-dress	1	0
1 female petticoat	0	8

CHAP. II.

BULLION WEIGHTS.

Preliminary Remarks.

Before proceeding further with these enquiries, it is necessary to go into the vast and vexed question of **Indo-Oriental bullion weights**, so far as it affects Burmese Currency.

I have found my notes to be much more extensive than I had at first apprehended, but as they contain matter that is, I think, new to most Western students and illustrate several subjects of interest to searchers into things Eastern and Far-Eastern generally, perhaps the length of my remarks is not to be regretted.

I commence at the very beginning of the subject with a short enquiry into the practical uses to which the seeds of the **Abrus precatorius** and the **Adenanthera pavonina** have been put as the lower standard of weight. I then pass on to a consideration of **the Burmese Troy weight system,** discussing the points at which it can be connected with the Indian and Far-Eastern systems. The consideration of these points leads to an enquiry into the far larger and more difficult subject of the **Siamese and Shân system of weights** and its fundamental identity with that of the Burmese. I next give such consideration as is possible, from the information at my command, regarding **the Chinese ponderary system,** both ancient and modern, and its bearings on, and in my view its identity with, that of the whole Far-Eastern Continental Countries. This discussion carries one necessarily on to **the weight system of the Malayan Islands and its descendant, the existing Far-Eastern General Commercial System,** — an enquiry that has led me to the opinion that it is virtually that of India and the Far East generally. I then discuss **the weights of Southern India,** and their connection with those of **Northern India,** — a most complicated question, — shewing the points as to which they differ and coincide with each other and with the weights further East.

Passing from the general subject, I next discuss what I have gathered as to the **Pâli and old Burmese weights and the official Burmese standards.** And, because of the manner in which they illustrate the details of the general subject, I have paid much attention to the ponderary notions of the peoples speaking **the Minor Tongues current in Burma** and the neighbourhood. This has obliged me to make notes and remarks on these languages that may be of interest to others than students of Oriental numismatics. The languages thus illustrated, frequently from notes made directly by myself, are **the Karen, the Talaing** and **the Maṇipûrî,**[14] and those of **the Kachin-Nâga** and **the Chin-Lûshai** Groups of Languages. As illustrating the language of the Kachins of Burma proper, I have made enquiries, — sometimes at first hand, — into those of the **Singphôs** and of the **Lhota, Ao, Aṇgâmi, Miri-Abor** and other **Nâgas.** As regards the Chin dialects, the notes extend also to those of **the Kûki Lûshais,**

[14] An essentially Nâga language.

the **Kachcha Nâgas**, the **Hill-Tipperâs**, the **Kachârîs (Bodo)** and the **Gâros**, frequently in extension, from my own *vivâ voce* notes, of the information I have found in books.

Lastly with a view to assisting future students in the study of the older writers and the pranks they have played with terms and names, I have introduced a section on **terminology.**

I.

Seeds of the Abrus and the Adenanthera.

There are to be found used in Burma and in Burmese documents two sets of denominations for weights and measures : — the Pâḷi and what may be termed the Vernacular. It is with this last that we are in these pages principally concerned.[15]

As so much depends on the seeds of the **Abrus Precatorius** and of the **Adenanthera Pavonina** in Oriental weight systems, I will make first an enquiry into the point, merely pausing to regret that these long and not very intelligible Latin names are probably too well established now to be superseded by the more practicable English ones of **Crab's-eye**[16] and **Indian Liquorice** seed for the former, and of **Redwood** seed and **Red Sandalwood** seed[17] for the latter.

Both are known **in Burma as ywê,**[18] and they are constantly mixed up in consequence, though more precisely to be differentiated by the terms **ywêgwè** and **chinywê** for the **abrus** seed and **ywêjî** or great *ywê* for the **adenanthera seed.** Popularly, however, **two abrus seeds equal one adenanthera seed.** Both will also, I think, be found on examination to be mixed up, in native Indian writings, under the names of **ratî**, *raktikâ*, *guñja*, *kṛishṇala*, and so on, a fact which, if correct, goes far to explain the confusion of **ratî and "double ratî"** in discussions on this subject.

To enquire first what these plants are and where they grow I turn to the chief original authority on such matters, Watt's *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India, s.v.v.* **Abrus** and **Adenanthera.** Of the **abrus** creeper there are three closely allied varieties now known as *precatorius, pulchellus, fructiculosus.* It is the **precatorius** which is so celebrated. Its roots, seeds and leaves are very widely used as medicinal specifics for a great variety of common disorders and physical troubles: its seeds as a food when boiled and as a poisonous injection when raw by criminals; and also as personal and household ornaments, and for rosaries, whence its name.

The **seeds** have several varieties of colour: the ordinary varieties being red with black eye, black with white eye, and white. They are at times also black, yellow and rosy. It is the **red and black variety** that is used usually as the **type of a weight.**[19]

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15 In putting forward my ideas on this subject, I cannot help feeling strongly the limits of the Library I am able to consult in the circumstances in which I have to write. It may be that I am merely flogging a dead horse, but it is necessary for the present purpose to be as clear as possible on the matter now under discussion, and my remarks may in that sense be of real use in any case. They are made at great length, because, if, as I apprehend, I am here breaking new ground, it is better to let the argument work itself out for others, as it has for myself, than to present it for the first time as succinctly as one would an argument which is finally settled.

16 The plant is growing freely in my own garden as I write, and is visited by the European and Eurasian children of the place, who know the bright scarlet and black seeds well as King Charles's Tears, just as their little brothers and sisters in Burma know the hard, bright seeds of the wild *Coix lacryma*, so much used by the Karens as dress ornaments, as Job's Tears. See Watt, *Dict. of Economic Products, s.v.* : Theobald's Ed. of Mason's *Products*, Vol. II. p. 107 ; Ridgeway's *Origin of Coinage*, p. 186 n.

17 It is not the Red Sandalwood, Red Sanderswood, Red Sappanwood, of Commerce, which is *Pterocarpus santalinus*, allied to the *padauk*, or Andaman Redwood, of Burma and the Andamans.

18 One specimen of the *Adenanthera pavonina* seed was given to me as the seed of the *mahûyâ*, but this must have been a mistake as the *mahûyâ* or *pên-mahûyâ* is the *Colocasia odora*, a medicinal plant: Theobald's Ed. of Mason's *Burma*, Vol. II. p. 131. The seed, in question, besides being a weight, was said to cure snake-bite.

19 Equal in the Pañjâb to about 8 grs. of *bâṅsmattî* rice. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

The **Adenanthera pavonina**, unlike the beautiful creeper *abrus*, is a large deciduous tree; but, like the *abrus*, it is extremely well known for its many uses. It yields a gum, a dye and an oil. Its leaves, seeds and wood yield remedies for many common disorders. Its wood is also well known in the building and furniture trades. The **bright scarlet seeds** again are used as personal ornaments and as a domestic cement. And finally out of its wood is made the paste for the universal *tilak* marks of India.

It is the seeds, when **black with age**, that are the **typical weights**, stated to be equal to 4 grs. or 2 of the *Abrus*.

The *Abrus precatorius* is found in the Himâlayas up to 3,000 ft. and all over India, Ceylon and Siam. The *Adenanthera pavonina* is found in South India, Bengal and Burma. Both are, in their various forms, universal in the Asiatic tropics, but the *Adenanthera* appears to be more strictly confined to the actual tropics than the *Abrus*, which may account for translators of Sanskrit works referring the sense of such words as *raktikâ* to the seeds of the *Abrus precatorius* alone, to their own consequent confusion, when they come to find the weight thereof to be technically double of the reality.

As a weight, the weight of the *Abrus precatorius* seed, the *ratî* of the races of Hindustân, is taken at 1·75 grs., based on the calculation of Edward Thomas in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., Vol. IV. p. 131. According to Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 97 n., it is 1·875 grs., or ·122 *grammes*,[20] and to Edward Thomas' note to Prinsep's *Tables*, in his Edition thereof, p. 22, 1·93 grs. Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 529, says it is 1 5/16 grs. = 1·3125 grs., based on weighments of the seed by Sir William Jones.

All these variations are merely such as may be expected in the circumstances, when basing a scale on a natural production, and Thomas has pertinently remarked, *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, Pt. II. p. 6, that erratic as a test the growth of the seed of the *guñja*-creeper under the varied incidents of soil and climate may be, it has nevertheless had "the remarkable faculty of securing a uniform average throughout the entire continent of India."

Going further afield into regions beyond the Indian borders, it will be seen from what follows in this Chapter, that equivalents of the *ratî* are still the basis of weight denominations, and that Thomas' remark in the main applies for practical purposes, assuming, as he also should have done apparently, that **the term ratî itself denotes a conventional weight.** Mason, an original observer, in his *Natural Productions of Burma*, Ed. 1850, p. 196, states that "the jewellers use the seed of a species of *Abrus* (*precatorius*), red with a black eye or black with a white eye, for small weights. It is a popular belief that they uniformly weigh exactly one grain Troy, but I have weighed many and found them to vary from one to two grains. The Burmese use them within a fraction for two-grain weights." Then under *Adenanthera* (*pavonina*) he says "another seed which the books represent as usually four grains, is in common use by the Burmese, as equivalent to two of the preceding, which is about two grains. **The seeds, however, have to be selected for the purpose**: many of them not weighing more than two or three grains each." Just so: we should probably assume that this was always done as to both classes of seeds at all times, ancient and modern.

The view that we cannot accept the **ratî**, whether as the name of the *Abrus* seed alone, or jointly as the seed of the *Abrus* or *Adenanthera*, as anything but **a conventional weight** is confirmed by a remark in Theobald's huge edition of Mason's work, 1882-3, Vol. II. p. 540, under *Adenanthera*. He tells us of variant names, *viz.*, *Entada Arborea*, Griff., and *Adenanthera Gersenii*, Scheff., and then says: — "Var. α *genuina*: seeds half inch in diam. Var. β *microsperma*: seeds half the size. Var. α in Tropical forests all over Burma and the adjacent islands up to 3,000 ft. Great Nicobar." It would be impossible in such conditions to do anything but use selected seeds as standard weights, and I take it that the case with the *Abrus*

[20] It is ·128 *grammes* according to Ridgeway, *Origin of Coinage*, p. 194.

seed is much the same. But selection involves a convention, whether applied to a natural product or to its manufactured equivalent.

In support of the above conclusions there is the evidence of Marsden from Sumatra[21]: — "Various seeds are used as gold weights, but more especially these two: the one called **rakat** or **saga-timbangan** (*Glycine abrus*, L., or *Abrus maculatus* of the Batavian *Transactions*), being the well known scarlet pea with a black spot. The other called **saga-puku** and **kondori-batang** (*Adenanthera pavonia*,[22] L.), a scarlet, or rather coral, bean, much larger than the former and without the black spot. It is the **candarin** weight of the Chinese, of which 100 make a *tâil*, and equal, according to the tables published by Stevens, to 5·7984 grs. Troy, but the average weight of those in my possession is 10·50 Troy grains." [23]

I quote now the remarks of **Rumphius**, *Herbarium Amboinensis*, Vol. V. p. 58 ff. folio ed., 1741, in the original Latin and in the Dutch where necessary, for the sake of the valuable light they throw on the history and meaning of the terms, as we can now understand them, used in connection with the *ratî*.

Under "*Abrus frutex*,[24] **Zaga**," [25] he remarks as follows: — "Nomen. Latine Abrus frutex, & simpliciter Abrus sive Abrus Alpini . . . . Malaice **Zaga** ejusque ossicula **Bidji**[26] **Zaga.** Aliis **Condori** seu **Condorin parvum, veri enim Condori sunt semina Corallariæ parvifoliæ.** Belgice **Coraal-kruyd.** Ternatice **Ide Ide Malacco,** h. e. **oculi Sturnorum**[27] a forma ossiculorum. Amboinice **Aylaru Pidjar,** h. e. granula obturationi inserventia ad distinctionem **Aylaru Pohon,** quod est supra memorata Corallaria. In Hitœa **Aylalum,** Banda **Caju Lale.** Sina **Tsjontsjo** seu **Tsjontsjii,** seu uti Germani scribunt ac legunt **Zongzi,** h. e. pupilla oculi, licet Sinensium granula paulo sint minora."

In the Dutch text, which is given in parallel columns, the essential words are; — "By andere **Condori** of **Condorin,** het Kleene, want de regte **Condorin** zyn zaden van de Corallaria parvifolia. In't Duitsch **Coraal-kruyd.** Ternataans Ide Ide Malacco, dat is Spreeuwen ogen, van de gedaante des Korls. Amboinsch Aylaru Pidjar, dat is **Soldeer Korls.**" [28]

In describing the many uses to which the plant is put, Rumphius says (p. 59) what is rather important for us: — "Defectu verorum Condoriorum, quæ semina sunt Corallariæ parvifoliæ, atque in paucis crescunt regionibus, hæc Zagæ ossicula in usum vocari possunt, quæ hinc quoque Condoria parva vocantur, non autem adeo æquale habent pondus quam Condoria genuina, quorum decem unicum Maas constituunt, ac decem Maas unum Tayl[29] seu decem cirtiter Drachmas Hollandicas continent, contra viginti quatuor, sique majora sunt, viginti & unum Zagæ ossicula unum Maas ponderant, quod pondus circiter est nummi aurei Hollandici ducaat dicti." [30]

[21] *History of Sumatra*, 1811, p. 171, in Ridgeway, *op. cit.* p. 187.

[22] *Scil. pavonina.*

[23] This is a mistaken reference, because Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 105 ff., especially refers to Canton weight of money, in which candareens are merely collections of 10 cash. The whole of Stevens' elaborate tables are based on an assumption that 100 "tales Canton weight" equal 120 *oz.* 16 *dwts.* Troy. His calculations are purely matters of account, and are not meant, nor could they be used, for actual weights.

[24] In his *Index Universalis*, Vol. VI., Rumphius gives the synonym *Glycine abrus*, L.

[25] *I. e.*, the Malay word *sagâ*, which properly uncompounded means rice; but is also used commercially for the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*.

[26] *Bidji* is for Malay *biji*, *i. e.*, common Indian *bîj*, a seed.

[27] Starling's eyes. The Persian form is *Chashm-i-khurûs*, Cock's eye: Blochmann, *Aîn Akbarî*, p. 16 n.

[28] Solder seeds.

[29] This form of calculation is Chinese: 10 candareens are 1 mace; 10 mace are 1 tael. *Cf.* A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, 1739, Vol. II. Appx. p. 16: — "10 Condereens to a Macie and 10 Macies to a Tayel."

[30] Later on the same page, Rumphius tells us that about 1675 these seeds were in great request as female dress ornaments in Europe, and also as necklaces and bracelets, alone or mixed with pearls; just as children in India wear them nowadays for their beauty and hardness. *Cf.* also Rumphius, Vol. III. p. 174; *cf.* Blochmann, *Aîn Akbarî*, p. 16 n.

That Rumphius meant in the above extracts the plant now known chiefly as *Abrus precatorius* is beyond doubt from the description and from the Plate (XXXII.) attached to p. 60, on which some former owner of my copy has written in faded ink, "*Abrus precatorius:*" also because in the Index (in Vol. VI.) Rumphius gives as a synonym for the "*Corallaria parvifolia*, which he has described as affording the genuine "**Condorium or Condoryn,**" the name *Adenanthera pavonina*, L.[31]

At Vol. III. p. 174, after telling us that the *Corallaria parvifolia* is the Malay *Zaga-pohon* and the Dutch *Kleinbladige Coraal-Boom*, and that young women (or ? daughters of the people, *mulierculæ*) bore the seeds and wear them in amulets, and that boys wear them round their necks in place of coral, Rumphius goes on to say[32] : — "Chinensis Condorius seu Tschonsidji in Australibus partibus Chamchiu, Hayting, & insulæ Aymyu crescens ossicula gerit rotundiora. duriora, solidiora & graviora Amboinensi, quæ proprie argenti ponderi inserviunt, eo quod æqualem habeant gravitatem. Colliguntur ibi quoque ex altis arboribus, quæ siliquas gerunt breviores Amboinensi, non ultra digitum longas, sed semper incurvas instar acinacis. Decem talia Condorii[33] ossicula libræ momentum[34] constituunt decemque momenta unum Tayl seu sectiunculum forte, quæ apud nos decem sunt drachmæ, nostrorum vero Amboinensium ossiculorum quindecim unum Maas seu momentum constituunt, & centum & quinquaginta unum Tayl seu decem drachmas, ita ut in aliis regionibus sint graviora & majora forte. In Malabara aliisque Indostanæ regionibus quoque crescunt, atque Portugallice ibi vocantur **Gondjo** seu **Gonzo Chapete,** h. e. plana grana, ad distinctionem Zagæ ossiculorum, quæ **Gonho Cabeça Preta** vocant. In Java tam hæc quam Zagæ ossicula ad pecuniæ librationem adhibentur atque utraque vocantur **Zaga seu Zoga.**"

This edition of Rumphius is that of Burmannus, who states that Rumphius by way of appendix added: — Malabarice vocantur **Mantsjadi,** Portugallice **Mangelin,** Belgice **Weekbomen**[35] . . . . Javani hujus ossicula itidem Zaga vocant, a quibus etiam adhibentur ad auri & argenti librationem." As to the names for the tree Rumphius says: — "Latine Corallaria parvifolia, h. e. Corallodendrum[36] ab ossiculorum colore. Malaice Zaga-pohon, Amboinice Aylaru & Aylalu, utraque nomina a similitudine parvæ Zagæ & Alaru,[37] qui sarmentosus est frutex. Veri Malayenses hæc ossicula vocant **Condori** seu **Condorin,** ac Chinenses Tschongsidji."[38]

Part of the Dutch text is here remarkable:— Van zulke **Condorins** 10 maken een Maas, en 10 Maas een Tayl,[39] 't welk by ons 10 Drachmæ zyn; doch van onze Amboinsche korls gaan 5 in een Maas, en 151 op een Tayl, zo datze in andere landen wat grooter of swaarden moeten zyn."

Now if there are three points more prominent than any others to be observed in the elaborate descriptions by Rumphius of these two plants, *Abrus* and *Adenanthera*, they are that the names for the seeds are popularly mixed up, that the seeds themselves are uncertainly used by the populace as weight standards, and that **the only way of getting practical standards from either is by assuming the selection of the seeds used, and therefore their conventionalisation.**[40]

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31 As I write, two pretty samples of this tree are visible from the windows.

32 They are still held to be good for scorpion stings in Upper Burma.

33 In the Dutch text *Condorius*, a misprint for *Condorins*.

34 Maas in the Dutch text.

35 Dutch text has *Weekboomen*.

36 Dutch text, *Coraal-boom*.

37 Dutch, *Aylaru*.

38 On Plate 109, attached to p. 174, the hand above noted has written in faded ink, "*Adenanthera pavonina*."

39 Chinese calculation again.

40 There is a correct description of the *Adenanthera* seed and of its use for weighing gold and silver in the Diary of the First Dutch Voyage, 1595-7, at p. 221 of *Collection of Dutch Voyages*, 1703: but at p. 199 it is mixed up with the *Abrus* seed. It is in both places called *Conduri* and "*Saga* in Java." Its use is noted in the Malay Archipelago and China.

Colebrooke remarks (*Essays*, Vol. II. p. 529) that "factitious ratîs in common use should be double of the guñja-seed: however they weigh less than two grains and a quarter," or, as he says on the same page, 2 3/16 = 2·1875 grs. Again, p. 532, he quotes the tables in Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbaree*, Vol. III. p. 94, where "six jeweller's rattis are equal to eight double rattis as used by the goldsmiths." It seems to me to be a fair inference to make, that here, too, there is a reference to a double sense of the word ratî, according as it originally referred to a natural weight based on the *Abrus* or the *Adenanthera* seed.

Prinsep and Thomas, *Useful Tables*, Vol. II. p. 110, were able to discard all reference to ancient Indian weights, merely referring the reader to Colebrooke; but as the Indian standards probably spread Eastward at a period reaching centuries back, I cannot afford to do so in the present pages.

Colebrooke remarks on his tables of bullion weights, that not only did the commentators on Sanskrit works differ as to the application of the several terms, but that they were also used to describe other weights. He points out that the *mâsha* was made to consist of 2, 4, 5, 10, 12, and 16 *raktikâs*, and the jeweller's *mâsha* of 6 and 8 double *ratîs*. One is therefore forced to make a selection of some kind for the present purpose, and with reference to what follows I select here the tables given by Colebrooke as being "on the authority of Manu, Yâjñavalkya and Nârada."

Weights of Gold.[41]

5 raktikâs (kṛishṇalas)	are	1 mâsha (mâshaka, mâshika)
16 mâshas	„	1 karsha (aksha, tôlaka, suvarṇa)
4 karshas	„	1 pala (nishka)
10 palas	„	1 dharaṇa

Weights of Silver.

2 raktikâs	are	1 mâshaka
16 mâshakas	„	1 dharaṇa (purâṇa)
10 dharaṇas	„	1 pala (śatamâna)

Weights of Copper.

80 raktikâs	are	1 paṇa (kârshâpaṇa)

In the gold and silver weights, the tables both work out to the fact that **320 raktikâs are 1 pala, of capital importance in tracing the connection of the weight tables of the Far East with those of India.**

Bhâskarâchârya's *Lilâvatî* (Colebrooke's T., ed. by Banerji, p. 2) gives a table of precisely similar import for general use: —

5 guñjas	are	1 mâsha
16 mâshas	„	1 karsha (suvarṇa)
4 karshas	„	1 pala

That is **320 raktikâs = 1 pala** for ordinary purposes.

2.

Burmese Weights.

Having thus considered what the *ratî* (*raktikâ*, *kṛishṇala*, and what not) actually is, or rather, to speak more cautiously and safely, what it is likely to be in reality; having also

[41] See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V. p. 93 f., where the spelling of the Indian words is far more picturesque, if not so accurate, as the above.

seen that whatever was meant by that Indian term is also meant by the corresponding Burmese term *ywê;* and having selected a standard of Indian weights, to compare with Burmese and Further Indian weights, I will pass at once to the consideration of the Burmese weights themselves.

As is the case all the world over, where no arbitrary legal standards exist, **current bullion weights in Burma have always differed with time and place**; a fact that must ever be borne in mind, when talking of a Burmese weight being equivalent to such and such a known English or European weight. It also accounts for the variations to be found in the statements of authorities on the subject.

The writers that I am able to consult here as to Burmese weights are those whose statements I compare below, and whose spellings or representations of the vernacular terms they have used I have collected at the end of this Chapter. For one of the difficulties of the subject to the enquirer is the wildness of the guesses of travellers and authors at the sounds and forms of the words they have been obliged to reduce to writing in Roman characters. In the following comparative statements I have adopted the system of verbal representation followed by myself throughout these pages, without reference to the forms employed by the writers quoted.

An examination of the authorities will shew the enquirer that the source of most of the modern writings on this point is to be found in the elaborate statements of **Latter** in his *Burmese Grammar* of 1845, and I will here give them for that reason, but in mine, and not in his, transcription, on the grounds just explained.

At pp. 169 ff. of his great work, **Latter's list** of Burmese weights runs thus: —

Measures of Weight.

(1)	36 paramaṇumyû	are	1 aṇumyû
(2)	36 aṇumyû	„	1 myû
(3)	36 'mû (? myû)	„	1 a'mun$_o$
(4)	36 'mun$_o$	„	1 kañitchê:
(5)	7 kañitchê:	„	1 ƀànôkk'aung:
(6)	7 ƀànôkk'aung:	„	1 moññin:zê$_o$
(7)	3 moññin:zê$_o$	„	1 'nànzê$_o$
(8)	4 'nànzê$_o$	„	1 sànzê$_o$
(9)	4 sànzê$_o$	„	1 chinywê:
(10)	2 chinywê:	„	1 ywèjî:
(11)	4 ywèjî:	„	1 pè:
(12)	2 pè:	„	1 mû:
(13)	2 mû:	„	1 màt
(14)	4 màt	„	1 kyàt
(15)	5 kyàt	„	1 bô(l)
(16)	20 bô(l), or 100 kyàt	„	1 pêkƀâ

In the above sixteen denominations, the enquirer does not reach to practical matters until he gets to the ninth on the list, the **chinywê**, which is, as will have been seen already, the familiar Indian *ratî* or seed of the **Abrus precatorius.**

Those which precede it are only useful to note for the purpose of clinching the derivation of the Burmese denominations of weight from an Indian source.[42] For they are merely the

[42] *Cf.* Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 530 ff.

usual infinitesimal subdivisions, generally without meaning[43] or use, so dear to the Indian mind. Therefore, for the present purpose we need only consider from the *chinywê* onwards.

We thus get, from Latter be it assumed, a set of weights: —

2 chinywê (*ratî*: seed of *Abrus precatorius*) or small ywê are 1 ywêjî (seed of Adenanthera pavonina) or great ywê.

4	ywêjî	are	1 pè
2	pè	„	1 mû
2	mû	„	1 màt
4	màt	„	1 kyàt or tickal
100	kyàt	„	1 pêkḇâ[44] or viss[45]

We are now in a position to follow up the question in a manner that can produce some practical results. Thus, Latter tells us, following Col. James Low, *c.* 1833, that the tickal is 252·75 grs. Troy exactly,[46] and goes on to tell us how the indigenous weight denominations had come to be applied to the Anglo-Indian money introduced by the British Government after the War of 1824-6. "The Burmese in the English dominions also use the term *ywê*ः[47] to express pice; and *pè*ः to express anna; . . . . *mû*ः to express two annas; *màt* to express a four-anna piece."

He further makes a statement of great consequence to the present enquiry, as explanatory of many apparent discrepancies in statements relating to Burmese currency: — "The mûः and pèः in the above table severally equal 1/8th and 1/16th of a Tickal. But another denomination of these weights, called the smaller or lesser mûः and pèः severally are the 1/10th and 1/20th of a Tickal." Practically both are in equally common use, and so much is this the case, that *ngâmû*, *i. e.*, 5 *mû* (not 4 *mû*) is the general expression for "half a rupee" or eight annas. In ordinary parlance also no signs of differentiation exist between the greater (*i. e.*, on the quaternary scale) and the lesser (*i. e.*, on the decimal scale) *mû* and *pè*, either in speech, calculations or documents. For clearness I here give a comparative table of these concurrent systems of reckoning, which must be always borne in mind for the proper comprehension of these pages: —

Comparative Tables of the concurrent ordinary Weight Denominations.[48]

Quaternary Scale of Mû.	Decimal Scale of Mû.
8 ywê are 1 pè	6 ywê[49] are 1 pè
2 pè „ 1 mû	2 pè „ 1 mû
2 mû „ 1 màt	2½ mû „ 1 màt
4 màt „ 1 kyàt	4 màt „ 1 kyàt
100 kyàt „ 1 pêkḇâ	100 kyàt „ 1 pêkḇâ

43 Though not always: see Beames, *Memoirs of the N.-W. P.*, Vol. II. p. 316.

44 This is merely the current pronunciation of a word written properly *vissa*, and concurrently *bissâ* or *pissâ*.

45 The intermediate *bò(l)*, 5 tickals or 1/20th of a viss, given by Latter, is not, I think, in practical use. It is most important, however, to get at a relative value for it with the Indian *pala* or *phala*. See later on in the text.

46 Mason, *Nat. Prod. of Burma*, Ed. 1850, p. 196, says on the same authority, 253·75 grs. Troy.

47 Of the practice in this respect nowadays, see later on: the modern terms are *pyâ*ः, piece, for pice, and *màtpyâ*ः for pie.

48 On the quaternary scale 128 *ywê* = 1 *kyàt*: on the decimal scale 120 *ywê* = 1 *kyàt*. See Mason, *Nat. Prod. of Burma*, Ed. 1850, p. 196.

49 *I. e.*, *ywêjî*. In this scale it is common also to state 12 *ywê*, *scil.* small *ywê*, = 1 *pè*.

The following Table[50] will shew precisely how the ideas of the two systems are mixed up in every day parlance and dealings of the people in British-Indian money :—

Table of ordinary Bazar Expressions for Parts of the Kyàt or Rupee.

English Terminology.	Burmese Terminology.		Sense of the Burmese Terms.	Scale of *mû* to which the Burmese denominations belong.
	Transcribed.	Transliterated.		
1 anna	Tabè	Tapè:	1 pè	quaternary
2 annas	Tamû	Tamû:	1 mû	„
3 „	(1) Þôngbè	Suṅ:pè:	3 pè	„
	(2) Tamàtpèdin	Tamatpè:taṅ:	1 màt less a pè	„
4 „	(1) 'Na'mû	'Nachmû:	2 mû	„
	(2) Tamàt	Tamat	1 màt	properly quat., but in pratice mixed quat. and dec.
4½ „	Tamàtlêywê	Tamatlêrwê:[51]	1 màt 4 ywê	quaternary
5 „	Ngâbè	Ṅâ:pè:	5 pè	„
6 „	(1) Þôngmû	Suṅ:mû:	3 mû	„
	(2) Chau'pè	K'yòkpè:	6 pè	„
7 „	(1) Þôngmûtabè	Suṅ:mû:tapè:	3 mû 1 pè	„
	(2) K'oni'pè	Kwaṅ'nachpè:	7 pè	„
	(3) Ngâmûpèdin	Ṅâ:mû:pè:taṅè:	5 mû less a pè	decimal
8 „	Ngâmû	Ṅâ:mû:	5 mû	„
9 „	(1) Kôbè	Kô:pè:	9 pè	quaternary
	(2) Ngâmûtabè	Ṅâ:mû:tapè:	5 mû 1 pè	mixed quat. and dec. see next.
10 „	Chaukmû	K'yòkmû:	6 mû	mixed quat. and dec. : *lit.*, 1 *mû* quat. more than 5 *mû* dec.
11 „	(1) Chaukmûtabè	K'yòkmû:tapè:	6 mû 1 pè	See above.
	(2) S'etabè	Chañtapè:	11 pè	quaternary
	(3) Þôngmàtpèdin	Suṅ:matpè:taṅ:	3 màt less a pè	See next.
12 „	(1) Þôngmàt	Suṅ:mat	3 màt	See tamàt.
	(2) Tajâ'màttin	Takyapmattaṅ:	1 kyàt less a màt	quat.
13 „	(1) Þôngmàttabè	Suṅ:mattapè:	3 màt 1 pè	„
	(2) S'eÞôngbè:	Ch'añsuṅ:pè:	13 pè	„
14 „	Tajâ'mûdin	Takyapmû:taṅ:	1 kyàt less a mû	„
15 „	(1) S'engâbè	Ch'aññâ:pè:	15 pè	„
	(2) Tajâ'pèdin	Takyappètaṅ:	1 kyàt less a pè	

Some of the readers of these pages will be aware that it is **impracticable to render Burmese words by transliteration,** as that nation has adapted an Indian form of Alphabet to express its alien language, and has forced that Alphabet to its purpose by the ingenious, but by no means unique, device of writing in syllables and making the final consonant govern the sound of the vowel in the syllable: *e. g.*, in India they write $k + ng = $ *kang* (कङ्), but in Burma $k + ng = $ *kin*, final *ng* being pronounced *in* always. So $k + k$ (कक्) is in India *kak*, in Burma *ket*.

[50] The only work I have seen giving anything like this table is Gordon's *Companion to Handbook of Colloquial Burmese*, 1886, p. 104, which confuses six and ten annas and calls both *chaukmû:*, and wrongly gives *Þông:mû* for seven annas.

[51] In common use in Maulmain, to express the British-Indian half anna piece, or two pice. *Lêywê*, or 4 *ywê*, = ½ *pè*, quaternary scale, is the ordinary expression for half an anna; thus, *tamàtlêywê* = 2½ annas.

So *kô* + *k* (कोक्) is in India *kôk*, in Burma *kaik*, and so on through the Alphabet. Then again, ligatures are given arbitrary sounds, *e. g.*, *hr* is *sh;* thus *hrwê* is *shwê* (gold), so also *hly* is often *sh*. Again *r* is usually *y;* thus *rwê* is *ywê; prang* by the rules just explained is pronounced *pyin*. So again *ch* (च) is *s* and *j* (ज) is *z*.

Another point worth bearing in mind is that **a kind of external sandhi exists in spoken, though not in written, Burmese,**[52] by which an initial surd in the syllables of a compound expression or word is softened by a preceding final sonant or open vowel, and *vice versâ: e. g.*, *'lut* + *tò* is *luttò; run* + *tò* is *yôngdò; ta* + *pè* is *tabè; k'yòk* + *pè* is *chau'pè*. The Burmese **heavy accent** ꞉ and **light accent** (staccato) ˳, though of great consequence to the reader of the vernacular, can safely be disregarded in renderings into foreign characters. In the system of writing Burmese words adopted in this work *h* is rendered by ', and the surd and sonant sounds of the Burmese *s* (स), as in the English *thing* and *this* by þ and ð. I also write the unusual Oriental, but common Burmese, sounds of *aw* in *awful* as *ò*, and of *ai* as in *pair* as *è*.

Under the conditions above explained, the Burmese script is pratically phonetic: *i. e.*, final *ng* is always *in;* final *ch* (च्) is always *it; ô* + *k* is *aik; i* + *ch* is *êk*.[53] But to be intelligible **the script requires to be transcribed when expressed in Roman characters,** and cannot be usefully transliterated.[54] Still for the history of the words it is often desirable to know what they are as written, and for this reason a column has been added to the above Table shewing the spelling as well as the spoken forms of the Burmese terms, and similarly the correct spelling of the terms, used in the text is often given in footnotes or text.[55]

The adaptation of Burmese terms to the British-Indian copper coinage is quite as instructive as that to the silver. When speaking at length, the term used for the copper coin known to the English as a **pice** (*paisâ* in the Indian vernacular) is **pai'sâṅ-tabyâ,**[56] *i. e.*, "*paisâ*, one piece." Shortly, in the bazars the pice is known *pyâ*, piece, and is treated as the eighth part of a *mû* (two annas), not as the fourth part of a *pè*[57] (one anna). Thus:—

1	pice is		tabyâ	or	1 piece
2	,,	are	'na'pyâ	,,	2 pieces
3	,,	,,	þôngbyâ	,,	3 ,,
4	,,	,,	lêbyâ	,,	4 ,,
5	,,	,,	ngâbyâ	,,	5 ,,
6	,,	,,	chau'pyâ	,,	6 ,,
7	,,	,,	k'oni'pyâ	,,	7 ,,
8	,,	,,	tamû	,,	1 mu

Now the recognised British-Indian copper denominations go down to the pie, or 1/3 pice, or 12 to the anna. But the Burman has been no more at a loss to adapt his own phraseology here, when in a real difficulty, than he has proved himself to have been in numberless other instances. Witness his *mî-yet'â* (fire-chariot) for a railway train, and his use of *þimbò* (ship) as

[52] It is the *nigori* of the Japanese. See Chamberlain, *Japanese Grammar*, p. 3 f.: Parker, in *Transactions, A. S. Japan*, Vol. XXI. p. 145.

[53] There are in Burmese, as in all tongues, sporadic eccentricities of pronunciation: *e. g.*, Rwâtòng is Yetaung; *rat'â* (Skr. and Pali, cart) is *yet'â: sâkrî* is *þajî: mrin* is *mên*: and so on. *An* in initial syllables is often *a*, as *tank'wan* is *tagwin*, etc. Mrammâ or Mrànmâ (a Burman) is Bamâ.

[54] For an "awful example" of the results of transliteration, see Capt. Towers on the Alphabetical System of the Language of Ava and Rachain (Arakan), *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V. pp. 143 ff.: *cf.* also Leyden's "Languages of Indo-Chinese Nations, *As. Res.* Vol. X., 1808. Few could recognise *pyinzin*꞉ in Latter's *pĕgnytsĕng*꞉, *Gram.* p. 90; a strong instance of setting up a form of transliteration and adhering to it pedantically.

[55] There is a very good note for the period, 1827, on the Burmese Alphabet in Crawfurd's *Ava*, Appx., p. 77; though he sometimes makes muddles of his words, as *Bortwang*, p. 444, for *Bòdwin*, where he half transcribes and half transliterates the word.

[56] Spelt *pôkch'âṅ(ta)prâ*꞉.

[57] It must be noted, however, that bazar hucksters in India often calculate up to 8 pice, precisely as do the Burmans.

a prefix denoting "seaborne." So he has taken his indigenous term for one-fourth and used it for one-third in this instance from motives of obvious convenience. And thus he has called the **pie màt-pyâ,** or quarter-piece, which it is not in reality. Having done this, he uses the term *màt-pyâ* to differentiate the pie and the pice (*pyâ*) : thus : — *Tabyâ* is one-pice, but *màtpyâ tabyâ* is one-pie. Pies are enumerated, as in India, up to twelve to the anna, *i. e.*, up to 11 pie.

As might be expected, there are, however, **variant ways of expressing British-Indian copper money.** Thus, Gordon, *Companion to Hand-book of Colloquial Burmese,* 1886, p. 104, gives us, "one pie, *tabaing*ꜱ," and a table :—

3	baingꜱ	1	pai'sâṅ
4	pai'sâṅ	1	pè
16	pè	1	kyàt

Again, Slack, *Manual of Burmese,* 1888, gives, p. 10 : —

1	pie	tabaik
1	anna	tabè
3	pie	ƀôngbaik
12	pie	s'ena'paik
16	annas	s'echau'pè

I may here note an interesting and in every way valuable fact for our present purpose from the copper coinage of King Mindôn.[58] He adapted his coinage to that of British-India, and made his copper pieces, or pice, one-fourth of a *pè*, treating the *pè* as an anna, which as a coin it was not in reality, being the 20th and not the 16th part of his *diṅgâ* or rupee. As he used the decimal system of *mû* in his coinage, (6 *ywêjî* or) 12 *ywê* went to the *pè*, and thus he managed to make his *ywê* correspond to the Indian pie. This is proved by the inscription on Mindôn's "peacock" copper coins :— "1 *pè ƀông diṅgâ î* 4 *bôn tabôn*, coin current as one-fourth part of 1 *pè* : " and confirmed by the "lion" copper coins of his successor King Thîbò, who inscribed them thus : — "1 *mû ƀông diṅgâ* 8 *pôn tabôn*, coin current as one-eighth part of 1 *mû* ;" equal to one-fourth part of 1 *pè*.

The chief authorities, after Latter on this subject are **Judson's Grammar,** 1852,[59] and Ed. 1888 ; **Spearman's British Burma Gazetteer,** 1870 ; **Browne's Thayetmyo District,** 1872 ; and **Cooke's British Burma Manual,** 1879 : the last three being official publications.[60]

Judson (p. xxxiv. of the 1852 Ed. and pp. 60-61 of the 1888 Ed.) produces for us the following table : —

2	chinywê	are	1	ywêjî
3	ywêjî	„	1	pè
4	„	„	1	pèjî
4	pèjî	„	1	màt
5	pè	„	1	„
4	màt	„	1	kyàt
100	kyàt	„	1	pêkƀâ

10 (or more tens) pêkƀâ are counted as so many **(a)k'wet**

58 To be described at length later on.

59 The edition of 1863 omits all reference to weights, measures and money. It is to be regretted that missionary books so often do this. Reflection will shew, that however far removed from their avowed work in life, money matters must occupy the attention of all honest men, in so far, at any rate, as the necessary daily buying and selling is concerned, and are therefore worthy of a place in all books on language.

60 Yule, *Ava*, only incidentally mentions bullion weights and measures at p. 259, and says 160 *ywês* = 1 tickal : 10 *mûs* = 1 tickal ; calling *ywê* the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*. He thus mixes up the scales, probably through a misunderstanding.

Judson also gives us :—

2 pèjî are 1 mûjî[61]
8 mûjî „ 1 kyàt
2 pè „ 1 mû
10 mû „ 1 kyàt

Spearman, Vol. I. p. 406, gives us a table on the same lines as Judson, but adds that the viss is 3·652 lbs. av.;[62] and goes on to say that the "names given to fractions of a rupee are derived from the measures of weight" : —

pè	is	1 anna	mû	is	2 annas
màt	„	4 annas	ngâmû[63]	„	8 „
Þôngmàt[64]	„	12 „	kyàtmûdin[65]	„	14 „
kyàt	„	1 rupee			

Colonel Spearman then goes on, under measures of capacity, to make a statement of some value in the present connection :—"An endeavour has been made to introduce a standard "basket" (*tin*) containing 2,218·19 cub. in., but it has not been very successful for want of legislative authority, and the disturbance to trade that would be caused by any enforced alteration in the customary uses has prevented any application to the Legislature. The differences in the various local uses seriously interfere with statistical enquiries, except to those conversant with these differences. The Akyab basket contains about 23 lbs. of rice in the husk, the Maulmain basket 48 lbs., the Bassein about 51 lbs., and the Rangoon basket from 48 lbs. to about 50 lbs."[66] A glance at App. xc. to Vol. II., *Madras Manual of Administration*, pp. 505-520, on "local varieties of weights and measures," would further illustrate the hopelessness of attaining uniformity in the East in such matters.

Browne, who may be looked upon as an independent investigator, in his *Historical Account of the Thayetmyo District*, 1872, gives us the same general information, but in a footnote to p. 60 says, and wrongly, that the *ywêjî* is the "red and black seed of the *Abrus precatorius*," affording a fine example of the mixing up the *ratî* and the double *ratî*.

Cooke, Vol. I. p. 735, says "the basis of the Burmese weight is the tickal (*kyàt*), which equals 252 grs. Troy, and exactly one cubic inch of distilled water at the temperature of 60°. One hundred tickals make a viss: one viss equals 3·65 lbs. av. or 140 British-Indian tolas exactly."[67] In a footnote, giving the fractions of the *kyàt*, he follows Browne in the mistake of making the *ywêjî* equal the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*.

The above writers are those who may be looked on as the authorities *par excellence* on the subject, but there is a popular book, which to the public generally is the authority on most things Burmese, *viz.*, "*The Burman, his Life and Notions*," by Shway Yoe **(J. G. Scott)** 1882, and as at Vol. II. p. 298 ff., this book goes into weights and measures, I will briefly notice Mr. Scott's remarks here. In this work Mr. Scott does what is natural enough in a popular book, though annoying to investigators, *i. e.*, he follows, or rather takes his ideas bodily from, all the authorities in this as in many other similar matters, and tells us nothing in addition to what they can tell us, except that

4 pêkÞâ are 1 tulâ
4,000 tula „ 1 tapôn or tasû

61 *Jî*, spelt *krî*, means great. Gordon, *Companion*, p. 105, gives the concurrent tables clearly and correctly, bu without recognising their nature.

62 At p. 54 n., he says, however, that 100 viss are exactly 360 *lbs*. Other writers are no more careful, for Tremenheere, in his *Reports* on the tin of Mergui about 1842, says (*Indo-China*, Vol. I. p. 264), that the viss is 3·63 *lbs*., and on p. [illegible], 3·65 *lbs*.

63 *I. e.*, 5 *mûs*. 64 *I. e.*, 3 *màts*. 65 *I. e.*, a rupee less a *mû* (two annas).

66 See also Browne, *Thayetmyo*, p. 60 : Yule, *Ava*, p. 254 : Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 298, who seems to have followed the *Gazetteer*.

67 But my recollection is that in Rangoon dealers in money made 142½ *tôlâs* go to the viss of silver. By *tôlâs scil.* here rupees. Crawfurd, *Ava*, makes the viss equal to 3·65 *lbs*., writing in 1826; p. 445. Gordon, *Companion to Handbook of Colloquial Burmese*, p. 104, and Slack, *Manual of Burmese*, p. 10, both give 142 *tôlâs* to the viss.

and that the *ngámû* or half kyàt is also called k'wèȝ,[68] and a piece of money tabyâȝ. What he precisely means by "1 tulâ," or "1 toolah" as he writes it, and "1 tapôn" and "1 tasû" I have not discovered, unless he means by *tulâ* the Pali and Sanskrit *tulâ*, the weight denomination equal to 100 *palas* or *phalas*. As Mr. Scott's *tulâ* is equal to 80 of Latter's *bô(l)s* (*palas*), it may be the same thing. But his *tapôn* and *tasû* are a puzzle: — combined or singly they might mean simply "a hoard."[69]

It will have been seen that in all the tables for **Indian gold and silver weights**, selected for comparison, the scales worked out to **320 jeweller's raktikâs**,[70] *i. e.*, twice that number of seeds of the *Abrus precatorius*, or **640 seeds, to the pala.** In Burma of course it is the quaternary scale that we must use for the purpose of comparison, and we find that it runs thus, according to the chief authority, Latter :—

8 ywê are 1 pè
2 pè „ 1 mû
2 mû „ 1 màt
4 màt „ 1 kyàt
5 kyàt „ 1 **bô(l)**

Therefore there are 640 ywê, or seeds of the Abrus precatorius to the bô(l), which consequently represents the pala in practice, and I propose now to shew that bô(l) equals pala by etymology. Therefore also the Burmese scale can be stated in terms of the ordinary Indian scale on the assumption of a common origin.

Bo(l) may be stated to be merely a modern pronunciation of the Sanskrit *pala*, Pali *phala*, on the following grounds. The Burmese, in adopting Sanskrit and Pali words into their language for every day use, clip them sufficiently to make them fit in with their ideas of phonetics, and during this process the long Sanskrit and Pali forms nearly always lose all or some part of their final syllables. Thus, the first step towards adopting *pala* into Burmese would be the docking of the final *a* and leaving a monosyllable *pal*. The final *l* is silent in Burmese pronunciation, though in such a case it would be retained in the script. The matter, therefore, to concern us is the **change of a into ô.**

In Vols. XXI., XXII., and XXIII. of the *Indian Antiquary*,[71] there took place a controversy on Sanskrit words in Burmese, in which the present writer took a small part. In the course of that controversy the following facts were disclosed :—

Burmese.		Sanskrit.	Pali.
Form.	Sound.		
Grôh	Jô	Graha	Gaha
Mikkasô	Myê'kaḇô	Mṛigaśiras	Migasira
Saṅgroh	Ḇinjô	Saṅgraha	Saṅgaha
Visakrôm	Wiḇàjô	Visvakarma ..	Vissakamma
Môgh	Mô	Mêgha	Mêgha
Môr	Mô	Mêru	Mêru
Râjagrô	Yâzàjô	Râjagṛiha	Râjaghara

[68] Properly "a half more," like the Indian *sâṛê*: *e. g.*, *'na'chà' k'wèȝ*, 2 *kyàt* and a half. On applying to Mr. Scott, he courteously informed me that he could not, in 1897, remember where he got the information he recorded in 1881.

[69] If, however, Mr. Scott's informant should have told him "4 kyàt = 1 tulâ and 4,000 kyàt = 1 tapôn," then the *tulâ* becomes the catty and the *tapôn* the picul (Siamese), and the expressions become intelligible, because in that case the *tulâ* would equal the *chang*, and both words mean "a balance;" also the weights thus arrived at would take their proper place in the general scale for the Far East. See next section on "Siamese Weights."

[70] Browne, *Thayetmyo*, p. 60, already quoted, is very distinct on this point: for he says "two moo-gyees one mat: four pai-gyees make one moo-gyee, and four rwe-gyees make one moo-gyee," using thus the "double" scale throughout.

[71] Vol. XXI. pp. 91 ff., 193 ff.; Vol. XXII. pp. 24 ff., 162 ff.; Vol. XXIII. pp. 165 ff., 193.

If then we find *graha* and *gaha* becoming *grôh:* *śiras* and *śira* becoming *sô:* *karman* and *kamma* becoming *krôm:* *mêgha* becoming *môgh:* *mêru* becoming *môr:* *gṛihá* and *ghara* becoming *grô:* — and the final consonants *h*, *r*, *m*, *gh*, dropped altogether in pronunciation :— it is fair to say that **pala is bôl, pronounced bo,**[72] especially as I may quote the Burmese Sîhôḷ, pronounced þîhô, for Siṁhala, Ceylon. Þink'ô, for Singhala, is also common in Burmese.

As to the **initial b for p,** that presents no difficulty, the following instances from Stevenson's *Dictionary*[73] being sufficient to settle the point :—

Form.	Sound.	Form.	Sound.
patk'an	bàtk'àn	pran	byàn[74]
paṇḍukampalà	bàndukànbalâ[75]	patòkpagach	bataukbayit
pattamrâ꞉	bàddamyâ꞉[76]	parun꞉paraṅ꞉	bayông꞉bayin꞉
paròkparat	bayaukbayàt	palâ[77]	balâ
palè꞉pataṅ, palè̥pataṅ, palè̥pat'aṅ	balé̥badin	pa'syû꞉	bashû꞉[78]
		pahan	bahàn
		pichat	bizàt
pinñaṅ꞉	bênnyin꞉	pîluṅ	bîlông꞉
pîlâ꞉sâ꞉nu	bîlâ꞉þanu	pîlâ꞉	bîlâ꞉
puṅpòlaò	bông꞉bâlaò	pòkp'at	baukp'àt
pòṅ꞉bî	baung꞉bî	pôk	baik
pyaṅ'lwâ꞉	byin'lwâ꞉	prâ꞉lôk	byâ꞉laik
prichch'â	byê'sâ[79]	prin꞉mrat	byên꞉myàt
pruk	byôk	prun꞉praṅ꞉	byông꞉byin꞉
prutprak-prutprat	byôkbyet-byôkbyàt	....	....
prun꞉ prun꞉	byông꞉byông꞉	pròṅ꞉pran꞉	byaung꞉byan꞉
prôkprôk[80]	byaikbyaik	pwak	buk

It will thus be seen that there is some justification etymologically for using the Burmese *bôl* for purposes of comparison in these pages as equivalent to the Sanskrit *pala*.

We may now pass on to the perhaps more interesting subject of the ideas of the older writers, with something like a proper equipment for an examination of them.

Crawfurd, *Ava*, 1829, p. 383 f., anticipates generally with his usual accuracy and perspicacity the conclusions drawn from the present enquiry. His table is as follows :—

2 small ywê	are	1	large ywê
4 large ywê	„	1	pè
2 pè	„	4	mû
2 mû	„	1	màt
4 màt	„	1	kyàt
100 kyàt	„	1	pêkþâ

[72] It is once more to be observed that the Sanskrit and not the Pali form is that adopted into the language. Of the same nature as those in the text are the Burmese *amrôt* (*amyaik*) for *amṛita*, and *Saṅsakarôt* (*þànþagayaik*) for *Saṁskṛita:* though according to Stevenson the last word is also written *Saṅsakarôṭ* and also pronounced *þànþagarait*.

[73] This author can be accepted on all points connected with the sounds of Burmese words, for a greater master of colloquial Burmese it would be difficult to find.

[74] The Paṭamâbyàn was the "honors" examination in Upper Burma in Buddhist Literature. Paṭamâbyàn was also the "degree" for passing it. King Thîbò (as a monk) was accounted a Paṭamâbyàn. For a note on the revival of these examinations under the British Government see Bird, *Wanderings in Burma*, p. 284 ff.

[75] The throne of þajâ = Sakra = Indra = the Angel of Life in modern Burmese belief.

[76] The ruby.

[77] This word means naked.

[78] A Malay: Stevenson writes the pron. in Burmese characters *pahrû*.

[79] Scorpio in the Zodiac.

[80] Though Stevenson does not give the pronunciation, a word well-known in Upper Burma Piṭakàt (for Pâḷi Piṭakattayaṁ, the Scriptures) is usually pronounced there Bîdagàt. It is usually written Bedegat (pp. 74, 76. 288), but Bidigat at p. 351, in Bird's *Wanderings in Burma*.

This table he follows up with remarks so much to the present point that I here give them in full in his spelling of the vernacular words:—"The small *rwé* (*ywé*) here is named the *Arbrus* (*sic*) *precatorius*, and the larger bean that of the *Adenanthera pavonina*. The *kyat* is the weight which we have called the tical, and the *paiktha* is our *vis*. I believe both words are corruptions borrowed from the Mohammedan merchants of India, sojourning in the Burman country. The origin of the word tical I have not been able to ascertain. That of the other is sufficiently curious. The *p* and *v* are commutable consonants. The Mohammedan sojourners cannot pronounce the *th* of the Burmese, and always substitute an *s* for it. The *k* is mute even in the Burman pronunciation, and the final *a* is omitted by Europeans only. Thus we have the word *paiktha* (*pêkbâ*) commuted into *vis*. This measure is equal to 3·65 *lbs.* Avoirdupois." Except that *vis* (viss) is the origin of *pêkbâ* and not *vice versâ*, Crawfurd has exactly hit upon the mutual connection of the two words.

From the American Missionary, **Malcom's** *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 275, 1839, we find that he was a precursor of Latter, and I think that Latter has read his book. He gives us the following useful little table:—

2	ywê	are	1 ywêjî	or	1	pice
4	ywêjî	,,	1 pè or ywê[81]	,,	1	anna
2	pè	,,	1 mû	,,	2	annas
2	mû	,,	1 màt	,,	4	annas
4	màt	,,	1 kyàt	,,	1	tickal
100	kyàt	,,	1 pêkbâ	,,	1	viss

He also tells us that the "**small ywê**" is the seed of the **Abrus precatorius**, "called in America, **crab's eye**," and the **ywêjî** the seed of the **Adenanthera pavonina**; and that the màt is 62½ grs. Troy, and the viss 3·65 lbs. Av. Further he says that "the late experiments at the Calcutta Mint"[82] determined the tickal to be 252 grs. Troy and "to weigh exactly one cubic inch of distilled water at the temperature of 90°."[83]

This last remark takes us to **Prinsep and the famous assay of the Ava bullion** of 1826. Prinsep's table, given by Burney from Ava, is on the decimal scale:[84]—

2	pè	are	1 mû
2½	mû	,,	1 màt
2	màt	,,	a k'wè[85]
2	k'wè[86]	,,	1 kyàt or tickal
100	kyàt	,,	1 pêkbâ or viss, or precisely 140 *tôlâs.*

At p. 98 of his *Useful Tables*, Prinsep quotes Kelly's *Cambist*, p. 222, that the "Pegu tickal" equals 1·138 *tôlâs*, which hardly agrees with the statement just given, as it would make the viss equal 113 4/5 *tôlâs*.

As to times before accurate knowledge was possible we find in **Alexander Hamilton's** "Table of Weights, etc.," attached to his *East Indies*, Vol. II. Appx., p. 8, the following information regarding "Pegu Weight":—

"1 Viece	is	39 Ou. Troy, or
1 Viece	,,	100 Teculs
140 Viece	,,	a Bahaar
The Bahaar	,,	3 Peculs China"

81 Here is a further confusion in the use of the term *ywê*: see Latter's statement, *ante*, p. 320.

82 H. H. Wilson's. See Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 36.

83 Cooke says 60, *vide* p. 324, *suprâ*.

84 Page 34, *Useful Tables*, Thomas' Ed.

85 See *ante*, p. 325, used really for "a half more," but not as "a half" in this sense, though *k'wè* is used for "half a *tin* (basket)."

86 This is not a correct statement idiomatically.

The above practically accurate statement was put forward about 35 years before **Stevens'** formal *Guide to the East India Trade* was published in 1775, and gives us, as will be seen, a much better and more intelligible idea of the currency of those days in Pegu. Stevens' table for Pegu is as follows:—

100 moo are 1 **tual**
100 tual ,, 1 vis or 3 lbs. 5 ozs. 5 drs. Av.
150 vis ,, 1 candy[87] or 500 lbs.

There is a considerable mixing up of matters here. In the first place *tual* is obviously a misprint for "tical," and I fancy "100 *mû* = 1 *tual*" should be read, therefore, 10 mû.

There can be no doubt as to the misprint of **tual for tical,** because lower down on the same page Stevens has, with other misprints or misreadings, for Siamese weights "80 tual are 1 catty, 50 catties 1 pecul," and later on in this Chapter it will be shewn that the Siamese and Burmese tickals are the same thing, 80 Siamese tickals going to the Siamese catty and 50 Siamese catties to the picul.

At p. 88 of the same work, we find "1 Rix dollar is 480 **Copper Pegue Pettys,**" a statement which is at first sight a great puzzle, because in Stevens' time there was no copper money or currency in Burma proper or in Pegu. But from p. 129 we can get at an explanation. Here Stevens gives a general table of the "Sterling value of Asiatic Coins," and for "Siam, Pegu, Malacca, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, etc.," gives a queer commercial mixture of Indo-European coined currency, Spanish, French, Dutch, Malay, and what not. In the course of this table, he says "a rial = 2 Ticals = 5s.: a Tutal[88] = 500 **Fettees** = 2s. 6d." As will be seen later on, Malay terms were constantly applied by travellers in describing Siamese commercial matters, and *fettee* and *petty* are no doubt meant for **pitis or pichis,** the small copper, brass or tin money of Java and the Malays, when first seen by Europeans.[89]

Cox, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VI. p 134, in an "Account of the Petroleum Wells[90] of the Burmha Dominion, extracted from the Journal of a Voyage from Ranghong (Rangoon) up the River Erai-Wuddy (Irrawaddy) to Amarapoorah, 1797," gives us in his own unique manner a new form for a Burmese weight. First, p. 133, he tells us that the price of the oil at the wells was "at the rate of one and a quarter tecals per hundred viss," and then, p. 134, that the four workmen's share at each well "will be 2,250 viss per month of thirty days, or in money at the above price, 28 tecals 50 **avas,** or 7 tecals 12 *avas* each man per month." One is nearly certain that by *ava* is meant **ywê,** as 120 to 128 *ywês* go to the tickal and no other denomination could go as far as 50 to the tickal, as in Cox's statement; but one cannot prove the fact by calculations, as the figures are too loosely stated. Thus, 7 *t.* 12 *a.* are not a quarter of 28 *t.* 50 *a.*, as Cox gives the figures, and the sum 2,250 viss at $1\frac{1}{4}$ *t.* per 100 viss results in 28 1/8 tickals; therefore, if 50 *avas* = 1/8 tickal, one tickal must equal 400 *avas*, which is impossible if *avas* are really *ywês*.

Symes, *Ava*, p. 326, gives us for the weight of the tickal or "*kiat*" 10 dwts. $10\frac{3}{4}$ grs.,[91] and the now familiar quaternary scale of 16 *pè* and 8 *mû* to the tickal. But he comes to grief over the name of the *pè*, for he writes it "**tubbee,**" *i. e.*, *tabè* or "one *pè*." But **Wilson,** *Documents of the Burmese War*, quoting in the Appx. p. lxi., the *Government Gazette*, March 2, 1826, comes to much further grief in the same direction, though his quaternary scale is right enough. His table is worth giving here *verbatim* :—

[87] *I. e.*, *khâṇḍî*, see Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 115.

[88] A misprint, one is almost certain, for "tical," as a tical was then always valued at 2s. 6d.

[89] Crawfurd, *Malay Dict.*, *s.v.* The word travelled far, for Stevens, *Guide*, p. 125, mentions that Chinese cash are called "petties": *cf.* also Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 141. Alexander Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 10.

[90] At Rainaughong, *i. e.*, Yênânjaung.

[91] Alexander, *Travels*, speaking loosely of Rangoon, in 1825-6, calls the tickal, or *diṅgâ*, nearly the weight of a Madras rupee.

"The divisions of the Tickal are

2 Tabbe	are	1 Tammoo
2 Tammoo	,,	1 Mat
4 Mat	,,	1 Tical
100 Tical	,,	1 Tabisa or Viss
100 Tabisa	,,	1 Peiya or Ava Pecul, or 250 Penang Catties."

Now Tabbe = *tabè*, *i. e.*, 1 *pè* : Tammoo = *tamû*, *i. e.*, 1 *mû* : Tabisa = *tabêkbû*, probably pronounced *tabissû* in Mergui whence the information came, = 1 *bissû* or viss.

The last denomination **peiya** is an apparently unique piece of information,[92] and I cannot account for it, except as a misprint for **teiya**, at which word we can guess from the curious table which follows on the same page :—

2 Nechi Teden	are	1 Tendaum
100 Tendaum	,,	1 Teiya or Coyan[93]

For *tendaum* read *tindaung*, or *tin*, the well known "basket" grain-measure of Burma, equal usually to 16 viss. For *nechi teden* read *'nak'wè tadin*, *i. e.*, "two (*'na*) halves (*k'wè*) (are) one (*ta*) basket (*tin*)." We can now see what the pioneer reporting officer did through his interpreter. He was told that two halves, the *k'wè* or half (a basket) being a recognised measure, made one basket, and he heard the people mention 100 baskets as **tayâ**, *i. e.*, *lit.* 100; and straightway made out his statement of measures. No doubt also he heard 100 viss spoken of as **tayâ** (100), and knew that these equalled a local picul, or 250 Penang catties, and straightway wrote down **Teiya** as a weight denomination, which subsequently got misread or misprinted **Peiya**.

(To be continued.)

SELECTED DATES FROM THE EPIGRAPHIA CARNATACA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

BEFORE I published my remarks on the dates of the Śaka era, *ante*, Vol. XXV. p. 266 ff., I examined the dates of many inscriptions in Part I. of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnataca*. Of some of the earlier dates in that collection I have already treated in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Here I give 19 other dates from my list, which, on account of the details mentioned in them, are perhaps of more general interest.[1]

The dates Nos. 1-7 quote eclipses which were all visible in that part of India where the inscriptions come from. Nos. 8-13 are dates with Saṁkrântis. Nos. 14 and 15 give instances of intercalary months, the month of No. 14 being described as *prathama-Bhâdrapada*, and that of the quite modern date No. 15 as *nija-Jyêshṭha*. No. 16 quotes a repeated *tithi* (*pratham-aikâdaśî*), and the *tithi* of No. 17 also is shewn to be a repeated one. And Nos. 18 and 19, in addition to the weekdays, give the *karaṇas*, *nakshatras* and *yôgas* of the dates.

In twelve of these dates the given Śaka year was an expired year, and in four (Nos. 2, 11, 13 and 14, of S. 1118, 1390, 1396 and 1456) a current year. In No. 18 the year 1568 is wrongly

[92] Practically all Burmese weight tables stop at the viss, and the capacity tables at the *tin* or basket. I have never come across anything like this statement of the "Ava pecul" except in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, c. 1833, p. 120, where "we are told that the Pegu, Birma *khandî* (candy), 150 vis, is reckoned 600 lbs. av.," and the "Rangoon *khandî*, of 150 vis, is reckoned at 550 lbs. av." The standard Indian candy or *khandî* is a weight of 20 *man* or mds., *i. e.*, about 1,600 lbs. av. But I find *loc. cit.* that it was *c.* 892 lbs. at Baroda, 530 and *c.* 538 lbs. at Bombay, 495 lbs. at Goa, *c.* 486 lbs. at Indor (*mânî*), 500 lbs. at Madras and *c.* 500 and *c.* 597 lbs. in Travancor. See also Stevens, *Guide*, p. 86.

[93] The highest Malay measure, usually 40 or 30 piculs. Crawfurd, *Malay Dict. s.v.*: Stevens' *Guide*, p. 87, who spells the word Quoyane: Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, Vol. I. p. 271: Swetenham, *Vocab. Malay*, Vol. II. Appx. on Currency: Maxwell, *Malay Manual*, p. 141.

[1] I have selected only regular dates. My private list contains many dates from the *Epigraphia Carnataca*, which are quite incorrect.

quoted instead of 1569 (expired); and in No. 8 the published text of the inscription gives, in words, the year 1062, while both the concurrent Jovian year and my calculation prove the year of the date to be 1082 (current). One date (No. 3) gives the Jovian year only, without the corresponding Saka year; and the other dates, in addition to the Saka years, quote the corresponding Jovian years, in every case in accordance with the southern luni-solar system. — Special terms, to which I may draw attention here, are *Yaksha-tadige* (?) in No. 2, and *Vaishṇava-tithi* in No. 17.

The date No. 1 of S. 899 is from an inscription of the Western Gaṅga Satyavâkya Koṅguṇivarman Permanaḍi; three dates (Nos. 8, 9 and 2) are from inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas Narasiṁha I. and Vîra-Ballâḷa; eleven from the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings Harihara II. (No. 10), Virûpâksha I. (Nos. 14 and 11), Narasa (No. 3), Kṛishṇarâya (Nos. 16, 4 and 12), Achyutarâya (Nos. 5 and 13), Sadâśivarâya (No. 6), and Râmadêva (No. 7); three (Nos. 17-19) from those of the rulers of Maisûr; and one, No. 15, is from a private inscription.

1. — **S. 899.** — Page 212, No. 183. Doḍḍa-Homma inscription of the Western Gaṅga[2] **Satyavâkya Koṅguṇivarman Permanaḍi**:—

Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śataṅgaḷ eṇṭu-nûṛa-tombhatt-ombhattaneya **Îśvara**-saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttisutt-ire . . . Âshâḍha-mâsada puṇṇamiyum **Aṅgâravârad-andu sômagrahaṇadoḷ** kâlaṁ.

S. 899 expired = **Îśvara: Tuesday,** 3rd July A. D. 977; a **lunar eclipse, visible** in India, 14 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

2. — **S. 1118*.** — Page 146, No. 31. Taḍi-Mâliṅgi inscription of the Hoysaḷa **Vîra-Ballâḷa**:—

Saka-varśada 1118neya **Râkshasa**-śaṁvatsarada **Yaksha-tadige**[3] **(?) Bihavâra sûryya-grahaṇadalu.**

S. 1118 current = **Râkshasa: Thursday,** 5th October A. D. 1195, the day of the new-moon *tithi* of the month Âśvina; a **solar eclipse, visible** in India, 5 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

3. — [**S. 1420.**] — Page 186, No. 16. — Date of the time of **Narasa** of Vijayanagara, in the Nañjaṅgûḍ plates of his son Kṛishṇarâya[4]:—

Vatsarê **Kâlayukty**-âkhyê Mârgaśîrshaka-mâsi cha |
sûryôparâga-samayê puṇyê darśa-samanvitê ||

Kâlayukta = S. 1420 expired: 13th December A. D. 1498; a **solar eclipse, visible** in India, 4 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

4. — **S. 1448.** — Page 151, No. 49. Hemmige inscription of **Kṛishṇarâya** of Vijayanagara:—

Srî-jayâbhyudaya-Sâlivâhana- śakavarusha 1448 sanda varttamânavâda **Vyaya**-saṁvatsarada Srâvaṇa-śu 5 lû . . . tat-saṁvatsarada Âshâḍha-śuddha-paurṇṇamiyû **chandrôparâga**-puṇyakâladalli.

S. 1448 expired = **Vyaya**: 24th June A. D. 1526; a **lunar eclipse, visible** in India, from 11 h. 39 m. to 15 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

5. — **S. 1452.** — Page 133, No. 105. Koḍagahaḷḷi inscription of **Achyutarâya** of Vijayanagara:—

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[2] The date of 'the last Gaṅga *inscription*' in Mr. Rice's volume (p. 101, No. 78, of S. 944) is quite incorrect and is, in fact, an impossible date.

[3] With *Yaksha-tadige*, which I cannot explain, compare the Sanskṛit *Yaksha-râtri*, another name of the festival generally called *Dîpâvali* (*Divâḷi*); see above, p. 184, Âśvina-kṛishṇapaksha XV.

[4] See below, No. 16.

'Srî-vijayâbhyudaya-'Sâlivâhana śakavarsha 1452 sanda varttamâṇavâda **Vikṛitu**-saṁvatsarada . . . **Guruvâradalu** . . . chandragrahaṇa-puṇyakâladalli.

S. 1452 expired = Vikṛita: Thursday, 6th October A. D. 1530, the day of full-moon of the month Âśvina; **a lunar eclipse, visible** in India, 21 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.[5]

6. — **S. 1478.** — Page 174, No. 108. Tumbala inscription of **Sadâśivarâya** of Vijayanagara :—

'Srî-jayâbhyudaya-'Sâlivâhana-śakavarusha sâ 1478 sanda vartamânavâda . . saṁvatsarada Kârtîka-ba 30 **Chandravâra sûryôparâga**-puṇyakâladalu.

S. 1478 expired [= Anala]: **Monday,** 2nd November A. D. 1556; **a solar eclipse, visible** in India, 6 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

7. — **S. 1542.** — Page 33, No. 36. Ânevâḷa inscription of **Râmadêva** of Vijayanagara :—

'Srî-vijayâbhyudaya-'Sâlivâhana-śakavarushaṅgaḷu 1542ya **Raüdri**-saṁvatsarada Mârggaśira-śu 15 lu . . . **chandragrahaṇa**-puṇyakâladali.

S. 1542 expired = Raudra: 29th November A. D. 1620; **a lunar eclipse, visible** in India, 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

8. — **S. 1062** (for **1082***). — Page 38, No. 60. Toṇḍanûr inscription of the Hoysaḷa **Narasiṁha I.** :—

'Saka-varishaṁ sâsirad- aṛavatt-eraḍaneya **Pramâthi**-saṁvatsarada Âśvayuja-śudda-trayôdaśi-**Âdivâra Uttarâ-Bhâdrapada Tulâya(na)-saṅkramaṇad-andu.**

Pramâthin = S. 1082 (not 1062) current, and for that year the date regularly corresponds to **Sunday,** 27th September A. D. 1159. On this day the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 58 m., and the **Tulâ-(vishuva-)saṁkrânti** took place 17 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise; and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâ Bhadrapadâ** about the whole day.

9. — **S. 1102.** — Page 173, No. 106. Tumbala inscription of the Hoysaḷa **Vîra-Ballâḷa**:—

Saka-varusha sâsirada nûṛa-eraḍaneya **Sârvvari**-saṁvatsarada Pushya-śuddha ashṭamì **Bṛihavârad uttarâyaṇa-saṅkramaṇadalu.**

S. 1102 expired = Sârvarî: Thursday, 25th December A. D. 1180; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 12 m. after, and the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 0 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise (during the *tithi* of the date).

10. — **S. 1319.** — Page 160, No. 64. Narasîpura plates of the reign of **Harihara II.** of Vijayanagara, recording a grant which was made by Nârâyaṇadêv-Oḍeyar, the son of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mallapp-Oḍeyar (Mallinâtha) who was a brother of Harihara II. :—

Saka-varusha 1319 . . . **Îśvara**-saṁvatsarada 'Srâvaṇa-śuddha 5 **Âdivâra Siṁhasaṅkrânti**-puṇyakâladalu.

S. 1319 expired = Îśvara : Sunday, 29th July A. D. 1397; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 12 m., and the **Siṁha-saṁkrânti** took place 19 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

11. — **S. 1396***. — Page 135, No. 121. Sujjalûru plates of **Virûpâksha I.** of Vijayanagara :—

Sâlivâhana-nirṇîta-right śakavarsh[ê*] kram-âgatê ।
ṛitu-randhra-guṇair=yuktê vidhunâ yuta-vatsarê ॥
Vijay-âkhyê tathâ mâsê Pushyê pakshê viśêshataḥ ।
śuklê cha daśamî-yuktê vârê ch=**Âṅgi(ṅgâ)ra**-sañjñitê ॥
Saṅkrântyâm Makar-âkhyâtê puṇya-kâlê.

[5] In S. 1452 expired there was only one other lunar eclipse, which took place on Tuesday, 12th Apri A. D. 1530,

S. 1396 current = **Vijaya**: **Tuesday**, 28th December A. D. 1473; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half *commenced* 0 h. 51 m. after, and the **Makara-(Uttarâyaṇa-)saṁkrânti** took place 4 h. 29 m. before, mean sunrise.

12. — **S. 1450.** — Page 14, No. 2. Seringapatam inscription of **Kṛishṇarâya** of Vijayanagara :—

Sâlîvâhana-śakavarshê 'bhr-êshu-vêda-śasi-saṅkhyê I varshê 'tha **Sarvadhâriṇi** puṇyatamâyâṁ **Kuḷîra-saṅkrântau** II Âshâdhê śukla-pakshê . . . **Si(si)tarôchishô vârê** I . . . Âshâḍhasudda 12 **Sômavâra Karkaṭakasaṅkrânti**-puṇyakâladalli.

S. 1450 expired = **Sarvadhârin** : **Monday**, 29th June A. D. 1528; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 8 h. 9 m., and the **Karkaṭaka-(Dakshiṇâyana-)saṁkrânti** took place 7 h. 49 m., after mean sunrise.

13. — **S. 1456***. — Page 95, No. 55. Huragalavâḍi plates of **Achyutarâya** of Vijayanagara : —

Sak-âbdê Sâlivâhasya sahasrêṇa chatuś-śataiḥ I pañchâśatâ cha saṅkhyâtê shaḍ-abhyadhikayâ kramât II **Vikramê**(? **Vijayê**) vatsarê Pushya-śukla-pakshê **'rka-vâsarê** I dvâdaśyâṁ ch=aiva **Rôhiṇyâṁ** . . . bhavyê **Makarasaṅkrânti**-puṇyakâlê.

S. 1456 current = **Vijaya** (not Vikrama): **Sunday**, 28th December A. D. 1533; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 9 h. 8 m., the **Makara-(Uttarâyaṇa-)saṁkrânti** took place 8 h. 7 m. (during the *tithi* of the date), and the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî** for about 8 hours, after mean sunrise.

14. — **S. 1390***. — Page 77, No. 139. Sîtâpura inscription of **Virûpâksha I.** of Vijayanagara : —

Sâlivâhana-śakavarsha 1390 ttaneya **Sarvajit-** saṁvatsara **prathama-Bhâdrapa[da]**-ba 8 **Sani Rôhiṇi**-nakshatradalu.

In **S. 1390 current** = **Sarvajit** Bhâdrapada was intercalary, and the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of **the first Bhâdrapada** ended 20 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of **Saturday**, 22nd August A. D. 1467, when the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî** for 11 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.[6]

15. — **S. 1769.** — Page 100, No. 67. Maṇḍya inscription of Tirukuḍi Srînivâsa-Râvu :—

Srî-vijayâbhyudaya-Sâlivâhana-śakâbda 1769 ne sanda vartamânavâda **Plavaṅga**-saṁvatsarada **nija-Jyêshṭha**-śuddha 15 **Sômavârada.**

In **S. 1769 expired** = **Plavaṅga** Jyêshṭha was intercalary, and the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of **the nija (or second) Jyêshṭha** ended 12 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday**, 28th June A. D. 1847.

16. — **S. 1435.** — Page 186, No. 16. Nañjaṅgûḍ plates of **Kṛishṇarâya** of Vijayanagara :—

Sâlivâhana-nirṇîtê śak-âbdê sa-chatuśśataiḥ I
pañchatriṁśat-samâyuktais=saṅkhyâtê daśabhiś=śataiḥ II
Vatsarê **Srîmukh**-âbhikhyê mâsi ch=Âshâḍha-nâmani I
śukla-pakshê cha puṇyâyâṁ **pratham-aikâdaśî**-tithau II

In **S. 1435 expired** = **Srîmukha** the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Ashâḍha commenced about 30 m. *before* sunrise of the 13th June, and ended about 20 m. *after* sunrise of the 14th June, A. D. 1513. Accordingly, in a calendar both these days would be numbered '11,' and

[6] The same inscription contains an earlier date, of the year Pârthiva (= S. 1387 expired), the weekday of which is incorrect.

the 13th June A. D. 1513, **the first of these two êkâdaśîs,** is the proper equivalent of the date.[7]

17. — **S. 1585.** — Page 143, No. 23. Talakâḍu plates of **Dêvarâja** of Maisûr: —

Śrî-Śâlivâhana-śakê śara-nâga-bâṇa-
śîtâṁśu-sammita-śaratsu gatâsv=amushmin ।
varshê tu **Sôbhakṛiti** mâsi Śuchau valakshê
pakshê 'tha **Vaishṇava-tithâv=Amṛitâṁśu-vârê** ॥

In **S. 1585 expired = Sôbhakṛit** (Sôbhana) the *Vaishṇavî* (*i. e.*, here, 12th) *tithi*[8] of the bright half of Suchi (Âshâḍha) commenced 1 h. 21 m. *before* mean sunrise of **Monday,** the 6th July, and ended 26 m. *after* mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 7th July, A. D. 1663. Here, again, in a calendar both the Monday and the Tuesday would be numbered '12,' and the day of the date, **Monday,** the 6th July A. D. 1663, would be properly described by the term *prathama-dvâdaśî.*

18. — **S. 1568 (for 1569).** — Page 66, No. 103. Mêlukôṭe plates of **Kaṇṭhîrava Narasarâja** of Maisûr: —

Nâga-rtu-bâṇa-vasudhâ-yuji Śâlivâhan-
âkhyê śakê śaradi **Sarvajid**-âhvayâyâṁ ।
Vaiśâkha-mâsi **Mṛigaśîrsha**-samâhvaya-rkshê
puṇyê tath=**Âkshayatṛitîya**-dinê cha **Bhaumê** ॥
Vârê **Sukarma**-yuji sat-karaṇê cha bhadrê (?)
san-maṅgaḷê sakaladharmada-puṇyakâlê ।

In **Sarvajit** = S. 1569 (not 1568) expired the *Akshaya-tṛitîyâ* or third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśâkha and the *karaṇa* Gara[9] ended 13 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday,** 27th April A. D. 1647, when the *nakshatra* was **Mṛigaśîrsha** for 16 h. 25 m., and the *yôga* **Sukarman** for 12 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

19. — **S. 1671.** — Page 156, No. 63. Narasîpura plates of the time of **Kṛishṇarâja** of Maisûr: —

Śâlivâhana-nirṇîtê śak-âbdê daśabhiś=śataiḥ ।
samanvit-aikasaptatyâ shaṭ-śatair=api vatsaraiḥ ॥
Sukl-âkhyê vatsarê mâsi Vaiśâkhê **Bhauma-vâsarê** ।
dvâdaśyâṁ śukla-pakshasya chandra-târâ-bal-ânvitê ॥
Hasta-rkshê **Harshaṇê** yôgê karaṇê **Bâlav**-âbhidhê ।

S. 1671 expired = Sukla: Tuesday, 18th April A. D. 1749; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karaṇa* **Bâlava** ended 9 h. 25 m., the *nakshatra* was **Hasta** from 2 h. 38 m., and the *yôga* **Harshaṇa** for 15 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

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[7] In *Ep. Carn.* p. 16, No. 6, there is a similar date, which at the same time would furnish an instance of an *Unmîlanî Mahâ-dvâdaśî* (see *ante*, p. 178); but that date is quite incorrect.

[8] Compare Hemâdri's *Chaturvarga-chintâmaṇi*, Vol. III. Part II. p. 865, l. 11: *dvâdaśî Chakriṇas=tathâ.* — In other dates the 11th *tithi* is described as *Hari-dina.*

[9] As the text stands, the word *bhadrê* would be taken as the name of a *karaṇa*, but, so far as I know, *Bhadra* is not synonymous with *Gara.* According to the Rev. F. Kittel's *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, *bhadrĕ* in Kanarese denotes 'the seventh astrological division of the day' (= *vishṭi*, which would be out of place here).

PADA, THE WRITER OF ASOKA'S SIDDAPUR EDICTS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In my article on Aśôka's edicts from Siddâpur (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 134 ff.) I have omitted to give an explanation of the name of the writer, which once occurred in all the three copies and in every case was accompanied by the official title *lipikara* in Kharôṣṭhî characters, the final sentence being, or having been, *Paḍena likhitaṁ ṇarekapili.* (5 4 3 2 1)

As M. Sylvain Lévi[1] of late has tried to do away with the mention of the writer and to put a very different construction on this passage, it is perhaps advisable to fill up the *lacuna* which I have left in my former paper, and to shew that at all events *paḍa* is a word, suited for a proper name. The explanation, of course, cannot be categorical, as according to the orthography of Aśôka's clerks *paḍa* may be meant to express three different words, which the more accurate spelling of the Pandits would carefully distinguish. It may be intended (1) for *paḍa*, or (2) as single consonants are used instead of double ones, for *paḍḍa*, or (3) on the analogy of *magala* for *maṁgala* and of similar forms, also for *paṁḍa*.

Among these three forms the first will do only on the supposition, that, as sometimes happens in the Prakrit dialects, its *ḍa* is a substitute for *ra*, and that *paḍa* stands for *para*. For *Para* occurs, either by itself or coupled with other words, as a royal name. In the *Brâhmaṇas* there is the king *Para Aṭṇâra* and kings, simply called *Para*, appear in the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Harivaṁśa*.[2]

Among the other two forms *Paṁḍa* is found in the slightly enlarged *Paṇḍaka*, the name of a son of the third Manu, and *Paḍḍa*, though not traceable as a N. Pr., is a Dêśî term, equivalent to *dhavala*,[3] which word is very commonly used even in the present day for the formation of proper names. In Sanskrit we have *Dhavala* or *Dhavalaka*, *Dhavalachandra* and so forth, and in the modern Prakrits *Dhôlâ*, *Dhavalchand* or *Dhôlchand*, and *Dhavalsiṅgh* or *Dhôlsiṅgh*. And it may be noted that all these names are used by members of the writer castes of modern India.

It thus appears that with all the three interpretations, which may be put on the syllables *paḍa*, a word will come out which is suitable for a proper name, and the choice becomes rather difficult. The least probable among the three possible explanations, it seems to me, is that which involves the assumption that *Paḍa* is meant for *Paṇḍa*. More probable would be the explanation of *Paḍa* by the royal name *Para*, as the writer castes of historical India, the Kâyasthas, Brahmakshatriyas and Prabhus claim kinship with the Kshatriya families and commonly adopt the names, borne by persons of princely or noble rank, notably those ending in *siṅgh* (*siṁha*). But then it is necessary to assume that *ḍa* represents *ra*. As the third possibility presents absolutely no difficulties, and does not necessitate the assumption of any phonetic or graphic irregularity, I am inclined to fall back on that, and to take *Paḍa*, or with the full spelling, *Paḍḍa*, as an ancient *popular*, or Dêśî, equivalent of the Sanskrit *Dhavala* and the modern *Dhôlâ*, with which the Vedic name Śvêta and the Epic *Paṇḍu* or *Pâṇḍu* may be fitly compared.

In connection with this explanation, I will add a few remarks on the point, which seems to have been the chief cause of M. Lévi's unwillingness to accept for the concluding sentence of the Siddâpur inscriptions the translation, "Written by the scribe Paḍa," which undoubtedly at first sight appears to be the natural one, and state the reason, why I cannot agree to his translation. As regards the first point, M. Lévi remarks that writers' names do not occur in other early epigraphic documents, and hence he infers that it is not probable that an individual scribe should be mentioned in an Aśôka edict. His statement of the facts is correct, as far as the third and second centuries are concerned. For, the earliest indisputable occurrences of writers'

[1] *Jour. Asiatique*, 1896.

[2] See the larger Petersburg Dictionary, *sub voce* पर.

[3] Hemachandra, *Dêśînâmamâlâ*, vi. 1, *paḍḍaṁ dhavalam*.

names are found on the Taxila copper-plate of Saṁvat 78 of the great king Môga, which belongs to the first century B. C. or A. D., and in the land grants of the Andhra king Gôtamîputa Sâtakaṇi (Nâsik inscrs. Nos. 11 a-b) from the beginning of the second century A. D. But I doubt very much that the facts warrant the inference, which M. Lévi draws from them. The great majority of the epigraphic documents of the third and second centuries B. C., like those on the Sânchî and Bharahut Stûpas, in the Barâbar, Nâgârjunî, and Kaṭak hill cave and on the various relic vessels, consists of short dedicatory or votive inscriptions, which in India never, not even in late times, bear the writer's name. If these are deducted, — as certainly must be done —, there remain for the third century twenty-three Aśôka inscriptions, two of which, the Girnâr and Mansehra versions of the Rock Edicts, are mutilated at the end and the Sohgaurâ copper-plate. For the second century B. C. there are only two documents, Khâravêla's Hathigumphâ inscription and the Andhra inscription from the Nânâghât, which latter again is mutilated at the end. It seems to me inadmissible to conclude that, because the twenty-three complete inscriptions of the third and second centuries do not shew writers' names, the sentences in three others, apparently containing such a name, must be interpreted differently in order to eliminate it. In my opinion the basis of facts is much too narrow for the inference. And its precariousness becomes still more apparent, if it is borne in mind that only one among the twenty-three inscriptions, Khâravela's, belongs to the class of the Praśastis, in which later the writer's name is mentioned very frequently, though by no means invariably. Later edicts, like those of Aśôka, have not yet been found, and it is impossible to say what the later practice may have been in such cases. I can, therefore, not see any necessity to demur to the translation, "Written by the scribe Paḍa," and it seems to me that in the early inscriptions the insertion of writers' names was irregular, just as the use of Maṅgalas, of which a trace is found only in the two separate Edicts of Jaugada, and the use of signs of interpunctuation. The greater regularity in these and other respects begins only, when the Brahman schoolmen obtained a stronger influence in the royal offices.

With respect to M. Lévi's own interpretation, "Written in the *pada*-script by the writer," I must point out that the texts of both the versions, where the important word is preserved either fully or in part, read according to the impressions and the perfectly trustworthy facsimiles very distinctly *paḍena*, which cannot be an equivalent of *padena*. M. Lévi may have been misled by a remark of mine in my first notice of the Siddâpur edicts, where I stated that one of the versions reads [*pa*]*dena*. The error was caused by the indistinctness of the photograph according to which I worked, and it has been corrected in my edition in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

MISCELLANEA.

DOUBLE KEY.

A WELL-KNOWN Netherlands-Indian coin turns up under this extraordinary perversion of the real word in Stevens, *Guide to East Indian Trade.* It is sufficient to say that it represents **dubbeltje,** through the established commercial corruption thereof, **doubleky.**

1711. — "Malacca. Skillings, **Double-kees,** and Stivers, are the currant Money. Two Stivers, or Pence, are one **Doublekee,** three **Doublekees** one Skilling, and 8 Skillings one Rix Dollar." — Lockyer, *Trade in India,* p. 69.

1775. — "Malacca. A Tangoe is 6 Stivers, or 3 **double Keys,** or 3 Cash." — Stevens, *Guide,* p. 87. The peculiar presentation of the expression "double Key," considering the use of capitals in English printing at the period, shews that Stevens' informant thought the word to be "key" of which the coin in question was the double.

1775. — "Batavia. 8 Doits make 1 Cash, or **Doublekye.**" — Stevens, *Guide,* p. 124.

1775. — "Malacca. The Money, most current in the Shops and Bazaars, is Rupees, Schillings, **Doublekyes,** and Doits." — Stevens, *Guide,* p. 127.

1805. — "The Memorandum of 1805 by Lieutenant-Governor Farquhar (*J. Ind. Arch.* Vol. V. p. 418) speaks of **doublekies** or *cupangs,* the **doubleky** being the Dutch coin of 2 stuyvers, or 10 doits." — Chalmers, *Colonial Currency,* 1893, p. 382 n.

1814. — "10 doits or 2 stivers and a half are 1 **dubbeltje.**" — Raffles, *Java,* Vol. II. Appx., p. clxvii.

1825. — "As to Malacca . . . . Kelly (*Cambist*) states . . . . the principal current coins are rupees, Dutch schillings, Dubbeltjes, 2 stiver pieces, and doits." — Chalmers, *Colonial Currency*, p. 383.

R. C. TEMPLE.

CAVES OF THE AMHERST DISTRICT, BURMA.

Ante, Vol. XXII. p. 337 ff., I gave a general account of the caves about Maulmain. I have since come across a list of them, which is worth publishing, in a Government publication entitled "Transliteration into Roman Characters of Names of Places in British Burma, 1874." The publication itself has now no interest beyond the academic one of showing the history of the existing system of official transcription into Roman characters, for it is not a transliteration, of Burmese words. But at p. 59 ff. the booklet gives a list in the vernacular of **the Caves of the Amherst District**, which I here transcribe as supplementary to and corrective of my list above-mentioned. Premising that the Burmese add the suffix *ku*, a cave, to all names of caves, which is here omitted, the list runs as follows.

My recollection is that General Horace Browne was the author of this official list, and he adds a note that the caves are "generally named after the nearest village or place of note in their immediate vicinity." This was also my experience.

List of Caves.

P'âbu.	Sadaik.	Ambyàn.
T'aingjaik.	T'aingmalwè.	Kyau'ket.
K'ayôn.	Sàddàn.	D'ammaƀâ.
K'āyôn-ngâ.	P'âgàt.	Kògun.
Yaƀêbyàn.	B'injî.	Wèbyàṇ.
Mîzaing.	T'ànkayâ.	Pạung.
P'âkayaṭ.	P'âlin.	P'âbyà.
P'âbaung.	Ma'chîtaung.	

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

INDISCHE PALÆOGRAPHIE. By G. Bühler. Strassburg, 1896. Pages 96, and portfolio of Plates.

HITHERTO the only book on the history of Indian alphabets was the late Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, the second edition of which appeared as far back as 1878, and which confined itself to the South-Indian alphabets. Professor Bühler's new work is the first which embraces the whole subject of Indian Palæography. Coming as it does from such an eminent authority, I need hardly say that it contains a lucid and up-to-date exposition of its theme and that it teems with fresh discoveries. As regards one of the leading and most difficult questions — the derivation of the Indian *Brâhmî* alphabet, Professor Bühler arrives at the conclusion that the latter is an adaptation of a Northern Semitic alphabet, imported about B. C. 800. This important result is so well supported with facts that it cannot fail to meet with general acceptance. There is only one subordinate link in the chain of arguments where I am unable to agree with the author unconditionally. He considers the Êraṇ coin, on which the letters run from right to left, as a proof that the *Brâhmî* was derived from a Semitic alphabet. But it is a known fact that Indian engravers often forget that the letters have to be reversed on the die in order to appear in their positive forms on the coin itself. A quite modern instance is a coin of the Hôḷkar of [Vikrama-Saṁvat] 1943, where the words एक पाव आना । इंदोर are reversed. The same mistake may have been committed by the author of the die of the Êraṇ coin.

Space does not permit to give an epitome of Professor Bühler's work, and I would only direct attention to the chapter on the *Kharôshṭhî*, where this difficult alphabet is fully analysed for the first time; to the ingenious way in which the co-existence of Grantha with Tamiḻ and Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the derivation of the two last are explained and to the chapter on numerical symbols, which supersedes the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji's paper in Vol. VI. of this Journal. Among the designations of alphabets I notice the erroneous form *Kâṇara*, for which read *Kannaḍa* or *Karṇâṭa*, literally 'the black country.' This is the indigenous name of the 'black cotton soil' districts and of their language; see *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 117, and Kittel's *Dictionary*, articles *Kannaḍa* and *Karṇâṭa*. Two other transliterations which appear misleading are *Cicacole* for *Chicacole* (Śrîkâkuḷa) and *Kocin* for *Çochin* (the Portuguese form of *Kochchi*).

A most invaluable and indispensable addition are nine photographic Plates of letters (i. *Kharôshṭhî*; ii. and iii. *Brâhmî*; iv. to vi. Northern alphabets; vii. and viii. Southern alphabets; ix. numerical symbols), which were prepared with the assistance of Dr. Cartellieri. It will be good news to many that an English edition of the work is in preparation.

E. HULTZSCH.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. F. D'PENHA.

No. 19. — *The Story of Bharô.*

THERE once lived an old woman with a daughter of a marriageable age. The girl was old enough to help her mother in earning a livelihood, but she was too lazy — indeed, so lazy as not even to rise a little early in the morning and look after the kitchen work. The old woman, therefore, would get up early, and do the cooking. At sunrise she would call out to her daughter, thus: — "*Ûṭ gô Bharô, pâl pâlaṅ, dîs gêlê maṇḍpâṁ*,[1] Rise, Bharô, it is dawn, the sun has risen in the sky."

To this the daughter would reply: — "*Dîs maṇḍpâṁ gêlê tê zâundê, vin sûtâ vin phaniṁ viniṁ gunthîn anî dambrîmanîṁ râz karin*,[2] If the sun is risen in the sky, let him do so, without thread and without a comb I will dress my hair, and I will live on one *dambrî*." After some hesitation she would rise, arrange her toilet, and eat and drink.

In this way some time past, till one day the king's son was going to school, and his way led past the old woman's hut. As he was just opposite the hut, these words fell upon his ears: — "*Ûṭ go Bharô, pâl pâlaṅ, dîs gêlê maṇḍpâṁ*, Rise, Bharô, it is dawn, the sun has risen in the sky." And while he was still within hearing, Bharô replied: — "*Dîs gêlê maṇḍpâṁ tê zâunde, vin sûtâ vin phaniṁ viniṁ gunthîn ani dambrîmanîṁ râz karin*, If the sun is risen in the sky, let him do so, without thread and without a comb I will dress my hair, and I will live on one *dambrî*."

Having heard this the prince went to school, but the last words of Bharô's reply — "*dambrîmanîṁ râz karin*, I will live on one *dambrî*" — made such an impression upon him, that he made up his mind to get married to Bharô with the view to test how she could live on such an insignificant sum of one-twenty-fourth of an anna. In the evening, when school was over, he began to think how to obtain her in marriage, and considering it rather difficult, because of their respective social positions, he went and threw himself down in his father's stables, through sheer grief, while all the palace was searching for him in all directions. Towards dusk the king's *batkînî*[3] came into the stables, with bags of gram, to feed the horses. And what did they do? They threw the husks of the gram to the horses, eating the gram themselves. The prince, who saw this from his hiding place, could contain his anger no longer, and shouted out: — "*Ahaṁ, chanê chanê tumîṁ khâtâ anî sâlaṁ sâlaṁ ghôriânâṁ ghâltâ nahîṅ? Tavaṅs tê tumîṁ dîsân dis mâzat châlliâs ani mâṅjê ghôrê sûkat châlliân*,[4] Ah ha! you are eating the gram yourselves, throwing only the husks to the horses? No wonder you are growing fatter and fatter every day, while my horses are getting lean."

The *baṭkînîs*, however, did not mind the prince's reproach, but only said: — "*Râjâ Sâhib, Râjâ Sâhib*,[5] *athilâ kâ kartâ? Tûmchê sâṭhî sârâ gâuṁ sôdîtân*, Râjâ Sâhib, Râja Sâhib, what are you doing here? The whole country is being searched on your account."

The prince, who saw that he was discovered by the *baṭkînîs*, threatened them with a severe thrashing if they went and acquainted the king, his father, with his hiding-place. But the *baṭkînîs* cared not for the prince's threats, but ran to the king in great haste and with joyful hearts, for they knew that their trouble would not go unrewarded, and addressed him thus: —

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[1] The literal meaning of this would be: — Get up, Bharô, it is dawn, day is gone to the *maṇḍap*. A *maṇḍap* may be taken to mean a *shamiâna*.

[2] Literally, if the day is gone to the *maṇḍap*, let it go, without thread, without comb I will entangle my hair, and on one *dambrî* I shall reign queen. A *dambrî* is half a pie, or one-twenty-fourth part of an anna.

[3] Maid-servants.

[4] Translated literally, it would mean: — Ah ha! the gram you are eating and the skins you are putting to the horses, no? Then only it is that you are fattening day after day and my horses are becoming dry.

[5] Meaning the prince.

"*Râjâ Sâhib, Râjâ Sâhib, êk sâṅguṁ kaṁ dôn sâṅguṁ,* Râjâ Sâhib, Râjâ Sâhib, shall we tell you one or shall we tell you two?"

To which the king, who was sorrowing for his son's absence without his knowledge, frowningly retorted: — "*Tûmiṁ khâtûs hâ anî rartûs hâ, tûmâlâ kâ hâi, mâṅzâ pût gêlâ tô nahiṅ,*[6] You are always eating and still you keep crying; what do you care? I am thinking of my son who is gone."

But the *baṭkînîs*, nothing daunted, replied: — *Râjâ Sâhib, Râjâ Sâhib, âikâl tê barî gôsṭ hâi,* Râjâ Sâhib, Râjâ Sâhib, if you will listen, it is good news."

Upon this the king said: — "*Ek sâṅgâ kaṁ dôn sâṅgâ pûn kâ saṅgâvâchaṁ hâi tê bêgin sâṅgâ,* You may tell me one or you may tell me two, but say quickly whatever you may have to say."

The *baṭkînîs* then told the king that, as they went to the stables, as was their wont, to feed the horses, they saw the prince lying there, apparently in great grief. The king, thereupon, went to the stables in great haste, and, having found the prince, thus spoke to him: — "*Tûṁ athilâ kâṁ? Kâ zhâilaṁ tûlâ? Kâ kôniṅ kêlaṁ tûlâ? Sâṅg mâlâ: kôniṅ hât tûkilasêl tûvar, tiâchâ hât jhên; kôniṁ pâiṁ tûkilasêl tûvar, tiâchâ pâiṅ jhên; kôniṁ ḍôlâ kêlasel tûlâ, tiâchâ ḍôlâ jhên; kaṁ ka khûṭlasêl tûlâ, sâṅg mâlâ, miṅ paidaṁ karîn,*[7] Why are you here? What is the matter with you? Has any one injured you? Tell me: has any one lifted his hand against you, I shall cut off his hand; has any one lifted his leg against you, I shall cut off his leg; has any one used his eye[8] against you, I shall remove his eye; or if you lack anything, say so, and I shall see that you get it."

To which the prince replied: — "*Mâlâ kaiṁ zhâilaṁ nahiṅ; nahiṅ kôniṁ hât tûkilâ, nahiṅ kôniṁ pâiṁ tûkilâ, kaṁ nahiṅ kôniṁ ḍôlâ kêlâ mâvar, tarî pûn mâlâ kaiṁ khûṭlaṁ nahiṅ: mâlâ êk ghûr parlâi — mâlâ fûlân ḍôkrichê sôkrîsiṁ varâḍlaṁ pâijê,* Nothing is the matter with me; nobody has lifted his hand, nobody has lifted his leg, neither has anybody made eyes at me, nor do I lack anything: one thought troubles me — I must get married to such and such an old woman's daughter."

"Oh, is that all you want? You shall have your desire fulfilled. In the meanwhile, cheer up, and come and take your meal."

At this the prince left the stables and followed his father, and was soon himself again. Before negotiating with the old woman for her daughter's hand, the king protested the best way he could with the son to change his mind, pointing out to him that he, the prince, was a king's son, who would some day himself become a king, and that, as such, it ill-became him to form an alliance with a girl who was next door to a beggar. But no remonstrances, however reasonable, would avail with the prince, who said he must marry that girl, or put an end to himself.

The king now saw that there was no chance of making the prince desist from his determination, and so, one morning, sent a *śimpâi*[9] to call the old woman to the palace. When the sepoy put in his appearance at the old woman's door, and delivered the king's order, she began to wonder at it. What had she done, she thought. Had she, or, perhaps, her daughter, offended the king in any way? She could remember nothing. Then, why did the king send for her? However, whether she had done anything or not, it was the king's order to her to come to the palace, and go she must. So, with fear in her heart, the old woman presented

[6] Literally this would mean: — You are continually eating and continually crying, what is it to you? My son is gone, that is nothing.

[7] The literal meaning of this would be: — Why are you here? What has come to you? What has any one done to you? Tell me: if any one has lifted his hand upon you, I shall take his hand; if any one has lifted his leg upon you, I shall take his leg; if any one has made an eye at you, I shall take his eye; or if anything is wanting to you, tell me, I shall produce it.

[8] By the eye, the Evil Eye is evidently meant here.

[9] *Śimpâi* = a *sipâhi* = sepoy.

herself before the king, and bowed down low at his feet. The king beckoned her to a chair, but the old woman modestly refused it, and was about to squat on the floor, saying that she was too poor to seat herself in a chair ; — also that she had never sat on one. But the king kindly held her by the hand and seated her in a chair. Preliminaries over, the king said to the old woman :— "*Âmchî khûśî hâi gê tûmsîṁ soirîk karâvî; tûmchî sôkrî âmchê sôkriâlâ diâvî,* It is our desire to form an alliance with you ; you must give your daughter to our son."

The old woman replied : — "*Kâṁ, Râjâ Sâhib, mâlâ distêi tûmiṁ mâṅji maskarî kartâ ; tûmiṁ kôn, miṁ kôn, ani aisaṁ kaisaṁ hôil,*[10] Why, Râjâ Sâhib, surely you are jesting ; what is your position and what is mine ? How can such a thing be ? "

The king, however, soon persuaded her that he meant no joke, that the prince wished it so, and that, therefore, he was in earnest. The old woman could not reconcile the idea of a king's son asking for the hand of a beggar's daughter, and, without saying aye or nay, walked away home, and lying down on a cot, covered herself with a quilt. When her daughter, Bharô, saw that her mother had taken to her bed, which was an unusual thing with her, she came and inquired what was the matter, — if she was unwell. The old woman told her to go away and not to bother her head about her. In spite of this the girl insisted upon knowing what was the matter with her mother ; so her mother told her that the king had sent for her and had asked for her daughter's hand, and not knowing how to act in the matter, her mind was much troubled, and that was the reason why she had taken to her bed. Bharô was only too glad to learn that the king's son had proposed for her, and told her mother not to fear on that account, but to go over to the palace and inform the king that his proposal was accepted. The old woman was again at her wit's end about the affair, but at the entreaty of her daugther she went and told the king that she was willing to give Bharô in marriage to the prince, who was duly informed about it by the king his father. The prince received this news with the greatest gladness. They also then and there appointed an early day for the happy occasion.

The king now began preparations on a very large scale to celebrate the marriage with befitting pomp. The old woman, of course, was too poor to make any show, and so she did what little she could by way of a small entertainment for friends and relations of her social position. The day soon came, and the marriage was celebrated with great *èclat* by the bridegroom.

A month or two passed after the wedding, and the prince bethought of Bharô's saying — "*dambrîmaniṁ râz karin,* I will live on a *dambrî*." So he determined to put her to the test at once. He asked the king to build him a ship, as he wished to go to trade in foreign lands. The king told him there was no need for him to do any business, since he was getting old and he would have to give up the reins of government, which would naturally fall into the hands of the prince, for which he must prepare himself. The prince, however, said he must go for a few months at least, and therefore he must have a ship. So the king at once issued orders for the building of the ship. And what did he lack ? Men and money were all at his service, and a job that would have taken months to finish he got completed in days, and the ship was soon placed at the disposal of the prince, completely manned with a *kaptan*[11] and *ṭâṇḍêl*.[12]

The prince had now only to store in the ship provisions for the journey, but of these he took only a limited quantity. Finally he asked his wife, Bharô, whether she would not like to accompany him on his voyage. Little thinking of the real object of her husband's wish to take her with him, she said nothing could give her greater pleasure than being in his company, whether for good or for bad.

Everything was now settled, and the ship set sail under a very favorable breeze. When after many days, they had reached an out-of-the-way country, the prince ordered the anchor to be cast. There they stopped for a day or two, and as soon as the provisions were quite

[10] Literally, Why, Râjâ Sâhib, it seems to me you are making fun of me ; who are you ? who am I ? and ho can such a thing be ?

[11] *Kaptan* = captain.

[12] *Ṭâṇḍêl* = tindal or tindals, petty officers.

finished, the prince conceived the idea of leaving Bharô alone in the ship. He, therefore, told Bharô that she would have to stay in the ship alone for a few days, as he was going on land on some business, and taking the captain and all the crew the prince landed and was soon out of sight. He had, however, taken the precaution of tying to an end of Bharô's *sâṛî* one coin — a *tindambrî*,[13] without her knowledge.

Taking a land route, the prince went back with all the other men to his own country. A few hours after the prince's departure, Bharô felt hungry. So she went to where the provisions were stored, but what was her disappointment to find that there was nothing left! That day and night she went without food. The following day she was thinking over what to do to appease her hunger, when she felt something tied to her *sâṛî*. She unfastened the knot and found a *tindambrî*; but what was she to do with the *tindambrî?* As she was thus thinking, she caught sight of an old fisherman, who had come to fish. She called out to him, addressing him as *kâkâ*.[14] The old fisherman was quite surprised to hear himself addressed thus there, and more surprised was he to find that it was a young woman, apparently alone, who called him out. He came to the ship, and Bharô threw the *tindambrî* to the old man, and begged of him to fetch her *chanâ kûrmûrî*.[15] The old man had not the heart to refuse her. So he went and brought *tindambrî* worth of *chanâ kûrmûrî*, which he brought and handed over to Bharô, after which he went about his business. As soon as the old man was gone, Bharô took the *chanâ kûrmûrî* and was going to eat them eagerly, when, misfortune of misfortunes, all the *chanâ kûrmûrî* fell out of her hands into the water. She was about to burst out crying, when her eyes fell upon hundreds of *magalmâshê*[16] coming and swallowing all the *chanâ kûrmûrî*. The magalmâshê, after eating up all the chanâ kûrmûrî, went up on dry ground and threw up heaps upon heaps of sôniâchiâ môrî.[16] This was a cause of great surprise and no less joy to our heroine. She collected all the *môrîs*, which nearly filled the ship. Another day of starvation passed, and on the following day, when the fisherman came to fish, she called to him, and giving him one *môrî*, asked him to buy for her a number of different articles of food, and for his trouble she paid him one *môrî*. She then told him to come there on the next day too, and the fisherman, who was not over-rich, was only too glad to come, in the hope of getting, perhaps, another *môrî*. Bharô had now plenty of food, and she ate to her satisfaction. On the following day the old fisherman was commissioned to buy a plot of ground; on the day after that, to buy timber, stones, and other things necessary to build a very large house. Bharô next wished to supervise the building herself; so she got the old man to erect a hut near where the house was being erected. As she did not wish it to be known that she was a woman, she asked the old man to buy her a complete set of a man's clothes, and, thus disguised, she landed and went to the hut, having in the first instance ordered the removal of all the *môrîs*.

In this way passed a month or two. Bharô's husband, the prince, now remembered her, and wished to see how she was faring, or what had become of her. So he engaged another vessel and set sail early. He reached in due time, and, right enough, he saw the ship in which he had left his wife, but his wife gone, or, rather, as he thought, dead. He, therefore, wished to go back to his country, when his attention was drawn to a palatial building, fairly on its way to completion, and he wished to ascertain to whom it belonged. So he landed and went to the spot, and enquired who was building the house, and determined that, if any workman was required, he would offer his services. He was shewn the *mûkâdam*, the old fisherman, who in turn took him to Bharô, who was still in a man's disguise, which prevented the prince from recognising his wife. Bharô, however, knew who had come to her for work, but not wishing to discover herself so soon, pretended ignorance, and acted as she would towards a stranger, at the time.

[13] *Tindambrî* = three *dambrîs* or half a pice, or one-eighth of an anna.

[14] *Kâkâ* means paternal uncle, but all men, about the age of one's father, are thus addressed.

[15] Parched gram and rice.

[16] *Magalmashê* are large fish, supposed to be whales. The singular is *magalmâsâ*.

[16] Gold *mohars* are evidently meant.

The prince's services were engaged, but she had not the heart to make him do any hard work, and, therefore, he was asked to supervise the building. He was also allowed to live at his supposed master's house. At meal time Bharô would order her servant to serve the prince first at her own table. The prince would modestly refuse to eat before his master, but Bharô would insist upon his eating first, and then he would do so. In this way some time passed, till the house was complete. Bharô then gave orders for furnishing the house completely, the old fishermar and the prince being commissioned to do the task. The prince had great taste in furniture, and so bought the best available, and when it was arranged in the house, also under the prince's supervision, the house looked simply beautiful.

Bharô now paid all the workmen their respective wages, and dismissed them. The prince also asked for his wages, saying he, too, wished to go away, but he was told to remain for a few days, after which he would get leave to go home. Now, when they were almost by themselves Bharô one day asked the prince to enter her chamber, and, having thrown off her disguise, she donned herself in a rich *sârî* and all her beautiful ornaments, and presented herself before the prince. The prince was simply struck dumb at seeing Bharô, his wife, standing before him, and could not for the world of him understand what it all meant. Was he, perhaps, dreaming, or was the person he saw really his wife? When he had recovered speech, he asked her to explain to him everything. Bharô then told him, how, after he had gone, she had, in the first place, to remain without food for a day or two; how, later on, she found the *tindambrî* tied to her *sârî*, for which she could not account, as she herself had never tied it there; how she gave the *tindambrî* to the old fisherman, who had come to fish, and asked him to buy her *chanâ kûrmûrî*, which, when bought and given her, all fell in the water as she was about to eat them; how, when the *chanâ kûrmûrî* fell in the water, *magalmâshê* came and swallowed them, after which the *magalmâshê*, going on dry land, threw up heaps upon heaps of *sônîâchiâ môrî*, which she collected, and which enabled her to live comfortably and to build that large house, in furnishing which he had displayed so much taste.

Here the prince interposed, and told Bharô what had led him to bring her and leave her alone in that land, and that he was now quite satisfied, that what she was wont to say to her mother before their marriage she had been enabled to carry out, namely, "*vin sûtâ vin phanîṁ vinîṁ gunthîn anî dambrîmaniṁ râz karîn*, without thread, without comb, I will dress my hair and live on one *dambrî*."

After this they disposed of the building, and taking the proceeds as well as the heaps of *môrî*, they returned to their native country, where they lived in happiness to an old age.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CHELA.

HERE is a note from a paper in *J. R. A. S.*, 1896, p. 517, on "the Army of the Indian Moghuls," by Mr. W. Irvine, which will throw useful additional light on my previous investigations into this interesting word (*ante*, Vol. XXV. pp. 199, 228): —

1896. Chelās. — As a counterpoise to the mercenaries in their employ, over whom they had a very loose hold, commanders were in the habit of getting together, as the kernel of their force, a body of personal dependents or slaves, who had no one to look to except their master. Such troops were known by the Hindī name of chelā (a slave). They were fed, clothed, and lodged by their employer, had mostly been brought up and trained by him, and had no other home than his camp. They were recruited chiefly from children taken in war or bought from their parents in time of famine. The great majority were of Hindu origin, but all were made Mahomedans when received into the body of chelās. These chelās were the only troops on which a man could place entire reliance as being ready to follow his fortunes in both foul and fair weather. Muḥammad Khān Bungash's system of chelās is described by me in *J. A. S. Bengal*, Part I., 1878, p. 340. — *Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, J. R. A. S.*, 1896, p. 517.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE VARAKKAL TEMPLE AND ITS FESTIVAL.

AN interesting Hindu ceremony is annually observed at Varakkaḷ of the New Moon day in the Malayâḷim month of Tulam (October-November). Varakkaḷ is about two miles to the north of Calicut, and is within a short distance of the Easthill Barracks. The temple stands on a prominent position on a bit of high ground upon the shore of a very shallow backwater. Despite its hoary and desolate appearance, on close inspection it looks bright and beautiful enough when seen rising into sight against a clear blue sky on the summit of the eminence on which it stands. A turn from the main road, up a handsome flight of stone steps, takes the visitor directly to the doorway fronting the inner shrine. The promiscuous pile of huge globular rocks on which the ancient temple is built, the dreariness and solitude of the site, and the many romantic, dark, and solemn caves within its precincts, render it in some degree like the celebrated and much larger rock-cut cave-temples of Ellora or Elephanta. In the rainy season, it presents a strangely picturesque sight, for, surrounded with water on all sides owing to inundations from the sea, it forms a little sea-girt isle. There are two large tanks in front which are said to be connected with the sea by subterraneous outlets.

The Varrakkaḷ Temple[1] is of ancient origin, and tradition ascribes its foundation to Paraśurâma, the soldier, sage, and colonizer, of whom it is recorded :—"Thrice seven times did he clear the earth of the Kshatriya caste." It is dedicated to Durgâ, and in her honor the Dasahra Festival is celebrated in great style annually.

The foundation legend is that the Kîrala country was reclaimed from the ocean by Paraśurâma, who built temples therein and settled it with immigrants. His mother Rêṇukâ, sinned and fell from perfection, and thereupon his father, the holy Jamadagni, was exceeding wrath and commanded his sons to put her to death. None of them heeded this behest, however, until the youngest, Râma, took his axe and slew her. Subsequently, Kârtavîrya, king of the Haiheyas, visited Jamadagni's hermitage. This monarch, with his thousand arms and wonderful golden chariot, that flew in the air and sped wheresoever he bade it go, was, with due respect, entertained, in Jamadagni's absence, by his wife. But the wicked Kârtavîrya, inflated with the pride of valour, and in utter violation of the laws of hospitality, carried off the sage's sacred cow, Kâmadhênu, and felled the tall trees that stood in the hermitage-garden. For this reason, and also because to one of this accursed race his mother owed her fall, Râma forthwith attacked and overthrew the robber-king, and finally extirpated the whole race of Kshatriyas. His mother's death and the destruction of so many brave men, however, weighed heavily on his heart, and the slayer of hostile heroes was greatly distressed. To expiate these sins he determined to create a new land and to offer it to the Brâhmaṇs. Accordingly, Kîrala (Malabar) was created, which, being apportioned into sixty-four lots or *grâmas*, was given away to as many Brâhmaṇ townships. Temples and *dêvalayâs* (houses of worship) of all sorts soon sprang up in the new country. Only a few of them, however, were set up by Paraśurâma himself, and one of these was the temple at Varakkaḷ.

Last year (1895), on the New Moon day (*vâvu*) of Tulam, I joined a multitude proceeding to this famous shrine. The great number of carriages that took pilgrims, the multifarious character of the people congregated, the utter confusion on all sides, the swimming, running, bathing, jumping, shouting populace made a profound impression on my mind. Numberless men, women, and children of every caste thronged the usually deserted temple; and from one end to another there was a long array of surging human beings, bathing and playing in the sea and tanks. It is supposed that on this day the sea, submissive to the deity, becomes calm, and that an underground *tîrtha* near the temple spouts forth holy water. In honour of the occasion, oblations of *karuka* grass and boiled rice are thrown on the sea-waves to departed ancestors.

Another reason for the importance of the Varakkaḷ *vâvu*, given in the neighbourhood, refers to a quaint local custom, and has almost passed into a proverb. Marriage connections are held to be at an end and all relationship to have been terminated, if a *bandhu* (kinsman) fails to put in his appearance in a *tarawad* or family-house, on the *vâvu* day. This odd social canon is still tenaciously clung to by all good folk at Varakkaḷ.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

INITIAL L AND N.

LATELY, in a case before me, a native of Bengal, a convict in Port Blair, was indifferently named Nadhia Chand and Ladhia Chand. He is recorded in the list of convicts as Ludhia Chand.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] [There is a brief note on this temple in Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. II., p. ccexlvi., where, however, it is stated to be dedicated to Bhâgavatî, Gaṇapati, Ayyappan, and Dakshiṇamûrtti. — ED.]

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